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OUTLINES OF CHINESE HISTORY

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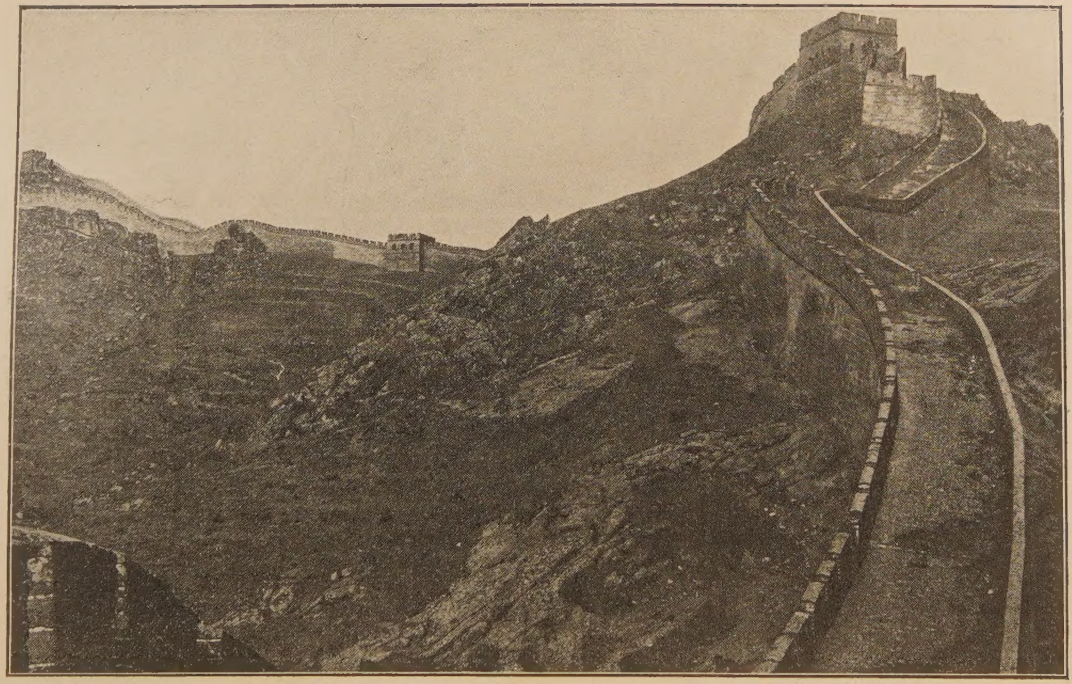

The Great Wall

OUTLINES OF CHINESE HISTORY

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英文中國歷史

OUTLINES

OF

CHINESE HISTORY

BY

LI UNG BING

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR JOSEPH WHITESIDE

(*Soochow University*)

WITH COLOURED MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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To the memory of

My late father, Li Tah Chang,

under whose guidance I first

studied English,

This volume is dedicated

PREFACE

The present book was written for two classes of Chinese. To those who are studying English, it is not so much an attempt to teach Chinese History by English as English through the medium of Chinese History. Certainly it will prove doubly interesting to read the facts of the history of one's own country in a foreign tongue which he is making an effort to learn. To those to whom Chinese History must otherwise remain unknown, it is hoped that the "Outlines" may induce them to seek further knowledge from the original sources. The recent events which are introducing a new epoch in China make a study of our ancient institutions doubly necessary.

As the name indicates, the book is an elementary history, and, as such, it necessarily represents a small selection from an immense range of facts. In making the selection I was largely guided by the following principles: First, to show that the present has grown out of the past. Secondly, to emphasize those events and institutions which together go to make up the "Soul of China," as a contributor in the "Justice" aptly terms it. Thirdly, to present such shortcomings of our own people as we can no longer afford to ignore.

For the convenience of the reader, allusions to classical passages are accompanied by the original text and names of persons and places given in both English and Chinese. In Romanization I have tried to follow Gile's system, as far as possible.

The list of authors to whom I am indebted for information is too long to enumerate. For the period of the Manchu Empire, which, as a matter of fact, constitutes what may be termed the Modern History of China, and which takes up the larger portion of the book, I have derived much help from Wong Yung-po's "Middle School Chinese History of the Present Dynasty." So long as the "Historical Archives" in Peking remain closed to the public at large, his work, which received the approval of the now defunct Board of Education at Peking, must be regarded as the only authority.

English not being my native tongue, the shortcomings of the book are sure to be many, but the help of my friends has undoubtedly lessened its faults to a great extent.

In this connection, particular mention should be made of Professor Joseph Whiteside, who edited the book, and of Fong F. Sec, M.A., of the Commercial Press, Ltd., for his valuable help in reading the proof sheets and my other former colleagues of the English Editorial Department, who kindly arranged an index for the book and otherwise assisted me in the compilation. Lastly I also desire to thank the Lithographic Department for making the maps the book contains.

LI UNG BING.

FOOCHOW,
May 8, 1914.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The fact that China has an unbroken history extending as far back as the early beginning of written records gives her a unique place among the nations of the earth. Other ancient empires rose, flourished and fell; but the Chinese, whose far beginning is lost in antiquity, still "make porcelain, souchong tea, with innumerable other things; and fight, under Heaven's flag, against Necessity."

Mr. Li Ung Bing, who has surveyed the historical records from the beginning down to our own day, is to be congratulated on his diligence in giving us in his more than 600 pages what he here modestly calls *Outlines of Chinese History*. He has not only made use of the Chinese sources in gathering his facts, but has also made himself familiar with much that foreigners have written concerning the history of his country; and with this double advantage he has been able to trace the checkered career of China in bold outline and with marvelous condensation.

With the instinct of a true historian, the author has seized upon the most dramatic events in the long history of the Chinese people and their neighbours and has presented them with a directness and interest that are absorbing—not to say thrilling.

Closely akin to this is his ability to depict in a striking manner the great personages from the days of Yao and Shun to Li Hung-chang. To pass over the ancient worthies and mention only a few names, he gives us such clear-cut pictures of Nurhachu, Wu San-kuei, Tsêng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-tang and many others that we never forget them.

After a careful reading of Mr. Li's work in manuscript and in proof sheets, I can commend it to all who wish to read Chinese history from the most enlightened Chinese point of view. To my mind, this is one of the most interesting and valuable features of his work, and it ought to do not a little toward giving English readers a fuller and better knowledge of Chinese history and character.

J. WHITESIDE.

SOOCHOW UNIVERSITY,
Soochow, China.

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OUTLINES OF CHINESE HISTORY

PART I

ANCIENT HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE REMOTEST ANTIQUITY

Origin of the Race.—The inhabitants of China are known to the world as Chinese. They speak of themselves as the "people of Han, or T'ang." As Han and T'ang are both names of dynasties they hardly denote the origin of the race. The term "Chinese" is also rather unsatisfactory, for it is the opinion of many scholars that China, from which it is derived, comes from an attempt to pronounce the character Ts'in (秦), the name of the first centralized empire in the Flowery Kingdom. Many theories, based more or less upon religious myths, have been advanced to show whence the first inhabitants of China came; but their correctness must necessarily await further scientific discoveries. All accounts, however, agree that the basin of the Yellow River was the cradle of the Chinese race, and that their ancestors were a nomadic people who, some five or six thousand years ago, migrated from the north-western part of Asia and finally settled in what is now the province of Shensi (陝西), a rich country very thinly populated.

THE SAN HUANG
Han Dynasty Bas Relief. ("Chinese Art")

They soon learned how to till the ground and produce grain. As time went on, the settlers formed themselves into tribes ruled by chieftains. Wars with the aborigines and among the different tribes were frequent. The result was that the original inhabitants were driven off in all directions and the most powerful chieftain became the acknowledged head. The Miao-tze (苗子), now found in south-western China, are said to be the descendants of the aborigines. As to how long this state of affairs had continued to exist, history is silent. What we do know of this period is founded largely upon the law of evolution, which is common to all races and nations.

The Age of the Three Divine Rulers.—Of all the legendary rulers or chieftains, Fu Hsi (伏羲) must be given the first rank. He resided near K'aifêngfu (開封府) in the modern province of Honan (河南省). He taught his subjects how to catch animals and fish with nets, hence his name, Fu Hsi, the "Conqueror of Animals." As he also taught the people how to rear domestic animals for food, he was also called Po Hsi (包犧), "Butcher of Animals." To him likewise is attributed the adoption of the laws of marriage and the use of the lute and lyre. He is also said to have been the originator of the system of writing which, with the improvements and modifications of ages, has been handed down to us in the form of the modern Chinese characters.

Fu Hsi

Before Fu Hsi, there lived in the pre-historic times a ruler, called Sui Jen (燧人), "Producer of Fire." As the name implies, he is believed to have been the man who brought down fire from heaven for the first time and employed it in the preparation of food. Before his time the people lived like wild beasts and ate their food raw. What method the "Producer" employed in "bringing down fire from heaven" is open to question. Many are of the opinion that he rubbed one piece of wood against another until

THE WU TI. Han Dynasty Bas Relief. ("Chinese Art")

combustion took place. This is undoubtedly one of the meanings of the character Sui (燧), the other being "to bring forth fire from the rays of the sun."

Some 1260 years after Fu Hsi, the throne fell to Shen Nung (神農), "God of Agriculture," who taught the people the art of agriculture and the use of herbs as medicine. He was born on the Lieh Mountain (烈山) in Hupeh (湖北), and brought up near the Chiang River (姜) in Shensi (陝西), and from these localities he derived both a tribal name and surname.

SHEN NUNG

The three foregoing rulers are commonly spoken of by Chinese historians as "The Three Divine Rulers," or San Huang (三皇).

Huangti or the Yellow Sovereign.—The successors of Shen Nung were all men of inferior ability, and unable to check the encroachments of the savage tribes whose subjugation was left to Huangti (黃帝). He was a warrior as well as a statesman. He has been immortalized by the famous battle of Cho-lu (涿鹿), a town in the modern province of Chihli (直隸). The leader of the savage tribes was Chih-yu (蚩尤), who, according to tradition, possessed supernatural powers and hid his army in a thick mist. By the use of a compass, Huangti was, however, enabled to locate

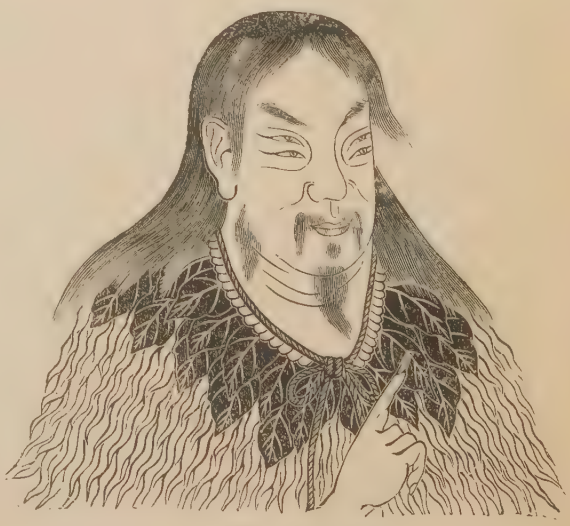
HUANGTI

his enemy and defeat him. Chih-yu was among those killed in the battle, which is believed to have prepared the way for a permanent Chinese settlement in the Middle Kingdom.

After this conquest of the aborigines, Huangti was placed on the throne. He took his title from the colour of the earth, believing that he had come into power by its virtue. His kingdom embraced all the territory south of Hsuan Hua (宣化) and Pao-ting (保定) in Chihli, east of Su-chou (肅州) in Kansuh (甘肅), and north of the Yangtze River, while in the east it extended to the sea. This was the largest empire hitherto known in China.

His rule lasted 100 years, a century of progress and enlightenment. Besides the compass of which mention has been made, and which was undoubtedly an invention of his time, he is commonly believed to have been the inventor of boats, carts, bows, arrows, and bamboo musical instruments.

In the way of progress, we are informed that he constructed the first mint for the coinage of copper money; encouraged commence; fixed standard weights



TS'ANG CHI

and measures; introduced a uniform taxation of land; gave a calendar to the people; devised the new method of reckoning time, known as the "Sexagenary Cycles", which has been handed down to our day; and taught his people how to make utensils of wood, pottery and metal. Under his able direction, Ts'ang Chi (倉頡), one of his ministers, invented the six kinds of writing which were to supersede the more complicated method of recording important transactions by means of knotted cords; and Yung Cheng (容成), another minister of his, constructed a Celestial Globe. To further the study of astronomy, an observatory was constructed for the many astronomers whose business it was to record the movements of heavenly bodies, and to foretell any coming events, such as storms, etc. An altar was also built where sacrifices to God and lesser divinities were offered. Last but not the least, he made a valuable contribution to Chinese medical science in several treatises which attest the gifted talent of the sovereign.

His wife is no less famous than Huangti himself. She taught the people how to rear silkworms and to weave silk, and has been regarded as the goddess of the silk industry.

Huangti, Chuan Hsu (顓頊), his grandson, K'u (嚳), his great-grand son, Yao (堯), and Shun (舜), are commonly spoken of as the Five Sovereigns (五帝).

CHAPTER II

YAO AND SHUN

(B.C. 2356—2208.)

The Reign of Yao.—Chinese historians generally regard the accession of Yao (堯) as the dawn of authentic history. The records of this period, covering a little over one hundred years, however, are not entirely free from what may be regarded as vague and uncertain. It requires a good deal of critical judgment to sift facts from fiction.

YAO

The first official act of Yao was to give his people, by the insertion of intercalary months, a more correct calendar than that which had previously existed. This system has been followed throughout all the succeeding ages. It is stated that in the court of Yao there grew a certain kind of plant which put forth a leaf each day as the moon waxed and shed a leaf each day as it waned.

The government instituted by this wise sovereign may be justly described as a government by the people. Every one had access to his court either to offer a suggestion or to make a criticism. No important appointment was ever made without the advice and consent of the chiefs of the feudal lords; and, as a result, his administration was a great success. The prosperity of the nation was, however, temporarily disturbed by a thirteen years' flood which began in the sixty-first year of his reign. (B.C. 2297.)

Whether or not this flood had any connection with the Deluge recorded in the Bible, it is hard to say; but it was a terrible disaster. From the accounts given in the Book of Records, one is apt to think that the calamity, great as it was, was of a local character which permitted of human remedy. For

a time Yao was greatly grieved by the sufferings of his people. No one seemed equal to the situation. With some hesitation the great task of reducing the waters was assigned to Kun (鯀), who failed, and for this failure and other crimes, was put to death by Shun, Yao's son-in-law and co-ruler. Strange as it may seem, Yu (禹), son of the man who had just failed, was recommended to the throne by Shun. It took Yu (禹) eight years to finish the work. Instead of building high embankments as his father had done, he deepened the beds of existing rivers and cut as many channels as were necessary to carry the water off to the sea. By his great engineering success, he soon became the idol of the nation. "We would have been fish but for Yu" (微禹吾其魚乎), is a saying which has come down to us from those days.

Yao ruled 100 years. From the seventy-third year of his reign, however, Shun was actually the head of the government and acted as Regent. Yao died at the age of 117; and, as he was not pleased with the conduct of his own son, he left the throne to Shun.

SHUN

The reign of Shun.—After the death of Yao, Shun refused to take the throne which had been left for him. He evidently wished to give Yao's son an opportunity to succeed his illustrious father. Public opinion, however, was so strong in favor of Shun that, at the end of the three years of mourning, he reluctantly assumed the royal title.

We have seen that he was the son-in-law of Yao. One naturally thinks that a man must be a prince, or high official, before he may become the son-in-law of a sovereign. Shun was neither. He was but a farmer, and one whose early life was not at all happy. According to tradition, his mother died when he was young, and his father married again and had more children. His stepmother never liked him; and, under her influence, the father, who was blind, and his half-brother hated him. Shun never complained, and finally his filial piety overcame all prejudice. His fame spread far and wide and soon reached the ear of Yao, who had begun to feel the burden of the government. Shun having been recommended to the sovereign by the feudal lords as the man best fitted to be his successor, Yao thereupon gave both of his daughters to him in marriage. Thus at the age of 30, Shun was obliged to give up a farmer's life to share the responsibilities of governing an empire.

Shun's administrative abilities soon justified the confidence placed in him by Yao. He called from private life many capable men to take part in the administration of the government, and did not hesitate for a moment to punish those who were unworthy of trust. Among the former, Yu the Great was perhaps the most illustrious. Others were no less able; and to each of them Shun assigned an important department. Yu was his Prime Minister; Ch'i (棄), Minister of Agriculture; Ch'i (契), Minister of Education; and Kao Yu (皋陶), Chief Justice. Other important offices, including the Ministries of Fire, Rites, Music, etc., were also created.

Shun was the author of the scheme by which all ministers directly responsible to the throne were required to give a strict account of their administration or department every third year (三載考績). He further made the rule that a feudal prince should report in person to the royal court every year and the overlord or king make a tour of inspection every fifth year.

His death took place in the modern province of Hunan, whither he had gone on a tour of inspection. He had ruled as

emperor or king for forty-seven years and was succeeded by Yu the Great.

Yao and Shun are regarded as the ideal rulers in China. Much of their unrivalled popularity is undoubtedly due to the eulogies of Confucius and Confucian scholars, who have endowed them with every virtue known to man. They are worshipped not because of the deeds they performed, but because of the spotless lives they led. They are models as men and rulers, and their days are generally accepted as the Golden Age in Chinese history. No greater honour can be paid to a Chinese emperor than to compare him to Yao and Shun.

CHAPTER III

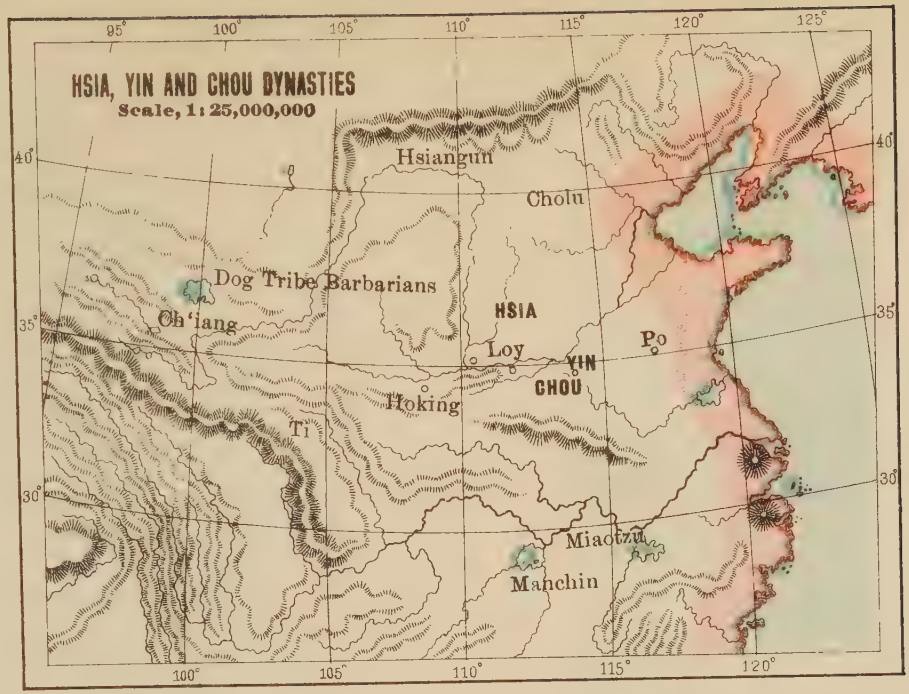
THE HSIA DYNASTY

(B.C. 2205—1766)

Yu the Great (B.C. 2205—2197).—Following the example of Yao, Shun made Yu co-ruler in the twenty-third year of his reign. Yu was, therefore, actually in power when Shun died; but being anxious to give Shun's son a chance, he made an attempt to retire. However, his great success in restoring the flooded lands and his subsequent services to the State, had long eclipsed the would-be heir-apparent. When the people had to choose between a tried statesman and one who had no other claim to the throne than that based upon his birth, their preference was naturally for the former. So, after the period of mourning, Yu was elected to the throne. He removed his capital to An-I (安邑), in Shansi (山西), and adopted the name of his former principality, Hsia (夏), as the name of the dynasty he now founded. To show his gratitude, he made the sons of Yao and Shun feudal lords over territories called T'ang and Yü (唐 and 虞), respectively.

YU THE GREAT

Yu, as ruler, desired to maintain the closest relations with his people, and caused to be hung at the entrance to his court five instruments—a drum, a gong, a stone instrument, a bell, and a rattle. The drum was to announce the coming of a caller who desired to discourse with him upon any of the virtues which should adorn a monarch. By beating the gong, he who dis-


HSIA, YIN AND CHOU DYNASTIES
Scale, 1: 25,000,000
95°
100°
105°
110°
115°
120°
125°
40°
35°
30°
Hsiangun
Cholu
Dog Tribe Barbarians
Ch'iang
HSIA
Loy
YIN
CHOU
Po
Hoking
Ti
Miaotzu
Manchin

approved of the king's conduct could be admitted to audience. If any one had important news, or personal grievances to communicate, he had but to strike the stone instrument, or ring the bell, as the case might be, in order to gain admittance; while the king was always ready to hear any appeal from the judicial decisions of his judges whenever he heard the sound of the rattle. These instruments kept Yu so very busy that, as historians inform us, he was always late at his midday meal.

YU THE GREAT AND CHIEH KUEI
Han Dynasty Bas Relief. ("Chinese Art").

The discovery of intoxicating spirits has been traced to Yu's time; but I-ti (儀狄), the discoverer, was dismissed from the public service by the sovereign, who said in the presence of his ministers: "The

TOMB OF YU THE GREAT

day is coming when the liquor will cost someone a kingdom." These prophetic words were fulfilled to the letter when the last ruler of his house came to the throne.

Tablet written by Yu the Great commemorating the flood. Discovered in Hiang Shan, Hunan

As a monument to his greatness, Yu, in the fourth year of his reign, cast nine metal tripods(九鼎), and engraved descriptions of the Nine Regions(九州) on each of them. These emblems of royalty, as the tripods have been regarded, were then placed in the ancestral temple of Yu.

As Yu was ninety-three years old when he came to the throne, he did not rule long before death put an end to his distinguished career in B.C. 2197. He was buried at Hui-ki, in Chekiang (浙江會稽), whither he had gone to meet his nobles.

The Reign of Ch'i (啓).—The Hsia Dynasty is worthy of note for the fact that after Yu the throne ceased to be elective and became hereditary. No selfish motive, however, could be attributed to Yu. Kao Yu (皐陶), to whom he would have gladly resigned the throne, had died. As his own son, Ch'i (啓), inherited many of his kingly virtues, it was but natural that the people, who had so much to say in the matter, should insist, as they did, upon Ch'i's inheriting the throne. Ch'i's reign was one of prosperity and peace.

T'ai K'ang (B.C. 2188—2159).—As he was insolent in manner and given up to hunting, T'ai K'ang (太康), the son of Ch'i, was not competent to govern. The people soon grew tired of him. Taking advantage of this condition of things, I (羿), his prime minister, placed himself at the head of a revolutionary movement during his master's absence on a hunting trip, and prevented the king from returning to his capital. T'ai K'ang was therefore obliged to live in a neighbouring town, where he soon died. As his younger brother, who succeeded him, did not long survive, the throne was given to Hsiang (相), his nephew. (B.C. 2146—2118.)

Hsiang.—In an attempt to regain the kingdom which he had lost, Hsiang was slain on the battlefield, and his queen, then pregnant, had to flee for her life. She soon gave birth to a son. The mother and son lived in obscurity until the latter conquered the army of the usurper and returned with her to the capital where he was made king. This was Shao K'ang (少康). (B.C. 2079—2057.)

Chieh (桀) (B.C. 1818-1766).—Passing over some eleven kings, of whose deeds very little has been recorded, we come to the days of the notorious Chieh, the seventeenth and last king of the house of Hsia. Chieh was a man of extraordinary strength, but was no statesman. He conquered many tribes who had refused to submit to his authority; but his military achievements made him haughty, wilful, and cruel, and he became both extravagant and immoral. He refused to heed the advice of the wise, and spent his time among bad women, of whom Mei Hsi (妹喜) was the most notorious.

Mei Hsi.—Mei Hsi was beautiful but wicked. She had been given to Chieh as ransom by a noble whom the king had humbled. It is commonly believed that she was largely responsible for the downfall of the Hsia Dynasty. According to tradition, there was a lake full of liquor in the palace of Chieh. At a given signal, three thousand persons jumped into this lake and drank like cattle, for the drunken conduct of such revelers was the principal

amusement of the king and his royal concubine. To please her an underground palace was built at an immense cost. Here Chieh enjoyed all kinds of vice by day and by night while the affairs of state were entirely neglected.

Extra taxation had to be resorted to, in order to provide means to meet the heavy expenditure of Chieh; but this so alienated the hearts of the people that a rebellion was started by a virtuous noble named T'ang (湯). Little resistance was possible, and Chieh, after having led a most wanton royal life for fifty-three years, died (B.C. 1764) in exile at Nan-ch'ao (南巢), now in the eastern part of Anhui province.

CHAPTER IV

THE SHANG DYNASTY

(B.C. 1766-1122.)

T'ang, the Founder of the Dynasty.—T'ang (湯), who was said to have descended from Ch'i (契), minister of education under Shun, was the founder of the Shang (商) Dynasty, named after the principality which Ch'i had bestowed on him for his services. Po (亳) was the capital of this new family of rulers. The battle of Ming T'iao (鳴條), which resulted in the overthrow of Chieh, gave T'ang the title of "Successful," or Ch'eng T'ang (成湯). In fact, his revolution was the first successful one recorded in Chinese history. It is stated that he never felt happy afterwards, because he feared that his action in taking up arms against Chieh, his sovereign, might be viewed by succeeding ages in the light of a usurpation. One of his ministers tried, by an able address, to convince him that what he did was in strict accord with the will of Heaven, since Chieh had sinned against Heaven and man. This view is fully shared by Confucian scholars, who not only exonerate T'ang, but rank him with the celebrated rulers of antiquity.

CH'ENG T'ANG

Libation Cup. Shang Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

A fearful drought commenced in the second year of T'ang's reign and lasted seven years. The suffering among the people was beyond description. Money was coined and freely distributed among the poor, but this hardly relieved the situation. Having exhausted all means in his power, T'ang finally appealed to

God by going to a mulberry grove and there offering his prayer. He confessed his sins and offered his own life for the benefit of the people. "Do not destroy my people," said he, "because of my sins!" The reply to his prayer was a copious rain. T'ang was so much delighted with the result of the appeal to Heaven, that he composed a new hymn to which he gave the name of "Mulberry Grove" (桑林之樂).

Sacrificial colander, used for steaming grain and herbs. Shang Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

We undoubtedly owe the custom of putting an inscription on a utensil to T'ang, whose motto on his bath tub is often admired for its beauty, and memorized by every Chinese school boy.

T'ai Chia (B.C. 1753—1720).—T'ang's son having died before him, T'ai Chia (太甲), his grandson, came to the throne after his death. This sovereign was weak and was soon led astray by bad ministers. Fortunately for him and the dynasty, I Yin (伊尹), who had placed the crown upon the head of T'ang, was close at hand. Several times he remonstrated with the young ruler by calling attention to the good qualities which distinguished T'ang and the causes of the downfall of the Hsia Dynasty. To all this, T'ai Chia turned a deaf ear. I Yin, who preferred to commit an irregularity rather than see the empire fall to pieces through the follies of T'ai Chia, made up his mind to take strong measures. T'ai Chia was dethroned and made to live near the tomb of T'ang, while I Yin assumed the exercise of royal functions in the capacity of regent. This unprecedented action on the part of I Yin had a most salutary effect, for the change of environment worked a

complete reformation in T'ai Chia, who returned at the end of three years to Po, a thoroughly repentant man and competent ruler. To him I Yin gladly restored all royal powers. It was this act of I Yin rather than his services in building up an empire that has made him immortal. Whether he did right in temporarily dethroning the king was open to question, until a final verdict was rendered by Mencius who thought that his ends amply justified his means. This historical event attests the extent of the power exercised by a prime minister in those days.

I YIN

Transfer of the Capital to Yin.—The removal of the capital to Yin (殷), rendered desirable by the frequent overflows of the Yellow River, took place in the year B.C. 1401. The people at first were unwilling to make the change and it became necessary for P'an Keng (盤庚), the sixteenth king of the Shang Dynasty, to explain in writing the reasons for the undertaking. His eloquence overcame the opposition. Henceforth the dynasty is known as Yin instead of Shang. P'an Keng's contributions to Chinese literature have been preserved in the Book of Records. In the new capital, he began a new government, and, by imitating the methods of T'ang, was able to restore for a brief time the declining fortunes of his house.

Wu Ting (B.C. 1324-1265).—Wu Ting, the fourth ruler after P'an Keng, is famous for two things,—the way in which he obtained the services of an able minister and the expedition he led against the Tartars.

According to tradition, Wu Ting (武丁) never spoke a word during the time of mourning, but permitted Kan P'an (甘盤), his prime minister, to manage the state affairs for him. When the mourning was over, Kan P'an resigned on account of age. To find a successor to such a brilliant man was no easy task. Wu Ting, therefore, appealed to God, and a man was revealed to him in a dream.

He made a picture of the man of his dream and ordered a search to be made for him. A mason was at length found who answered the description given and who was at once ushered before Wu Ting. The king was very much pleased with the words of the mason and made him prime minister at once. This man was Fu Yüeh (傅說). Modern historians think that Wu Ting had known Fu Yüeh well, and that the dream was a mere pretense on the part of the king who did not wish to raise a mason to so important an office as that of prime minister without some better excuse than his own knowledge of the man. Fu Yüeh, however, proved to be the right man for the place; for, under his guidance, the country prospered within and was respected without.

In the year B.C. 1293 there was an expedition sent against the Land of the Demon (鬼方), commonly believed to be the Tartars. This war lasted three years, and resulted in a temporary lease of new life to the Yin Dynasty. Nobles again flocked into the court of Wu Ting with tribute. Unfortunately Wu Ting's successors were not able to check the rising power of a western state which reached its zenith in 1122.

The Reign of Chou (B.C. 1154-1123).—The Yin Dynasty ended with a tyrant, the twenty-fourth king. His name was Chou (紂). He was a talented man, but utterly without principle. In character, he very much resembled Chieh, the last ruler of the house of Hsia. Like him, Chou was aided to a great extent in the practice of vice by a woman. Her name was Ta Chi (妲己). When he heard of this beauty, he led an army to attack her father, a noble of Su (蘇), and compelled him to surrender her as a concubine to the sovereign. Chou soon became a helpless slave to

her wicked will. She evidently took no fancy to an underground palace. To satisfy her vanity Chou constructed the "Deer-Tower" (鹿臺), the highest structure known in his day. The work was completed in seven years and cost an incredible amount of money. Unfortunately, this great architectural work perished with Chou, who set fire to it and burned himself to death, when he saw no hope for himself.

Chou, who was even worse than Chieh, permitted Ta Chi to interfere with the management of his government, for she was "the hen that heralds the dawn of the day" (牝雞司晨). To seal the lips of the timid, she caused all those who ventured to remonstrate with the king to be put to death by making them climb up a red-hot copper pillar. Even the uncle of the king lost his life.

Desertion and rebellion were the order of the day. Eight hundred nobles joined the flag of Chou Fa (周發), whose own army numbered only three thousand men. Chou was not a man who would give up his kingdom without a struggle. An immense army was raised and the last stand was made at Mu Yieh (牧野). The royal soldiers refused to fight and the result was the death of Chou and the end of the Yin Dynasty.

CHAPTER V

THE CHOU DYNASTY

(B.C. 1122—255.)

Introduction.—The Chou Dynasty marks the beginning of a new epoch in Chinese history. With it the real authentic history begins. In it are to be found the origins and principles of Chinese civilization. The Chou Dynasty was to the Empire what Greece was to Europe; for most of the customs, laws, and institutions which we see to-day have been handed down from this period. Its history, embracing a period of 867 years, resembles the history of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The rise and development of philosophies during this period have also rendered the name of Chou particularly memorable. For the sake of convenience, this longest Chinese dynasty may be divided into three periods; the first embraces the rise of the dynasty and down to the removal of its capital to the East; the second, the age of Feudalism; and the third, the age of the Seven States.

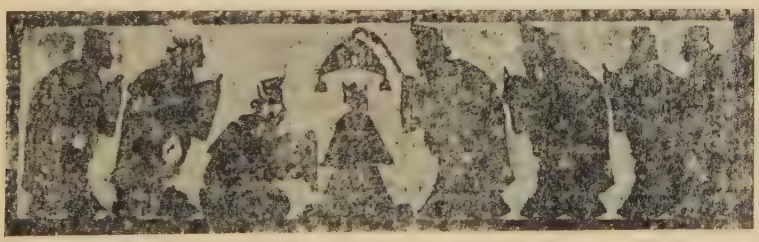
The Rise of Chou

Its Early History.—The founder of the Chou Dynasty, Wu, the Military King (武王), was of distinguished ancestry, being a descendant of Ch'i (棄), minister of agriculture under Shun. One of Ch'i's descendants, Pu-kuh (不窋) by name, during the reign of T'ai K'ang (B.C. 2188-2159) introduced the art of agriculture among the savage tribes in what is now the modern provinces of Shensi and Kansuh and built a town at Pin (豳). Here his family continued to live in peace for hundreds of years. In the year 1326 B.C., Tan-fu (亶父), having been harassed by the constant incursions of the barbarians, migrated eastward to Chi (岐), now Chi-san district of Shensi, and gave this new settlement the name of Chou. Through the labours of a succession of good men who succeeded Tan-fu (亶父), this little

town in time became the centre of civilization. Its growth was most rapid. By the time of Wen Wang (文王), father of the founder of the dynasty, it was a city of far greater importance than the capital of the empire, for it was the capital of "two-thirds of the empire." The fruits of his benevolent government were finally reaped by his son, Wu Wang, or "Military King."

Sacrificial bowl. Chou Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

Wu Wang.—Having ascended the throne, made vacant by the death of Chou, amid the acclamations of the nobles who had allied themselves with him, Wu Wang set himself to organize a peaceful government. His first act was to set at liberty the unhappy men who had been imprisoned by Chou for no fault of theirs. Among them was one named Chi-tze (箕子), who was Chou's uncle, and a man of great learning. He explained the rules of govern-

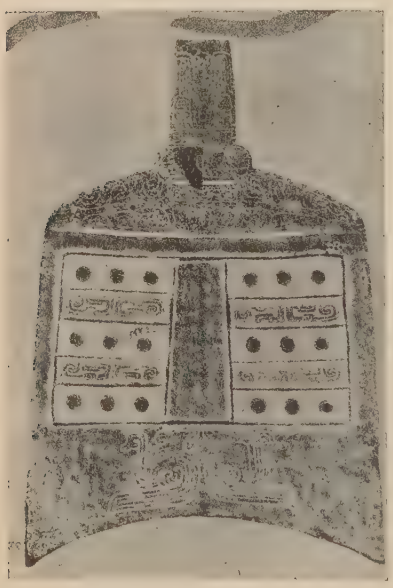


King Ch'êng of the Chou Dynasty.
Han Dynasty Bas Relief. ("Chinese Art")

ment (洪範) and then escaped to Corea, where he was elected ruler. He evidently had no desire of becoming an official under the newly established dynasty. By order of the king, Ta Chi (妲己), who had caused so many innocent men and women to be put death, paid the penalty with her life. The immense stores of grain

which had been stored by Chou and the treasures he had accumulated were distributed to the poor. Soldiers were disbanded; horses and oxen given to farmers for agricultural purposes; schools established; and houses built for the old. A new city was laid out at Hao (鎬), which was henceforth the capital of the empire. Wu Wang died at the age of ninety-three, after having ruled as king for seven years.

Duke of Chou.—Of the numerous great men who adorned the court of Wu Wang, the Duke of Chou, his younger brother, must be given the first place. It was he who completed what had been left undone by Wu Wang, for the latter's death left a boy of thirteen on the throne, and the responsibility of the government rested with the Duke who was the regent. As a statesman and lawyer, he wrote the Classic, known as "The Rites of Chou," which is a permanent monument to his greatness; as a general, he crushed a most stubborn rebellion headed by Wu Kêng (武庚), son of Chou, and aided by other uncles of the boy-king, whom Wu Wang had appointed to most responsible positions; and as a philosopher, succeeding ages have pronounced him to be second only to Confucius. The name of this man is closely associated with the early institutions of the Chou Dynasty.



Ancient bronze bell.
Chou Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

Divisions of the Empire.—The feudal system was undoubtedly an outcome of the tribal government of the early ages. It existed during the Hsia and Shang Dynasties, but the Duke of Chou perfected it by the introduction of the five orders of nobility, which are dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts and barons. A duke or

a marquis was entitled to rule over a territory 100 *li* square; an earl, 70 *li* square; and a viscount or baron, 50 *li* square. These were classified as the first, second, and third class states respectively. States, whose area was less than 50 *li* square, had no direct representation at the court of the king and were obliged to send their tribute through a neighbouring first-class state. There were nine regions in the empire each 1,000 *li* square. With the exception of the territory reserved as the domain of the king, each region contained 30 first-class, 60 second-class, and 120 third-class states, or a total of 210 feudal states. The domain of the king was divided among the executive ministers of his court and included nine first-class, twenty-one second-class, and sixty-three third-class states. At the beginning of the Chou Dynasty, the total number of feudal states was 1,773. Subsequent civil wars among these states finally reduced this number to seven. The establishment of the first centralized empire by Shih Huangti (始皇帝), of Ts'in (秦), brought about the end of this system (B.C. 221). Whatever may be the opinion of succeeding ages concerning this system, the Chou Dynasty reaped much benefit from "the wall of feudal states around the House of the King" (封建諸侯以藩屏王室), built by the Duke of Chou. It was the armies of these states that saved it from the horrors of a barbarian invasion; and, when its power had sunk to the lowest ebb, it was the jealousy among them that prolonged its existence.

Government.—Of the political institutions of the two preceding dynasties, we know very little. The highest officials under the kings of the Chou Dynasty were the Grand Tutor, the Grand Instructor, and the Grand Guardian, with an assistant under each. Their offices were purely didactic. The administration of the government was entrusted to a cabinet consisting of the heads of the following six departments: the Heavenly Minister (天官) or Minister of the Interior, the Earthly Minister (地官) or Minister of the Treasury, the Spring Minister (春官) or Minister of Rites and Religion, the Summer Minister (夏官) or Minister of War, the Autumn Minister (秋官) or Minister of Jurisprudence, the

Winter Minister (冬官) or Minister of Works. Each cabinet minister had a corps of sixty subordinate officers under him. The total number of executive officers, therefore, was 360, corresponding to the number of heavenly bodies known at that time.

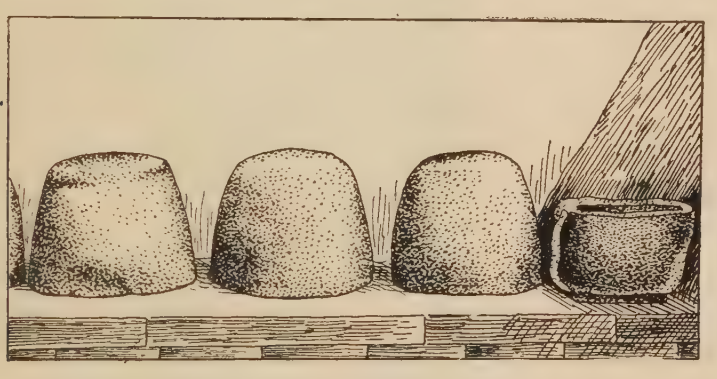
Duke of Chou

Outside of the domain of the king, feudal chiefs were appointed. They were of different grades, and the number of states subject to their supervisory power varied from five, for one of the lowest grade, to 210 for one of the highest grade, or Lord of a Region. The Lords of Regions were themselves placed under the two Grand Dukes Chow (周公) and Chao (召公), the former having jurisdiction over all the states east, and the latter over all those west of Shen (陕), now Shenchow (陕州), Honan (河南).

Taxation.—Soon after the reduction of the waters by Yu, a system of taxation was inaugurated, known as the "Tribute System" (貢法). This system was in operation during the Hsia Dynasty. Each able-bodied man received fifty *mow* of land from the government and was to pay to it as tax the produce of five *mow*. The Shang Dynasty substituted for this system what is called the "Aid System" (助法). This system required all land that could be cultivated to be divided into lots of 630 *mow* each, which was subdivided into squares of seventy *mow* each, and allotted to eight families on the condition that they were to cultivate the square in the centre of the lot in common, and give the produce to the government as tax. The plan of division is best illustrated by the character 井 (chin), hence its name Chin T'ien (井田). When enclosed thus 囲, we see there are nine squares with one in the centre and the rest surrounding it. The system adopted by the Chou Dynasty was a combination of the two, the "tribute system" for the more crowded cities and the "aid system" for the outlying districts. The Chou people were also

taxed by labour, the length of time during which a man had to work for the government varying according to the condition of the crop of each year.

Military Equipment.—Under the Chou Dynasty the burden of military equipment rested entirely on the farmers. Every sixty-four chin (井), or a tien (甸) of 512 families, was required to furnish four horses, one chariot, three charioteers, seventy-two foot soldiers and twenty-five other men. The king's domain was



Stone Drums of the Chou Dynasty, Confucian Temple, Peking.

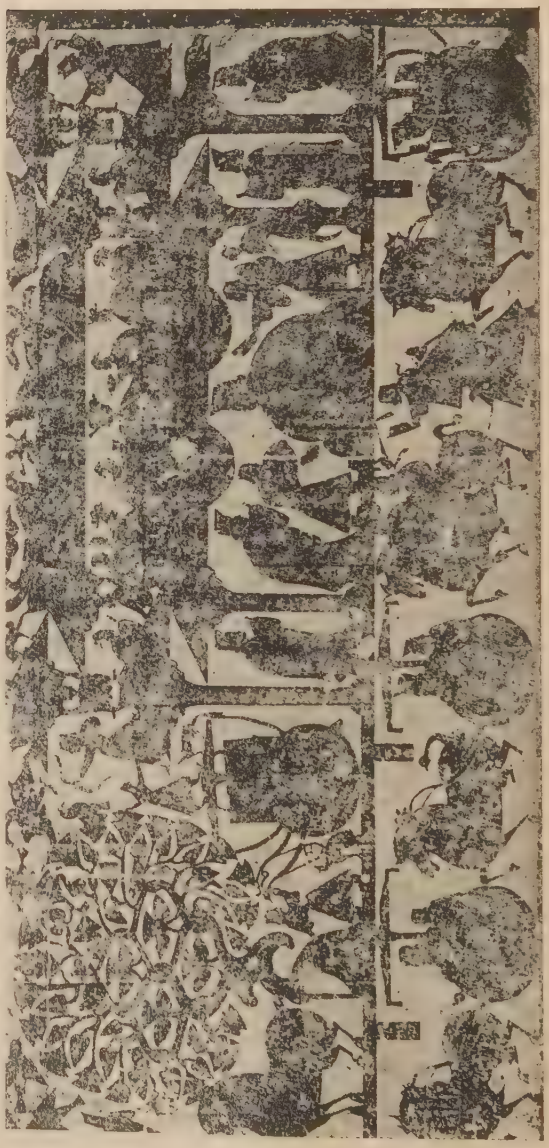
composed of 64,000 chin, hence its military strength was estimated at 10,000 chariots. For this reason, his realm is spoken of as a state of 10,000 chariots. The standing army of such a state was made up of six army corps, each of 12,500 officers and men; that of a first-class feudal state of three; that of a second-class state of two; and that of a third-class state of one.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHOU DYNASTY *(Continued)*

Its Decadence

Reign of Mu Wang.—The Chou Dynasty is famous for several able rulers immediately after its founder. This line was broken when Mu Wang (穆王), the fifth king, came to the throne (B.C. 1001—947). He was more ambitious than wise. In the height of his passion for conquests, he led an immense army against the Dog Barbarians (犬戎), in the western part of the province of Shensi. This expedition must have been a failure, for he brought back only four white wolves and four white deer. Unintentionally, he thus sowed the



Reception of King Mu by Hsi Wang Mu, etc. Han Dynasty Bas Relief. ("Chinese Art")

seed of hatred which culminated in an invasion of China in B.C. 771. Before he had time to return to the capital, a rebellion broke out in the south (in the northern part of the present Anhui province). A forced march was made. Hearing of the approach of the royal army, the rebels soon dispersed, and the rebellion died a natural death; but the expenditure incurred by the king was already too large. As a consequence, a most infamous system was introduced to obtain money. This was a plan providing for the remission of punishments by pecuniary payments. The practice was not new, but it was now introduced on an enlarged scale.

The Government of the Two Grand Dukes.—Li Wang (厲王), the fifth king after Mu Wang, (B.C. 878—827), was a depraved man. His misgovernment stirred up discontent throughout the empire, and nobles refused to bring presents to the court. To make things worse, he tried to muzzle public opinion by the appointment of priests as detectives, and by putting all who ventured to criticise his government to death. This hastened the breaking out of a rebellion; and, in 842 B.C., Li Wang (厲王) had to flee to Chi (彘) in Shensi. For a time there was no king in China, and the government was in the hands of the Grand Dukes Chou and Chao (周召二公). This period is known in Chinese history as Kung-ho (共和), or the "Joined Peace," and was continued till the death of Li Wang.

The Restoration (B.C. 827—782).—The death of Li Wang left his son, Hsüan Wang (宣王), prepared to cope with the critical situation which confronted the Chous. He had evidently learned a good lesson from the misfortunes that had come upon his father. Placing himself under the guidance of experienced statesmen, he soon saw the return of better days. The internal conditions improved and his arms were successful everywhere. Barbarians were driven out of China, and most of the nobles returned to their allegiance to the house of Chou.

Not only did Hsüan Wang have good ministers, but he also had a good queen, Chiang-hou (姜后), who to-day ranks among

the greatest women of antiquity. It is stated that the king was less energetic when he saw that his state was in a better condition. He began to rise late and was indifferent to the affairs of state. No advice from ministers was heeded; but finally Chiang-hou hit upon an expedient which proved successful. One morning she deprived herself of all emblems of royalty, and sent word to Hsüan Wang that she was no longer worthy to be his queen, since she had failed to prevent him from falling into the evils which would ultimately bring his government into difficulties.

Reign of Yu Wang (B.C. 781—771).—Unfortunately Hsüan Wang did not have a good son. He was succeeded by Yu Wang (幽王), in whose reign of eleven years we see the records of Chieh and Chou repeated. Like them, Yu Wang was completely under the influence of a beauty. By a well-planned *coup d'état* (stroke of policy) this woman had the queen degraded and the crown prince disinherited in favour of herself and her son. This was the infamous Po-ssŭ (褒姒), whose smile cost Yu Wang his crown and his life. Tradition says that she was hard to please, and that the king tried every means in his power to make her smile, but without success. He at length thought of a scheme. He had all the beacons lighted, which, it must be remembered, was to be done only as a signal for the nobles to come to the defence of their overlord. The loyal nobles responded promptly with what forces they were able to collect at short notice. To their dismay they discovered that no danger existed and that the whole thing was but a false cry of "wolf." Yu Wang was indeed successful, for he saw a smile on the face of Po-ssŭ. The mistake he thus made, however, was a fatal one. Not long afterwards his empire was invaded by the barbarians known as the Dog Jung (犬戎). As the country was by no means prepared for the attack, the king lighted the beacons again, but no one responded. The capital was easily taken and Yu Wang slain at the foot of Li Shan (驪山). For this invasion Po-ssŭ alone was responsible, these barbarians having invaded China at the invitation of the Marquis of Shên (申), father of the former

queen. In the court of this marquis, the disinherited crown prince had sought refuge. Instead of surrendering the unhappy exile, the marquis allied himself with the Dog Jung to make war on Yu Wang.

Removal of the Capital.—For a time the barbarians were permitted to plunder the country, but the allied troops of the more powerful nobles finally drove them outside of China. The vacant throne was then restored by the allies to the disinherited crown prince. The dynastic title of the new king was P'ing Wang (平王), or "The Pacifier;" but he was not worthy of the name. No sooner did he come to the throne than he transferred the seat of government to "The Eastern Metropolis," in Lo-yang, Honan (洛陽, 河南), a city built by the famous Duke of Chou, and hitherto used as the place for meeting the nobles, because of its central location. Henceforth the dynasty was known as "The Eastern Chou." With this event, which took place in 770 B.C., a period of weakness came upon the Chou Dynasty. During the remainder of some 500 years, it existed in name only. The weaker feudal states were an easy prey for the more powerful nobles who only acknowledged allegiance to the king so long as it suited them. The China of this period may be described as an Empire partitioned amongst the nobles.

Savage Tribes.—We have seen that the removal of the capital to the east was due entirely to a dread of the growing power of the savage tribes in the west. These were not the only barbarians which existed then. Their kindred in the North and in the South also made constant inroads into China. The weakness of the reigning house was most favourable to their growth. As the Chou Dynasty was not able to defend the country, the task fell to the lot of the nobles. Fortunately for China and the Chinese, the Mongolian Tartars were not strong enough then to harass the northern border, or they would have made short work of a weakened China.

Aborigines.—The rulers of the Chou Dynasty never troubled themselves much about the aborigines. As long as they

remained quiet, they were always permitted to retain their customs and land in the heart of the empire. They were scattered here and there among feudal states. For several centuries, they remained uninfluenced by Chinese civilization. They were most numerous in Shensi, Shansi and Chihli. In view of their love of war, they became very valuable tools of the feudal states; but, as the latter grew stronger, they were either conquered or disappeared through assimilation. Those in the Hu-kuang provinces formed themselves into a nation known as Ch'u (楚), which, during the decadence of the Chou Dynasty, was a standing menace to the peace of the Chinese Empire as it then existed. More space will be devoted to the growth and power of this state in the proper place.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHOW DYNASTY (*Continued*)

The Age of Feudalism

Introduction.—The Feudalism of China furnishes a most important study. The best record of this period has been preserved in the Spring and Autumn Classic (春秋), dating from B.C. 722 to 481, a work said to have beed edited by Confucius. It is largely a record of civil wars among the feudal states, which the king was powerless to prevent. Annexations of weaker states by stronger ones were of frequent occurrence. Of 1,773 states created by the founder of this Chou Dynasty, only one hundred and sixty were left; and of this number only twelve were of importance. The rest merely rallied under the flags of their leaders until they were swallowed up.

Interstate Relations.—In times of peace an exchange of envoys was not uncommon, though none was ever appointed to reside at the capital of a friendly state. Free transit through a third state and personal immunity were among the privileges enjoyed by a diplomatic agent. An insult to such an agent was sometimes a sufficient cause for declaring war. A lame envoy was once subjected to ridicule at the court of the state to which he was sent. In the war that ensued the offending state was beaten and the envoy, who was now the commander-in-chief of the invading army, demanded, as a condition of peace, the surrender of the mother of the defeated prince as hostage, since she was thought to have been among the women who laughed at him on his former peaceful mission. A peace concluded under the walls of the capital of a defeated state was considered an unusual humiliation, while a sheep, presented by a defeated ruler in person and half naked, was a sign of submission. The desire for leadership and preëminence (霸業) was the cause of many a bloody war between rival states. Ch'u (楚), as we have already seen,

was always looking for opportunities of conquest. To defeat Ch'u, therefore, was the stepping-stone to supremacy. In times of need a state was obliged to go to the rescue of a friendly neighbor that looked to it for leadership.

The Five Supreme Powers.—It seems there were five states more powerful than the rest. As to which they were historians never agree. The following states are certainly worthy of mention.

Chi (齊).—The State of Chi (齊), embracing the larger part of the present province of Shantung with its capital at Lin-Tsŭ (臨淄), now in Ching-chow-fu (青州府), came into prominence through the efforts of Duke Huan (桓公). Before his time, Chi was the scene of internal disorder and murder. In consequence of a disputed succession Duke Huan put his half-brother to death. A devoted friend of the latter was Kwan Chung (管仲), who shot an arrow at Duke Huan, but it was arrested by the hook of the Duke's girdle. Duke Huan, however, was more than ready, when he came to the throne, to forgive this would-be assassin. He make Kwan Chung his prime minister. The finances of Chi were then in a very bad condition and the army was far from efficient. Kwan Chung soon proved his worth. He established a salt monopoly; encouraged commerce; opened iron mines; and reorganized the existing army. In a few years the internal conditions improved and Chi was looked to by neighbouring states as their leader in time of peace and their protector in time of war. Duke Huan was now in a position to enter upon a war of conquest. What he needed was a pretext that would receive universal approval. He did not wait long for such a pretext. The king was too weak to enforce his authority and was more than glad to befriend any one of his vassals who could do it for him. Duke Huan was the man. His army was soon seen in what is now the province of Chihli punishing the northern tribes for their disrespect to the reigning house of China. Nobles who refused to acknowledge his supremacy shared the same fate. He reached the climax of his glory when he succeeded in bringing the state of

Ch'u (楚) over to his side. He led an expedition consisting of his own army and the picked armies of his allies against Ch'u, for the alleged reason that the latter state had failed to present to the royal court a certain kind of plant, which grew in that territory (苞茅之不供). Ch'u preferred to agree to a condition so easy to fulfil rather than go to war, and so a treaty of peace was signed at Chao-ling (召陵).

With the death of Kwan Chung the days of conquests and supremacy seemed to have ended in Chi. Two years later, Duke Huan himself died, leaving a numerous progeny. The latter quarrelled over the throne, and through their follies, the leadership among the states was forever lost to Chi. The success of Duke Huan had its effect upon the neighbouring states. Among the nobles who tried to follow his footsteps, was Duke Hsiang of Sung (宋襄公), who made a pretty good start, but received a crushing defeat at the hands of Ch'u.

Chin (晉).—This feudal state occupied the western part of Shansi. The defeat of Duke Hsiang of Sung gave Ch'u a free hand in the political affairs of China. She "absorbed all the Hsis* along Han Yang" (漢陽諸姬, 楚實盡之), and her sway extended over the whole of Shantung and part of Honan. She was a terror in the domain of the king of the Chou until Chin arose. Duke Wen of Chin (晉文公) passed his early days in exile, travelling from state to state. When he was in Ch'u, a feast was given in his honour by the Baron of Ch'u. "If you ever become the ruler of your own state, what will you do in return for the favours I have shown you?" asked the Baron. Chun-êrh (重耳), afterwards Duke of Chin, replied that he really did not know what he could do in that case. "Of slaves, mistresses, precious stones, and silks," he added, "your honour has had more than enough; and feathers, leather, and ivory are the produce of your soil; but should it ever become my good luck to meet your honour in the battlefield at the head of an opposing army, I shall order a retreat

* Hsi was the surname of Chou. Feudal states bearing this name were spoken of as the Hsis in the Spring and Autumn Classic.

of thirty *li*, in consideration of what you have done for me. And should you insist on further advance, I will certainly make a stand." These remarks of this ambitious young man offended many of the ministers of the baron, who advised him to kill Chun-êrh; but their advice was rejected as cowardly. The baron evidently little thought that Chun-êrh would ever be able to realize his ambition. But Duke Wen of Chin fulfilled his promise to the letter when he met the army of Ch'u at Chêng-p'u (城濮), 632 B.C. He crippled the military strength of Ch'u for nearly half a century. The battle of Chêng-p'u is especially memorable because one of the generals of Chin had the chariot horses covered with tigers' skins. Duke Wen, being a member of the reigning family of Chou, stood in the closest relationship to the court at the "Eastern Metropolis." After his success at Chêng-p'u he was received in audience by the king, who loaded the royal "uncle" * (叔父) with honours and presents. The prestige of Chin was maintained by successors to Duke Wen for nearly two hundred years.

Wu and Yüeh (吳越).—The next state, which was able to weaken the strength of Ch'u, was a new rising power in the south called Wu, occupying what is now the province of Kiangsu. In the latter part of the sixth century B.C., a certain fugitive from justice made his way from Ch'u to Wu, where he was the first to teach the people how to use a bow and arrow. He reorganized the army of Wu. What was left undone by him was completed by another military genius who had fled in a similar manner from Ch'u some seventy years later. This was the famous Wu Tze-hsu (伍子胥), whose father and elder brother had been wrongfully put to death by P'ing Wang of Ch'u (楚平王). His life was also in danger and so he fled to Wu. His marvellous escape has often been acted on the Chinese stage, and his story is perhaps familiar to every Chinese schoolboy. He was just the man Wu needed. In 506 B.C., he entered the capital of

* Duke Wen was thus addressed by the King.

Ch'u at the head of a triumphant army, and had the remains of P'ing Wang dug out and given 300 blows.

Wu Tze-hsu certainly did much for his newly adopted state, which was now the leader in China. Her army overran the state of Yueh (越), in the present Chekiang Province, and made it a vassal. Kou Chien (句踐), King of Yueh, knew well that he could rule only at the pleasure of Fu-cha (夫差), King of Wu. Outwardly he did everything to please Fu-cha, but at the same time went on with the reorganization of his own state. He made Fu-cha a present of Hsi-tze (西子), the famous beauty of the time. This had a most astonishing effect. The girl, who "was washing silk by the side of a brook in the morning and concubine of the king of Wu in the evening" (朝爲越溪女暮作吳王姬), soon became the favourite of Fu-cha. The King of Wu paid no further attention to what was going on in Yueh. The year 472 B.C. saw the downfall of his state and his own death by suicide. Wu was added to the territory of Yueh, but the latter was finally conquered by Ch'u (楚).

Treaty-Making.—"Treaties were always very solemn functions, invariably accompanied by the sacrifice of a victim. A part of the victim, or of its blood, was thrown into a ditch in order that the spirit of the earth may bear witness to the deed; the rest of the blood was rubbed upon the lips of the parties concerned, and also scattered upon the documents by way of imprecation; sometimes, however, the imprecations instead of being uttered, were specially written at the end of the treaty. Just as we say 'the ink was scarcely dry before, etc., etc.,' the ancients used to say 'the blood of the victim was scarcely dry before, etc., etc.'"*

The most famous treaty ever recorded was that of 546 B.C., concluded by the leading states of Chin, Ch'u, Chi and Tsin at the Court of Sung (宋), a feudal state of second rank in what is now the province of Honan. This was a sort of "Hague Conference" providing for a cessation of armaments.

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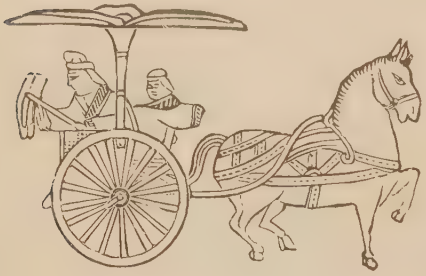
* (Parker's "Ancient China Simplified.")

Warfare.—The armies of the various feudal princes consisted principally of charioteers and foot soldiers. We have seen that the strength and wealth of a state were measured by the number of war chariots it was able to place in the field. These were made of leather or wood; and their use, it would seem, dates as far back as 1797 B.C. When in camp these chariots were often arranged in opposite rows with the ends of their shafts meeting above, so as to form a "shaft gate," over which a flag was kept flying. No mention is made of cavalry during the true feudal time. In fact this arm of military service was only introduced into China by Semi-Tartar states about the year 307 B.C., after which no more war chariots were used.



CHARIOT

Besides the war chariots, more comfortable conveyances drawn by horses or oxen were also in use. An eight-horse carriage or cart was the style used by a king. Confucius, in his famous travels, employed a two-horse carriage which was always driven by one of his disciples.

The offensive weapons of the warriors consisted of knives (刀), swords (劍), halberds (矛), spears (戈), pole-axes (鉞), and lances with crescent-shaped blades on the side (戟). These were all made of copper. Bows and arrows, much the same as those of to-day, were also used. The defensive weapons were shields, cuirasses made of skins of rhinoceroses (犀甲), and helmets made of skins or copper. The soldiers marched to the sound of a drum and retreated at the sound of a gong. Before setting out on an expedition, it was customary to rub the regimental drum with the blood of a victim, and to show the number of enemies slain, their left ears, instead of their heads, were often cut off by the victors.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHOU DYNASTY (*Continued*)

The Age of the Seven States

End of Feudal Leadership.—In the preceding chapter we have seen how the Chou Dynasty, during the sixth and seventh centuries B.C., was able to maintain its shadow of power over the feudal states. The king always strove to cultivate the good will of the strongest state, because its military strength maintained his authority; the latter was no less happy to be under the protection of the royal sceptre, because his name gave it moral support. While this condition of affairs existed, both the king and the leading states reaped immense benefit therefrom. But it could not exist always. The Chou Dynasty was now on the decline. The royal name had lost all its value; the royal domain had been greatly reduced by occasional grants of land for services rendered by the stronger states. Friendship with Chou was without profit and so it was no longer sought.

Civil Warfare within each State.—Furthermore, the national life had assumed a new phase. It must be borne in mind that, under the feudal system, the land granted by the king carried sovereignty with it. Each feudal lord was sovereign over his own domain which was subdivided into estates among his ministers. These ministers were executive officials in time of peace and commanders in time of war. The standing army of a noble was under his immediate control. The growth of estate-holders, as was inevitable, always corresponded to that of the state itself. So the strongest states had the most difficult internal problems to face. According to the saying at the time, "the tail often became so large that it could not be wagged at will."

As the predominant states exercised the power of the king, so the estate-holders exercised the power of a feudal lord. Civil warfare on a small scale characterized the internal condition of

each state. Powerful estate-holders could depose their master whenever they pleased. This condition was especially true in Chin (晉), the most powerful of the feudal states. It had grown so large that its duke was no longer able to maintain order. The three rival estate-holders in this state at length came to some kind of agreement, and the partition of Chin took place. To the three new states, the founders gave their respective surnames of Wei (魏) (since B.C. 340, also called Liang (梁), Chao (趙) and Han (韓). In 403 B.C. they were admitted into the family of feudal states by a decree of King Wei Lieh (威烈王) of Chou, which was obtained for the mere asking. This partition was fatal to the existence of Chou. Had the state of Chin remained intact, Ts'in (秦) would never have come into prominence. As it was, division caused weakness, and no one single state was strong enough to check the eastward advance and aggrandizement of Ts'in.

The state of Ch'i (齊) shared the fate of Chin in 389 B.C. T'ien Ho (田和), who had two years before confined the Duke K'ang (康公) on an island in the sea, now obtained royal recognition as Duke of Ch'i. This new state was also called T'ien Ch'i (田齊) to distinguish it from its predecessor, Ch'i.

The four newly founded states and three of the older states, each representing the amalgamation of a number of smaller ones, made up the Seven States, and this period of Chinese history is known as the Age of the Seven States. The three older states were Ts'in (秦) in the West, Ch'u (楚) in the South and Yen (燕) in the North.

Ts'in.—Ts'in (秦) was first known in Chinese history as a fourth-class state. Out of gratitude to its chief for military aid in connexion with the transfer of the capital, P'ing Wang of Chou gave him permission to annex all territory west of Ch'i (岐), the earliest home of the dynasty. This easily raised Ts'in to a first-class state, so far as the area was concerned, and brought it to the border of Chin (晉). Chin was then the leader in the empire, and

as its way to the east was blocked, its rulers were obliged to seek expansion in the west. Intermarriages between the ruling houses of these two states were frequent, but their wars were not few. The decline of the military prowess of Chin gave Ts'in access to the great empire in the east. Once this door was opened there was nothing to arrest the tide of expansion which, checked in the west, had now begun to flow in the opposite direction.

Duke Shiao (孝公) was a wonderful man. By introducing administrative reforms, he succeeded in building the foundation of the first centralized empire in China. The immediate cause of the greatness of Ts'in lay in the following facts:—

1. The state was in a better financial condition. The incessant civil warfare for a period of upwards of 200 years had exhausted the treasuries of most of the feudal states. Owing to her geographical position, Ts'in had been obliged to remain outside the contest for supremacy. Her people alone could boast of an uninterrupted peace of two centuries and a half.

2. She embraced the modern province of Shensi. "The girdles of streams and barriers of mountains" (帶河阻山) formed a natural stronghold which required but small garrisons to become well-nigh impregnable. From this stronghold, her generals could pour immense armies upon the plains on either side of the Yellow River. Furthermore, constant collisions with the western barbarians had given her better soldiers who could carry everything before them.

3. Her rulers had been able to employ the best genius of the time for the benefit of their country and people. Among the decrees issued by Duke Shiao, one is specially worthy of note. He not only granted official honours and lands to his own subjects, but also invited able men from other states to come to the help of his government. In response to this call, many foreigners flocked to his court. It was these "alien ministers" (客卿) that helped build up a wealthy and powerful nation.

4. Her rulers had very little regard for the traditions of ages, but insisted on reforms as the needs arose. Among the new laws enforced by Duke Shiao were the following: "Every family having two or more male members shall be liable to double taxation, and any one that is able to accumulate rice or silk by hard labour shall be exempt from the performance of manual labour; but he who becomes poor through indolence, shall be declared a slave." No official positions were hereditary, nor were they confined to any favoured class. Military service was the only way to fame and prominence, and without a brilliant military record even members of the ruling house were debarred from holding offices under the chief of the state.

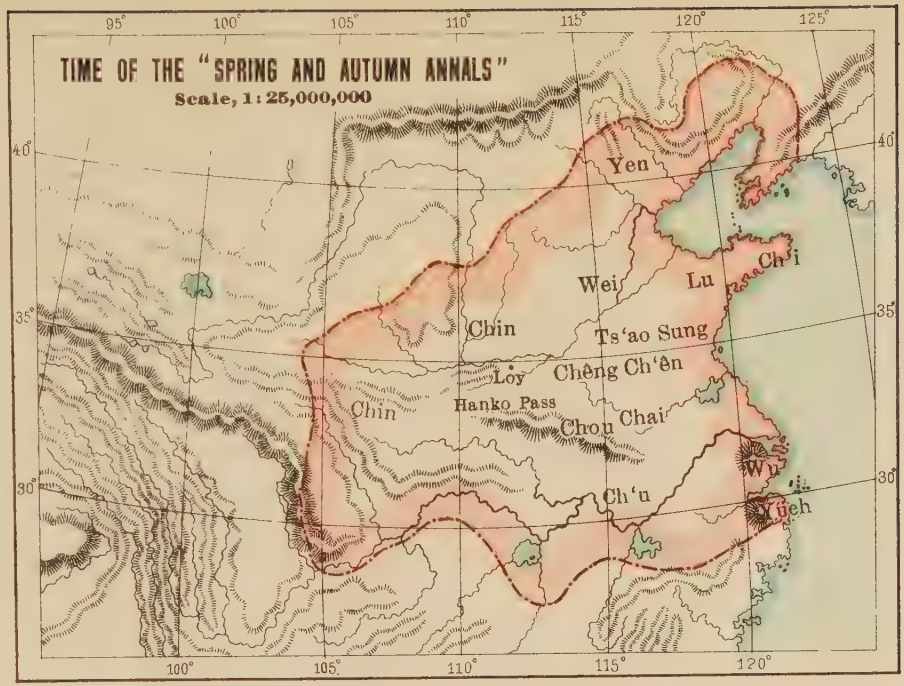
Yen.—Yen was the territory given to Duke Chao (召公) by Wu Wang of Chou. Its earlier history is not known. It was north of Ch'i (齊). During the period of strife between the leading states she took no part whatever in national affairs, and it was said of her in 539 B.C.: "She was never a strong power in spite of her numerous horses." The year 284 B.C. is a memorable one in her history, because one of her generals invaded Ch'i and captured more than sixty cities. Her success, however, was only temporary. This able General, Yueh-i (樂毅) by name, was falsely accused of treason and was superseded by a man of inferior ability. As a consequence, she was deprived of all the fruits of her former victory. She owed her integrity not to her own standing army, but to her secluded position. The three states of Chin stood between her and the powerful Ts'in. The northern Tartars were not strong enough to harass her. In fact, she had obtained a large tract of land from them.

Sizes of the Seven States.—Of the Seven States, or "Masculine Powers" (七雄), as they were then called, Ch'u (楚) and Ts'in (秦) each possessed a third of the empire, while the remaining third was divided among the other five states. Ch'u was now master not only of the Hu-kuang, Kiangsu and parts of Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces, as we now know them, but also

of most of the unknown territory down to the south sea. Ts'in was owner of Szechuen and had extended her power down to the southwest towards Yunnan and Tibet, and also far away to the northwest in Tartarland, as far as the Great Wall at present extends. Yen was far away to the north, while Chi was in the extreme east. Of the "Three Chin," Chao was the northernmost and largest, and Han the southernmost and smallest. These three were open to attacks on all sides. The only remains of the old federal China were a few petty states scattered between the rivers Ssŭ (泗) and Huai (淮). They were too small to amount to anything, and were all waiting with folded hands to be swallowed by this or that great conqueror. The domain of the king of Chou had been reduced to seven cities, now all embraced within the Prefecture of Honan in Honan Province.

"Perpendicular" and "Horizontal" Alliances.—Ts'in had begun to cast covetous eyes on the immense territory that separated her from the Yellow Sea. To check her growing power, it was necessary for the remaining six states to form a chain of north and south alliances. The party that advocated this policy found in Soo Ts'in (蘇秦) an able leader. They styled themselves "Perpendicular Unionists." Soo Ts'in (蘇秦) travelled from one state to another until he was made Prime Minister of all the Six States and formed an alliance against Ts'in. At the same time there existed another party who worked in the interest of Ts'in and who, by their eloquence, persuaded the other states to make peace with Ts'in. They wanted to form a line of east and west alliances, hence they called themselves "Horizontal Unionists." This party was headed by Chang I (張儀), a classmate of Soo Ts'in. In other words, Soo Ts'in and his school may be called the War party; while Chang I and his followers, the Peace party. These men flocked to the court of every state. When the war party came into power, the armies of the six states were fighting their common foe in the west; but when the peace party directed affairs, their envoys were seen at Hsien Yang (咸陽), the capital of Ts'in, bearing tribute. Ts'in really cared

very little for these talkers; their generals did more practical work for her. By bribery, murder, and intrigues of all sorts, she was able to utilize one or more of the six states as a cat's paw to pull chestnuts out of the fire. In this manner, she exhausted the strength and treasure of her rivals, and gave herself a little rest whilst gathering more strength for the supreme effort.


TIME OF THE "SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS"
Scale, 1: 25,000,000
95°
100°
105°
110°
115°
120°
125°
40°
35°
30°
Yen
Wei
Lu
Ch'i
Chin
Ts'ao Sung
Loy
Chêng Ch'ên
Chin
Hanko Pass
Chou Chai
Wu
Ch'u
Yüeh

CHAPTER IX

THE FAMOUS PHILOSOPHERS

Introduction.—The most important event, which has rendered the Chou Dynasty especially conspicuous in Chinese history, is undoubtedly the birth of Confucius, the greatest of Chinese philosophers. A philosopher may be described as a man who tries by his teaching to lay down general laws or principles. As a rule, philosophy in the earlier times had a background of mystery, and Coufucianism is no exception. As Confucius was a disciple of Laotze (老子), the founder of Taoism, some knowledge of the latter system, coupled with that of the religious beliefs and moral standard of the contemporary Chinese teachers, is necessary to a proper understanding of Confucianism.

"In the early days three groups of divinities were recognized—those of the heavens, the earth, and of man. Besides these, ancestral worship was largely practiced. Various kinds of sacrifices were offered according to strictly enforced rituals at appointed times. Oracles were consulted before even the smallest undertakings." (Faber's "China in the Light of History.") The belief in astrology, fortune-telling, and dreams was almost universal; but by the time of the Spring and Autumn Classic considerable intellectual improvements had been made. "The nation that listeneth to man is bound to rise; that which listeneth to gods is doomed to ruin" (國將興聽於民, 將亡聽於神). "The will of heaven is far off, but that of man near; how can one claim knowledge of that which is beyond one's reach?" (天道遠, 人道邇, 非所及也, 何以知之). These quotations suffice to show the intellectual tendency of the time. The thought thus expressed was later greatly magnified by Laotze in his famous Tao Tê Ching (道德經).

Taoism.—"Tao probably means impersonal Nature which permeates all things, and from which all things are evolved. According to the teaching of Laotze, true peace comes from

ceasing to strive and by living in harmony with the leadings of 'Tao.' The cause of disorder in the world is the development of what is artificial and unnatural, and the only remedy is a return to 'Tao'." (Pott's "A Sketch of Chinese History"). His philosophy has been thoroughly understood by few, as it is beyond the comprehension of the average Chinese. Tradition makes Laotze a librarian of the royal court of Chou. After the completion of his philosophical work, he retired to an unknown place leaving the all-important reform movement to be perfected by Confucius.

CONFUCIUS

Confucius.—Confucius was born 551 B.C. in the feudal state of Lu, now a part of Shantung Province. At fifteen his mind was set on learning; and at thirty, he stood firm in his convictions. In his twenty-second year, he began his career as a teacher. In 501, Duke Ting (定公) of Lu made him minister of justice and acting prime minister. In the latter capacity he accompanied Duke Ting (定公) to Chia Ku (夾谷), where an interview had been arranged with the Chief of Ch'i (齊). He advocated the policy that the only way to maintain peace is to be prepared for war, and at his request the Duke's retinue included two generals. The return of certain tracts of land which had been occupied by Ch'i, crowned his diplomatic effort.

Ch'i became jealous of Lu's prosperity, and corrupted the Duke by a present of beautiful courtesans. Confucius then left Lu to seek employment at the courts of other nobles. He travelled from state to state but to no avail. At times his life was in danger. Seeing no further hope for himself, he returned to Lu and spent his last days in literary work. He died in 479 B.C. Since his death the world has come to understand his true worth.

Tablet written by Confucius

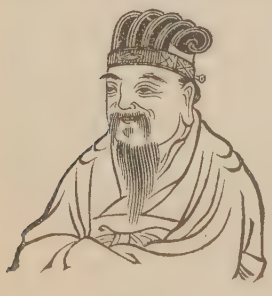
Age of Darkness.—It must be borne in mind that the states through which Confucius travelled were shrouded in ignorance. The moral standard of the people was low. Between the states there were intrigues of all kinds. Polygamy among the nobles gave rise to endless trouble. Monarchs often lost their lives at the hands of their own children, and murder was frequently resorted to by an ambitious prince to put his brothers or half-brothers out of the way. A famous cook, in order to obtain favour with his sovereign, killed his own son and prepared his flesh as food. It was not uncommon for the ruler of a stronger state to wage war against a weaker one for the purpose of capturing a beautiful queen. If any reform was needed in a world of disorder and crimes of this kind, it certainly was in the matter of morality.

Confucianism.—Confucius never sought to explain anything new, but to reinstate the old in a pure form. "He sought to

guide his fellowmen by holding up to them the wisdom and virtue of the ancients. His teaching was purely ethical and practical, confined to the daily life of man as a member of the state and of his family. He spoke little of God and he avoided talking about the supernatural. For this reason it is often said that he cannot be called a religious teacher, but only a moral philosopher, and that Confucianism is rather a system of morality than religion."

Influence of Confucianism.—"Among the virtues demanded by the Confucian ethics, propriety, reverence for tradition and filial piety are the most important." The last especially is the foundation upon which have stood the social life and security of the Chinese government. Filial piety not only means dutiful behaviour of children towards parents, but it also includes loyalty to the government and respect for authority. Again, "lack of bravery in battle is no true filialty" (戰陣無勇非孝也). "These precepts have moulded Chinese society for more than two thousand years. No other reformer has held such absolute sway over a great part of humanity for such a long period." Unfortunately Confucianism has been corrupted to a great extent by the commentaries and interpretations of Chu Hsi (朱熹) and his school. These commentaries and interpretations are black clouds in a beautiful summer sky.

Mencius.—"Mencius was also born in the feudal state of Lu (372 B.C.). While Confucius did not claim to be an originator but only a transmitter, Mencius was an independent and original thinker. He expounded the teachings of his great Master, and also added his own reflections on the nature of man. He held an extremely optimistic view as to the original goodness of human nature, and believed that it was possible for man by his own efforts to reach the state of perfection. He is regarded by the Chinese as being second only to Confucius." (Pott's "A Sketch of Chinese History").



MENCIUS

Sin-tze.—Sin-tze (荀子) was also a follower of Confucius, but held a view entirely different from that of Mencius as regards the nature of man. According to him, human nature is bad, and it is only by living in accordance with the requirements of righteousness and politeness that man can become good.

Mo-tze (墨子).—This teacher was a native of the feudal state of Sung (宋); but the dates of his birth and death are not known. He is said to have been one of the disciples of the Great Sage. While this lacks confirmation, it is safe to say that he lived about the time of Confucius. His teaching is entirely antagonistic to Confucianism. The main point of contention was on the Funeral Rites. Confucianism is silent respecting the immortality of the soul, and considers death as the end of man, and funeral rites the last honour one can do to his parents or sovereign. But according to Mo-tze there is something immortal after death, and funeral rites are a waste of money. Perhaps he was right. He, however, mentioned no recompense for the good, or punishment for the bad. In other respects his system is a close approximation at Christianity. He taught self-sacrifice for the good of mankind and sanctioned the "destruction of one's self from head to foot for the benefit of the world." His system gained many adherents at one time, but received a fatal blow at the hands of Mencius. His philosophical writings have been preserved to the present day.

CHAPTER X

ANCIENT SOCIETY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS

Divisions or Castes.—We have seen that the Chinese is probably a transplanted people and that our forefathers in times immemorial came from Northwestern Asia and settled in the Yellow River basin. The original inhabitants were gradually conquered. Before they were admitted into full citizenship, or the "Hundred Families" (百姓), they were commonly denoted by the term Min (民), meaning the "dark people."* The subject race was governed by a system known as "Hsing" (刑), a Penal Code, based more or less upon their existing customs, while the settlers were governed by Li (禮), or ceremony. Li (禮) teaches a man what he is expected to do; Hsing (刑) what he is not expected to do. In other words, Li (禮) is purely instructive, while Hsing (刑) is prohibitive. According to Confucianism, the ideal government is one which is instructive in character, since by educating the people, there should be no need of punishing them. From him we learn that the five modes of punishment, viz., branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death, were in vogue even in the time of Shun (舜).

Four classes of people were recognized in the days of the Chou rulers, viz., scholars, husbandmen, mechanics and merchants. A son necessarily followed the calling of his father. Only the scholars were eligible to government offices which were more or less hereditary. Thus the office holders and the educated formed the noble class and the rest were commoners. The saying of the time was "no penal code was ever above a noble while no ritual was below a commoner" (刑不上大夫禮不下庶人). It appears from the Spring and Autumn Classic that the only punishments which were received by nobles of those days, according to the nature of their crimes, were death (殺), imprisonment (執), and banishment (放).

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* These two Chinese terms are now used interchangeably.

Eunuchs and their Origin.—The Chou Dynasty is commonly credited with having introduced the custom of keeping eunuchs. The fact is, eunuchs had existed for centuries before the family became supreme in China. "This class of men seems to have originated with the law's severity rather than from the callous desire on the part of any reigning house to secure a craven and helpless medium and means for pandering to, and enjoying the pleasures of the harem without fear of sexual intrigue. Criminals whose feet were cut off were usually employed as park-keepers, simply because there could be no inclination on their part to gad about and chase the game. Those who lost their noses were employed as isolated frontier pickets where no boys could jeer at them, and where they could better survive their misfortune in quiet resignation. Those branded in the face were made gate-keepers, so that their livelihood was prepetually marked out for them. It is sufficiently obvious why the castrated were specially charged with the duty of serving females in a menial capacity. Eunuchs were so employed because they were already eunuchs by law."* Since the abolition of the law, 197 B.C., however, men have been purposely made eunuchs in order that their services as menials could be conveniently rendered.

TZE CH'AN

Publication of Written Laws.—While various forms of punishment had been provided for, there had been no written laws published for the information of the public. The "Son of Heaven" was the law giver and executive;

* (Parker's "Ancient China Simplified.")

and this sacred authority he could bestow on any one of his ministers.

The first publication of laws was made in the year 536 B.C. in the feudal state of Cheng (鄭), in what is now the province of Honan. Tze Ch'an (子產), who thought it advisable to cast the laws in metal for the information of his people, was a good friend of Confucius; but the latter never approved of this "unstatesmanlike" action of his friend whom he otherwise admired.

In the latter part of the Chou Dynasty there had grown up a party who advocated the enforcement of severe laws as the only means of securing peace in an empire. This party is known as Fa Chia (法家), or "Legalists," among whom Wei Yang (衛鞅) was pre-eminent. He was a native of Wei (魏), but was obliged to enter the service of Ts'in (秦), and tradition makes him author of many cruel forms of punishment provided for in the penal code of the latter state.

Polygamy.—Polygamy has not only existed in China but has been legalized by Confucianism. Shun (舜), the man who stands at the head of model rulers and men, was himself a polygamist. The secret of Dualism is laconically expressed in the Book of Change: "One bright spirit and one dark spirit, constitute matter" (一陰一陽之謂道). The most popular interpretation given by Confucianists is that "one male and one female, forms the basis of life." This is their theory but not their practice. Hou Fei (后妃), the queen of Wen Wang of Chou (周文王), is greatly praised because, as we are told, she was not jealous, but permitted her husband to have many women and consequently many children!

During the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., it was customary for a feudal chief to marry his daughter to another chief with many of her cousins or other relatives as maids (the number went up as high as nineteen), so that in case she should die one of them would succeed her at the head of the harem. The practice of making concubines wives, was almost universal among the states; hence in 651 B.C. Duke Huan (齊桓公), the First Head

of the states, saw fit to incorporate in the Treaty of K'uei Ch'iu (葵邱) the following injunction: "Do not make wives of your concubines."

For over two thousand years no one seems to have regarded this evil as sin, and much less, as a crime, until one Li K'uei (李悝), a "Legalist" and statesman of Wei (魏), in the time of the Seven States, saw fit to declare polygamy a crime punishable by death. While this has been the basis of later legislation, law has never been stronger than Confucianism; and polygamy still exists at the present day, although in a modified form, known as concubinage. Under the statutes of the late Manchu Dynasty, polygamy was no less a crime, but the penalty had been commuted to corporal punishment. The reason why Confucianism sanctions polygamy lies in the superstitious belief that death without an heir is a sin unpardonable.

Divorce.—The ancients sanctioned seven reasons why a husband could divorce his wife, including "inability to bear a child." How far divorce was actually effected on this ground, we are not informed. It must not be understood that divorce in those days required legal proceedings as it now does in the West. All the husband had to do to get rid of an undesirable wife was to expel her by force. Tradition has it that one of the disciples of Confucius actually "divorced" his wife for her wilful neglect to cook a fruit thoroughly, as required by his parents. On the other hand, no ground ever existed in law for a wife to break away from a wretch!

Marriage Customs.—As the marriage ceremony of the present day is mainly a bequest from the Chou Dynasty, a description of the customs then prevailing may not be out of place here. The first preliminary was the presentation of a pair of wild geese by the parents or guardians of the young man concerned. Their acceptance by the family of the girl in no way bound her or her relatives. It only meant that the parents of the girl were favourably inclined to hear any proposal that might be made. All negotiations were, as they are now, carried on

through the medium of a match-maker. Having obtained the name of the girl through the match-maker, oracles were always consulted; and, in case of a favourable reply, the family of the girl was so informed. Betrothal gifts usually consisted of ten pieces of red silk or cloth. On the day appointed for the wedding, the bridegroom proceeded to the house of the girl in a *black* carriage to welcome her. The whole ceremony consisted of six separate acts or parts; the presentation of wild geese (納采), request for the name of the girl (問名), notification of a favourable oracle (納吉), betrothal (納徵), request for marriage (請期), and wedding (親迎). It was illegal, as it is now, to marry a girl bearing the same family name; and no boy under thirty, or girl under twenty, was competent to marry. Seclusion of the females was demanded at the age of seven.

Respect for the Old.—The government of the Chou Dynasty may be described as follows: a father was supreme in a family; a king, in a state; and old age, in a village. Every three years the people of each village met, when a banquet was given, presided over by a representative of the Crown and with guests of honour seated according to their ages. This was one of the most solemn occasions and detailed rituals were prescribed and followed.

Chairs were unknown in those days and mats or cushions were used instead. The ceremony which was characterized by much *kowtowing* was, therefore, less tiresome then than it would be now.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION AND CULTURE

Religion.—Before the introduction of Buddhism into China (A.D. 65) no religion in the true sense of the word was in existence among the ancients. As already stated, Confucianism is not a religion but a system of morality. "No word for religion was known to the language; the notion of church or temple served by a priestly caste had not entered men's mind." (Parker's "Ancient China Simplified.") That the ancients had some knowledge of God, history abundantly attests. His worship, however, was one of the prerogatives of the reigning house or family; and, as "Son of Heaven," the king alone could offer sacrifice to the Highest Divinity on behalf of his nation. Lesser ranks worshipped lesser divinities, such as the elements of nature, mountains and streams. The worship of the common people was confined to their own ancestors. It must be noted also that what the ancients did in the way of worship was nothing more than the performance of prescribed rituals, such as that of sacrifices and prayers.

Idolatry.—Contrary to common belief, no idols were worshiped during the Chou Dynasty. It is true that tradition says that Wu I (武乙) of the Shang Dynasty (B.C. 1198—1194) had some figures made to represent certain gods whom he looked down upon with contempt. He had them put into a bag made of leather and partly filled with the blood of some animal; and then shot an arrow through it. As the blood began to flow out, he declared that he had killed the gods. But so far as we are able to ascertain no sacrifice had been offered to an idol.

In ancestral sacrifices, persons chosen from amongst blood relations and dressed in costumes left by their ancestors, or which they were known to have worn, impersonated the dead. These persons could partake of the food and drink with other members of the family. For reasons hard to understand, a

deceased father or mother was never represented at sacrifices by a son or daughter, but by grandsons or granddaughters.

Prayer.—Prayer was most frequently resorted to in time of misfortune. T'ang, the founder of the Shang Dynasty, offered his prayer to Heaven in consequence of a severe famine; and the Duke of Chou in his prayer at the time of the sickness of his brother, Wu Wang, offered his own life to save that of the latter. Copies of these prayers are still extant. No priests existed then, it would seem; but they were quite numerous by the time of Confucius. The Great Sage, however, disapproved of prayers.

Human sacrifices were in vogue during the fifth century B.C. in all the Semi-Annamese States, such as Ch'u, Wu, and Yueh; but in orthodox China, no trace of it can be found.

The presentation of sacrificial meat was considered a matter of prime importance and a mark of honour among the nobles. According to Mencius, it was solely on account of Confucius' refusal to accept such meat that he left his native state of Lu.

Exorcism.—Exorcism was carried on in the time of the Chou Dynasty under official auspices at appointed times each year. Pestilence was, according to the belief prevalent among them, the work of evil spirits; and to drive these spirits away, no higher power was necessary than that of persons wearing masks made of copper and coats made of the skins of bears. These persons walked through the streets and went from house to house in pursuit of the evil spirits. This custom has been handed down to the present day, although there is now no official specially appointed for the purpose.

Burial "of Companions to the Dead."—This evil custom was almost universal during the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. In the Book of Odes, we read an account of the funeral of Duke Mu of Ts'in (秦公穆). Before his death, he had decreed that three of the ablest ministers of the time (brothers) should be interred with him. Although the nation did not approve of the

choice thus made, yet the decree was faithfully carried out, and the three "good men of Ts'in" accompanied the remains of Duke Mu to their last resting-place. The tomb of Duke Huan of Chi, seven miles from Lin-tze (臨淄), was desecrated in A.D. 312, and bones of those buried with him were found, as were also a pound of mercury, arms, and valuables. It is evident that the ancients also buried utensils, used in the pursuit of any particular trade or profession, with their dead. When excavation is systematically carried out, many relics of antiquity will undoubtedly be found, such as will throw more light upon Chinese history than we have at present. It is claimed that some written documents, accidentally unearthed during the third century B.C., verify the Confucian account of the Feudal period.

The length of time within which an interment should be made varied according to the rank of the deceased,—from seven months in the case of a king to one month in the case of a scholar.

Owing to lack of space, we cannot do full justice to mourning rites. Suffice it to say that upon the death of a parent, the children with their faces covered with dirt, must abstain from wines, delicacies and the use of silk as garments for a period of three years.

Education and Literature.—There was a very good educational system with schools for the nobles as well as for the common people. There was a primary school for every 25 families; a higher school for every 500 families; and a college for every 12,500 families. A boy was of school age when he reached his eighth year. The higher branches of learning consisted of (1) rituals, (2) music, (3) archery, (4) horsemanship, (5) literature, and (6) mathematics. In other words, education embraced moral, military and intellectual training. "It is the father's fault if at the binding of the hair (eight years of age) boys do not go to the teacher, though it may be the mother's fault if before that age they do not escape the dangers of fire and water; it is their own fault if after having gone to the teacher they make no progress; it is their friends' fault if they make progress but get

no repute for it ; it is the executives's fault if they obtain repute but no recommendation to office ; it is the prince's fault if they are recommended for office but not appointed.''

In the pre-Confucian period, books were comparatively few. The best known are the Book of Record (書), Book of Odes (詩), Book of Change (易), Rites of Chou (周禮), and Kuan Tze (管子), or Political Economy, by Kuan Chung, the right-hand man of the First Head of the States. Books were made of bamboo-slips and the characters were painted on them. The area of literary activity was confined to the modern provinces of Shantung and Honan, for the country to the north and west was Semi-Tartar, while to the south the people were Semi-Annamese. Interstate correspondence was also confined to this small area. The fact that quotations were frequently used by envoys at state banquets to express their ideas shows that they were able to understand each other only through the medium of written language. For example 'tiger', which was Fu (虎) in orthodox Ch'uh (楚), was known in Ch'u as Yüt'u (於兎); and this is an evidence that Ch'u, at least, had a dialect different from Central China. The dialectical barrier was gradually overcome, and by the time of Mencius, even Ch'u could boast of its literary renown. The State of Ts'in (秦) never produced any famous literary man. In fact, the men who did anything for her were all aliens. The period of the Seven States was a golden time in Chinese literature. The influence of the "Perpendicular" and "Horizontal" diplomats upon Chinese literature has been permanent and beneficial.

Astronomy and the Calendar.—From the earliest times, the Chinese month has been lunar, that is, the days of the month are so arranged as to begin each new month with a new moon. The intercalating of an extra month in every thirty-three months has been done to make the equinoxes (春分秋分) and solstices (夏至冬至) occur with as much regularity as possible in the same months of the year. The ancients had learned to divide the heavenly bodies into constellations and to observe the zodiacal signs. The Hsia Dynasty began the month first when the

sun entered *pisces*. The year of the Shangs began one month earlier, and that of the Chous two months earlier. In other words, what was the first month in the Shang and Chou calendar, was the 12th and 11th month, respectively, of the Hsia calendar.

Science and Arts.—The science of medicine and surgery were developed to a considerable extent under the Chous. It was the first dynasty that had official doctors and surgeons. During the feudal period, however, Ts'in (秦) surpassed the rest af China in the number of able physicians it possessed. It is quite possible that the art of healing had been treated as the private right of certain families who lived in the old capital of Chou, a part of the domain of Ts'in since 772 B.C. Whenever a noble became sick, he always sent to Ts'in for a physician, instead of to Chou.

During the days of Yao (堯) the ranks of officials were denoted by the objects painted on their official costumes; such as the sun, moon, stars, constellations, dragons and other animals. Among the Chou officials, we find men whose function was to paint official garments. The three dynasties of Hsia, Shang, and Chou had all made use of jade or malachite rings, tablets, sceptres and so on as marks of official rank.

Silk was universally known. That the women were mostly engaged in rearing silkworms, the Book of Odes abundantly testifies. Even the queen had to set an example in this industry at appointed times each year if she did not have to do the actual work. No cotton was known, so the poorer classes wore garments of hempen materials. In the cold weather, furs were used. Dyeing too was largely practised.

The Chou Dynasty had regularly appointed officials whose business it was to teach the people how to take ores out of the mines and to manure their land; but as to how far this useful knowledge had been acquired, we have very little information. The Chinese historians agree that the Shang mechanics were the best. This belief seems to have been based upon a statement of Confucius that he preferred the state carriage of the Shang Dynasty because of its workmanship.

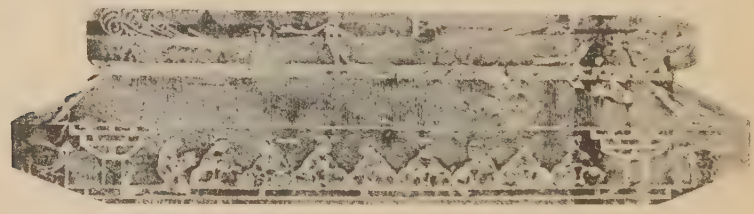
PART II

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

CHAPTER XII

THE CH'IN DYNASTY

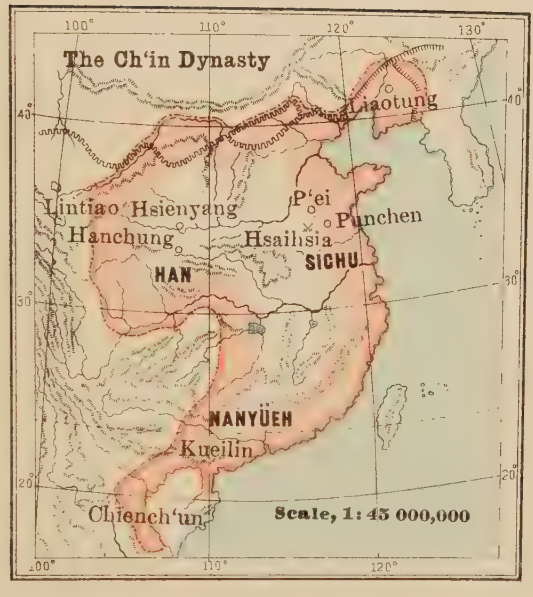
General Statement.—We have seen that the Chinese, probably a transplanted race, established themselves first in tribal groups here and there along the course of the Yellow River at a remote period. In course of time the tribal government developed into a feudal system with hundreds of petty states scattered throughout the land which they called the Middle Kingdom. The next movement was towards consolidation which



Carving of Phœnixes, etc. 1st Century B.C. ("Chinese Art")

reduced the number of states to seven. The union of the Seven States into one homogeneous whole was inevitable, and finally came in B.C. 221 as the result of the statesmanship of Prince Cheng (王政), of Ch'in (秦). While his dynasty lasted only fifteen years, still he left many permanent traces of his rule.

His Early Life.—Very little is known of his early life, save that he inherited his father's princely throne at a very tender age. Tradition says that Prince Cheng was not the son of Chuang Hsiang Wang (莊襄王), his reputed father. The latter, as the story goes, had been held as a hostage in the state of Chao. While there he met a wealthy merchant named Lu Pu-wei (呂不韋), who, pretending to show his devotion to the young prince,


The Ch'in Dynasty
Liaotung
Lintiao
Hsienyang
Hanchung
P'ei
Punchen
Hsaihsia
HAN
SICHU
NANYÜEH
Kueilin
Chiench'un
Scale, 1: 45 000,000
100°
110°
120°
130°
40°
30°
20°

made him take to wife a beautiful woman, already pregnant. It seems that this story was of later invention, and the work of personal prejudice. At any rate the son to whom Chuang Hsiang Wang's wife gave birth was one of the greatest empire builders of antiquity. During his minority, Lu Pu-wei (呂不韋) was his first prime minister, and in that capacity exercised much of the royal power.

Conquest of the Six States.—The Chou Dynasty with its eight-hundred years of power was already a thing of the past when Prince Cheng became king of the State of Ch'in. The last representative of the family of Chou had already been made away with by one of his predecessors. The work that was left for him to accomplish, therefore, was not the overthrow of the ruling house but the conquest of the six sister states. The policy pursued by Prince Cheng, or rather by his statesmen and generals, is best summed up in a statement of Hsü Tai (徐代), a contemporary politician, who was advising the Prince of Chao against continuing a struggle with one of his neighbors. "This morning," said he, "when crossing the river, I saw a mussel open its shell to sun itself. Immediately an oyster-catcher thrust its bill in to eat the mussel; but the latter closed its shell and held the bird fast. 'If it doesn't rain to-day or to-morrow,' cried the oyster-catcher, 'there will be a dead mussel.' 'And if you don't get out of this by to-day or to-morrow, there will be a dead oyster-catcher,' retorted the mussel. Meanwhile up came a fisherman and carried off both of them. I fear that the state of Ch'in will some day be our fisherman." In other words, Ch'in played off one state against another till they were all exhausted and then conquered them one by one. Han, the smallest of the states, was annexed first and the rest were added in the following order: Chao, Wei, Chu, Yen, and Chi, the last being the easternmost state.

This brought the limit of the Ch'in empire only a little to the south of the Yangtze River; but always bent on new conquests, Prince Cheng lived to see it reach the sea on the east,

the western part of the present Szechuen province on the west, the Great Wall on the north, and the sea and the southernmost part of Cochin China on the south.

Chih Huang Ti, or the First Emperor.—Prince Cheng made a new title for himself. This title, Huang Ti, signifies in his own words, that "the holder is equal to the Three Divine Rulers in virtue and the Five Emperors in achievements." It was retained by his successors down to the last of the Manchus, and has been rendered "emperor" in English.

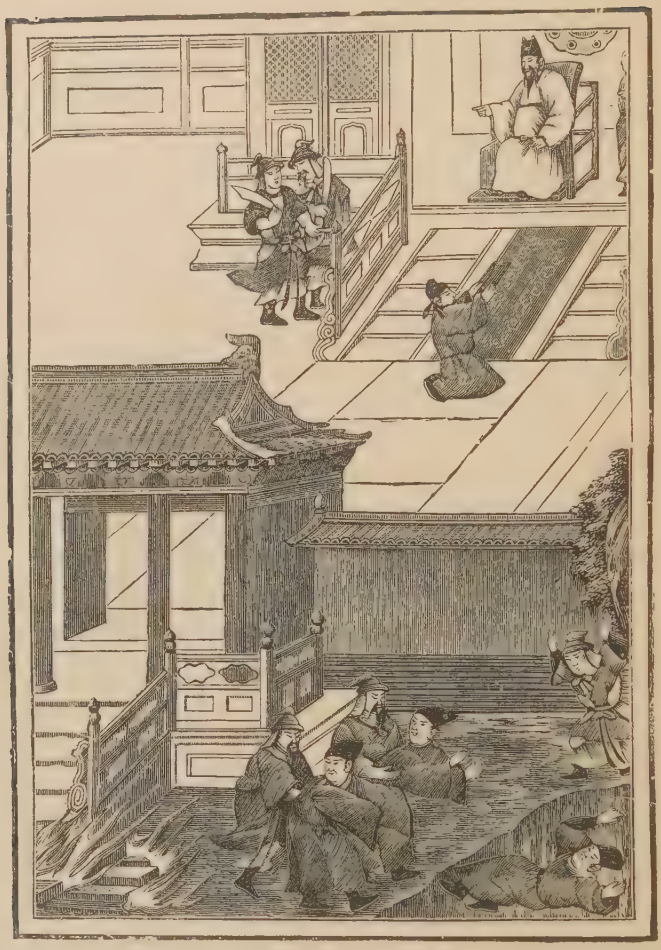
CHIH HUANG TI

He also discontinued the practice of giving a deceased ruler a posthumous name. He decreed that thenceforth he was to be known as Chih Huang Ti, or First Emperor, his immediate successor, Erh Shih, or Second Emperor, and so on even down to the ten-thousandth generation. As regards the name of his dynasty, he let it be known under the old name of his state. "It is interesting to note," says the author of "A Sketch of Chinese History," "that the name China is probably derived from this name, Ch'in, for the first westerners who knew anything about the Chinese, spoke of them as the people of the land of Ch'in, which afterwards became corrupted into the word 'China'."

End of Feudalism.—Having built an empire on the ruins of the old feudal system, the question arose as to how this huge

territory should be governed. The majority of the statesmen, the slaves of tradition, would have partitioned it out among a number of feudal lords as had been the custom with the Chous. Such an idea, of course, was offensive to a man who wanted history to begin anew with himself. Divided it must be, but there must be no feudal lords. Accordingly, Chih Huang Ti divided it into thirty-six provinces, each of which was subdivided into districts, governed by agents directly responsible to him. One agent looked after civil matters, another after military affairs, and a third acted as a sort of inspector or intelligence officer of the Throne. Such was the form of government he introduced, and such has been the form of government that has come down to modern times, although in two thousand years, it has undergone many changes in name and detail. All ownership of land and its inhabitants was vested in Chih Huang Ti.

The Burning of Classics.—No radical change can take place in China without encountering the opposition of the literati. This was no less the case then than it is now. To abolish feudalism by one stroke was a radical change indeed. Whether the change was for the better or the worse, the men of letters took no time to inquire; whatever was good enough for their fathers was good enough for them and their children. They found numerous authorities in the classics to support their contention and these they freely quoted to show that Chih Huang Ti was wrong. They continued to criticise the government to such an extent that something had to be done to silence the voice of antiquity. As a consequence, an order came from the Throne, directing every subject in the empire, under pain of branding and banishment, to send all the literature he possessed, except works on agriculture, medicine and divination, to the nearest official to be destroyed by fire. As to how far this decree was enforced, it is hard to say. At any rate, it exempted all libraries of the government, or such as were in possession of a class of officials called Po Szu (博士), or Learned Men. If any real damage was done to Chinese literature under the decree in question, it is safe



THE COURT OF CHIH HUANG TI

to say that it was not of such a nature as later writers would have us believe. Still, this extreme measure failed to secure the desired end, and a number of the men of letters in Han Yang (咸陽), the capital, was subsequently buried alive.

The Hsiung-nu.—The union of China was not effected a moment too soon. In the North, a formidable foe had arisen, whom the Chinese called Hsiung-nu. One Chinese authority seems to think that these barbarians descended directly from Hsiung Yu, son of Chieh, the last ruler of the House of Hsia.

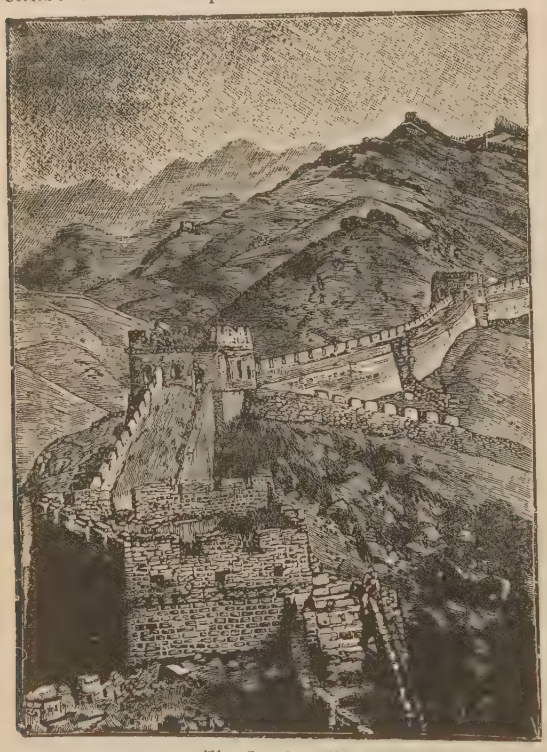
He is said to have taken to wife his father's concubines and to have migrated into the steppes north of the Mongolian Desert. This might account for their earlier name of Hsiung Yun. If we may accept this suggestion the Hsiung-nu began to terrify the Chinese as early as the middle of the Chou Dynasty, for in the Book of Odes, we read of many expeditions against a tribe of barbarians known as Hsiung Yun.

The Hsiung-nu were a nomadic people, moving from place to place with their flocks and herds and always in search of fresh pastures. They had no written language. As soon as their children were able to ride on the back of the sheep, they were taught the use of bows and arrows and how to hunt down small animals. Thus they became skillful archers when they were grown up. They lived chiefly by hunting and used the skins of animals for clothing. Those who were in the prime of life received the best of everything while the old could eat only what was left by them.

To marry one's step-mother or a brother's widow was nothing improper with the Hsiung-nu. Their chief was called Shien-yu and it was their custom to meet with him several times a year for purposes of worship, one of their gods being Lung Chen, or the Dragon god. When a chief died, a number of his wives and slaves was usually sacrificed. Murder was punished by death and theft by the confiscation of the thief's property. They always fought on horseback and prisoners of war became the slaves and property of the captor.

The Great Wall.—It was because of this barbarous people that the Great Wall was built by Chih Huang Ti. This wall extends from Ling Tiao to Liao Tung and is about 1,500 miles long. It must not be supposed that this gigantic work was done all at once. As a matter of fact, separate walls had been erected by the States which bordered upon the territory of the Hsiung-nu. What was actually done by Chih Huang Ti was the uniting, strengthening and improving of the existing structures; and this work was executed under the supervision of General Mung Tien,

who had previously driven the Hsiung-nu out of what is now the Ordos country in Mongolia. It is stated that the immediate cause of the completion of this wall was an oracle which Chih Huang Ti consulted. This oracle like the Delphic oracle could be read in two ways. It told him that it was Hu that was destined to overthrow the Ch'in empire. Now "Hu" is a Chinese character denoting the Hsiung-nu (Hun), as well as forming a part of the name of Chih Huang Ti's second son, Hu Hai. In view of the past history of the Hsiung-nu, it was natural that the oracle was interpreted to mean the Northern Barbarians.



The Great Wall

Chih Huang Ti died in B.C. 210 while making a tour through the present Chihli province.

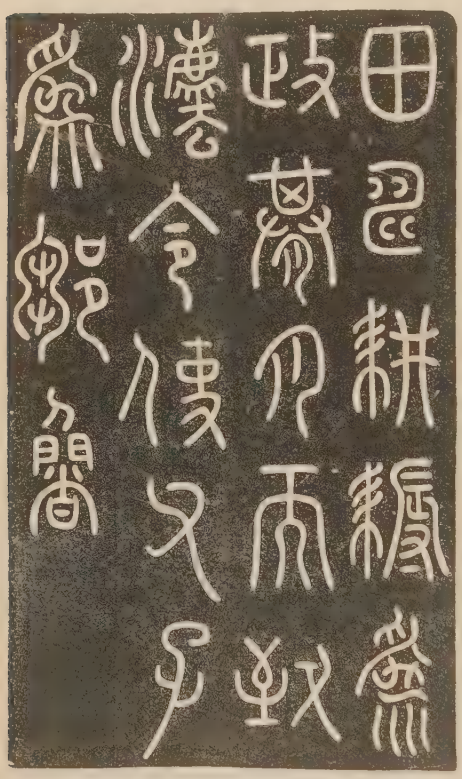
The Religious Belief of the Age.—As already stated, the system introduced by Confucius was not a religion. It is silent as to the existence of the soul or the mystery of death. Its defect, that is the absence of a religious element, was felt as early as the closing days of the Chou Dynasty and people began to look elsewhere for explanation of a subject on which their greatest sage had said nothing. In the absence of anything better, they accepted what the Fang Szu (方士) had to say on the point. This was a class of persons who professed to have discovered the elixir

of life and who claimed as the founder of their sect the famous philosopher, Lao Tzu. So long as his death was not a matter of history it lent color to their story that he had overcome death by becoming one of the genii. That the Fang Szu, or magicians, should be able to gain the ear of so exalted a personage as Chih Huang Ti is proof that they had before his time secured a position of influence among the people. One expedition after another sailed into the Yellow Sea with instructions from Chih Huang Ti to locate a certain island said to be the abode of the genii and the site of the garden of plants possessing wonderful curative value. One of these expeditions headed by Hsü Fu (徐福), deserves special mention. With 500 boys and an equal number of girls, and the most complete equipment in every detail, including sets of valuable and rare books, he set sail from a place in the vicinity of the present city of Chefoo and never returned. He is believed to have settled in Japan, and to have been the first to carry Chinese civilization to that country.

Chih Huang Ti's Influence on Arts and Literature.—No architectural remains dating from the time of Chih Huang Ti are extant to-day. Nevertheless it is a well known fact that everything in architecture which had appealed to him in the lands he conquered was reproduced in his capital. Besides the A-Fong Palace, there were three hundred other palaces in Kuan Chung (Inside the Pass) and four hundred in Kuan Tung (East of the Pass). These were his temporary residences when he travelled through his empire. Of the places he visited, Shantung, Hunan, and Chekiang, may be mentioned. At one time he took a sea voyage along the coast from Chekiang to Chefoo. Wherever he went he caused stone monuments to be erected and each of them contained inscriptions of a eulogistic character. This fact shows that the art of sculpture had reached a high stage of development. At the same time, the taste of the emperor undoubtedly gave a great impetus to the art.

The style of writing known as Lesser Seal, which was designed to take the place of the older and more cumbrous Big

Seal, was an invention of his reign. As this was still found to be unsuited to business purposes, Chih Huang Ti caused the script to be further modified. At about the same time writing materials were perfected. Mung Tien, the general of the Great Wall fame, is generally believed to have been the inventor of the brush used in writing. The paper, so far as the cheaper bamboo variety is concerned, was not a product of this age (it came into use in the Han Dynasty); but according to our best information the expensive paper made of silk was in existence when the brush was invented. This belief is further strengthened by the fact that the Chinese character 紙, Chi (paper), is written with the radical for silk instead of bamboo. It is hardly necessary to add that the invention of convenient writing materials and the simplification of the characters, marked the beginning of literary advancement in China.



Script Invented by Li Sen

Some Characteristics of the Age.—One of the characteristics of the age was the ascendency that had been attained by the teachings of Hsün Tzu (荀子). Almost all the statesmen who adorned the court of Chih Huang Ti were men of that school. They believed that the nature of man was bad and that peace and order were the result of fear. Man should be awed into submission, or there would be lawlessness. For the many unjust and cruel

laws and acts of tyranny with which the name of Chih Huang Ti is closely associated, he in reality was not so much to blame as was the spirit of the age. The same motive that led to the building of the splendid palaces, and to the erecting of huge and costly stone monuments, was responsible for the meting out of the severest sentences on the least show of offence. It was to impress the people at large with the greatness of the emperor and to make them stand in awe of him. If those measures succeeded in arousing the fear of the people, they also served to alienate their love, for the death of Chih Huang Ti was followed almost immediately by the breakup of the unity once the pride of his reign.

HSIA AN
Statesman and Scholar

Another characteristic of the age was the regard in which a merchant or trader was held. He was no better than a criminal. The first batches of men sent to work on the Great Wall and to serve on the southern frontier consisted of criminals and merchants. At a later date this punishment fell upon those whose fathers were known to have been merchants.

End of the Ch'in Dynasty.—Chih Huang Ti desired to leave his throne to his first son Fu Su (扶蘇). Unfortunately this son, who had been banished beyond the Great Wall because he had had the audacity to remonstrate with the all-powerful emperor on the policy of his government, was not present at the time of his father's death. Worse still, the decree of succession fell into the hands of a eunuch, Chao Kao (趙高) by name, who was a

devoted friend of the emperor's second son, Hu Hai (胡亥). The death of Chih Huang Ti was kept a secret until the imperial party reached Han Yang. A false decree was then promulgated in the name of the deceased Emperor. In accordance with this Fu Su was put to death, and Hu Hai ascended the throne under the name of Erh Shih (二世), or Second Emperor. He proved a worse tyrant than his father, whose vices he inherited but without his greatness. During his short reign, Chao Kao became the real power. A story which is familiar to every Chinese schoolboy well shows the position this eunuch occupied in the government. One day, so the story runs, Erh Shih showed his courtiers a picture of a deer. "It's a horse" cried Chao Kao, and none of the crowd had the courage to contradict him, for the eunuch was more powerful than the sovereign.

Rebellion was rife throughout the empire. In less than two years the descendants of the Earlier Six States had planted small kingdoms alongside those of other rebel leaders in Kuan Tung. Erh Shih in B.C. 206 was murdered by Chao Kao and Chih Huang Ti's grandson who was placed on the throne. He gave himself up to Liu Pang (劉邦), the first general who entered the Pass, and afterwards the founder of the Han House (漢), and brought with him the jade seal of state. He had been on the throne for less than 200 days; but in this brief time, however, he had succeeded in punishing Chao Kao for the murder of his uncle.

THE TWO HAN DYNASTIES
Scale, 1:35,000,000
Peihai
HSIUNGNU
KANGCHU
WUSUN
TAIYUAN
KHOTEN
SICH'ANG
HAN
PASUH
Tungha
Shihpi
Korea
Liaotung
Choshn
Wuhuan
Chochun
CHIAO
Hsaihsia
Loyang
CHU
WU
Hsu
Changan
Kunyang
Chihpi
Kinchow
Siangyan
NANYUEH
NANHAI
TIEN
CHIAOCHI
HAINAN

CHAPTER XIII

THE HAN DYNASTY

Struggle Between Ch'u and Han.—The Ch'in empire, as we have seen, ended in B.C. 206. From B.C. 206 to B.C. 202, there was actually no emperor in China; and the principal event in this period of anarchy, was what we call the Struggle between Ch'u and Han (楚漢相爭). It was a continuous conflict between Hang Yu (項羽) and Liu Pang (劉邦), the former a native of Wu (吳), and the latter of Pei (沛). Both of them had been lieutenants under King Huai of Ch'u (楚懷王). This King was a descendant of the old Vuling house of the state of Ch'u, and during the troubles attending the break-up of the Ch'in empire, he set up a kingdom on the ruins. Through his valor and military renown, Hang Yu was made Commander-in-Chief not only of the forces of Ch'u, but also of the contingents from each of the other states. Although he had by far the stronger army, yet the honor of capturing the capital of the Ch'in empire belonged to Liu Pang.

Liu Pang

According to the promise of King Huai of Ch'u, Liu Pang, the first general to enter the capital, should have been made ruler of Kuan Chung (關中); but it was here that the jealousy of Hang Yu appeared. The latter on his arrival at Han Yang (咸陽), took the royal power into his own hands and began to appoint feudal lords without referring them to the

Brass Mirror of the Han Dynasty

King. Instead of the whole of Kuan Chung he gave Liu Pang only a portion of it, called Han Chung (漢中), with the title of king. As to himself, he preferred Kuan Tung, and at once assumed the title of King of Western Ch'u. Liu Pang did not like the manner in which he was treated, but policy required him to accept less than his due. The circumstances, however, were by no means entirely unfavorable to him. Hang Yu soon withdrew his men to the east and his absence from Kuan Chung permitted Liu Pang to gather strength.

When Liu Pang felt himself strong enough to appeal to arms, hostilities broke out between the two rivals. For a time victory was on the side of Hang Yu, who made prisoners of Liu Pang's father and wife. But about B.C. 202, fortune deserted Hang Yu and he at once sued for peace. Meanwhile King Huai of Ch'u had been murdered, presumably by the agents of Hang Yu.

Dove-shaped wine vessel on wheels. Han Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

Death of Hang Yu.—Peace was at length concluded (B.C. 202), and the river, Pien Ho (汴河) in Honan, by mutual consent, was made the dividing line between the kingdoms of Ch'u and Han. Assuming that war was at an end, Hang Yu, in good faith, returned to Liu Pang his father and wife, and began to retire into the South. In so doing, he had evidently overestimated the character of his rival. As soon as he departed Liu Pang pursued him with the flower of his army. At Hai Hsi, the two armies met. The battle that ensued was a severe one and ended in the complete overthrow of Hang Yu, whose once powerful army was now reduced to a few followers. To avoid falling

into the hands of his enemy, he killed himself while crossing the river O-kiang near Ho-chow, in the modern Anhui Province. His death left Liu Pang in undisputed possession of China.

Accession of Liu Pang.—When Liu Pang took the throne the famous city of Hsi An Fu (西安) in Shensi (陝西), under the name of Chang An (長安), became for the first time the capital. The new dynasty he thus founded was the great Han Dynasty, in memory of whose greatness, the Chinese of North China still call themselves "the Sons of Han."

To his credit, most of the unjust laws of the preceding dynasty were repealed, though Liu Pang did nothing to exalt his own position. "I have never realized the dignity of an emperor, until to-day," exclaimed he; and this is sufficient to give us an idea of the character of his court. He revived the ancient law authorizing the conferring of a posthumous name on the emperor. As his temple name is Kao Tsu (高祖), we shall hereafter speak of him by this name.

Spring time in the Imperial Palace of the Han Dynasty.
Picture by Ch'iu Ying. 15th Century, A.D. ("Chinese Art")

Revival of Feudalism.—We must not think that Kao Tsu ruled as large an empire as that of Chih Huang Ti. The provinces south of the Yangtze were virtually independent and his authority was by no means supreme in the North, where the many feudal states gave nothing more than nominal submission at best. These feudal states may be divided into two classes; those held by members of his house, and those held by others. The latter were the outgrowth

of the previous troubles, but the former were a necessity under the system of checks and balances. Thus after a comparatively short time the old feudal system was again an established fact. The reign of Kao Tsu was principally occupied with putting down rebellions headed by Han Hsin (韓信), P'eng Yueh (彭越), and other feudal lords, most of whom had been his best generals. In several cases his ingratitude was the actual cause of the rebellions. Towards the end of his reign, all the feudal states, with one or two exceptions, were held by members of his own house.

An Encounter with the Hsiung-nu.—While China was again splitting herself into petty states, the Hsiung-nu in the North had arisen to the height of their power. Under the leadership of their chief, named Mouton (冒頓), they not only conquered many of the neighboring tribes, but were also in a position to measure strength with China—terrible and civilized China, the builder of the Great Wall.

At the head of a great horde, Mouton ravaged the northern part of what is now the province of Shensi. The cause of this invasion was that the chief of the feudal state of Han (韓) (Northern Shensi) was suspected of disloyality, and was driven to cast his lot with the northern barbarians. Kao Tsu now led an army into what is now the prefecture of Tai Yuan to check the advance of his enemy; but he was outgeneraled, and falling into an ambuscade lost the greater part of his men. In the hour of misfortune, he sought refuge within the walls of the city of Ping Cheng (平城), which was closely besieged. It was only through judicious bribes that he succeeded in making good his escape under cover of a dense fog. The experience was enough for him, and he never again took the field himself against the Hsiung-nu. He gave a beautiful lady of his harem in marriage to Mouton and endeavored to keep friendly with him by occasional presents. His original plan was to give his own daughter to Mouton, but owing to the objection raised by his wife he sent a substitute. A dangerous precedent was thus established.

Kao Tsu's Immediate Successors.—Kao Tsu died B.C. 195, and left the throne to his son, Hui Ti. This feeble monarch is said never to have recovered from the shock he received at the sight of what his mother termed the "human sow."* At any rate when he died in B.C. 188, his mother placed an adopted son on the throne. In the following year she caused the boy to be murdered and began to reign in her own right, thus becoming the first woman ruler of China. Many princes and nobles of her husband's house were mercilessly executed and members of her own family appointed in their stead. The empire was on the point of falling to pieces, when death removed her. An uprising which then took place in the capital resulted in the elevation of a brother of Hui Ti to the throne.

This prince ruled with wisdom and generosity under the dynastic title of Wen Ti (文帝), (B.C. 179-157). By him the severe modes of punishment which required the chopping off of the criminal's toes, the loss of his nose, etc., were abolished. Through his frugality he placed the empire in a sound financial condition.

The reign of the next sovereign, Ching Ti (景帝) (B.C. 156-141), is noted for the Rebellion of the Seven Princes. By this time, the feudal lords had become so insolent that they were a menace to the government. An attempt to curtail their powers made several of them start a revolt, which was speedily put down. A new measure by which a feudal prince could make no direct appointment in his own fief was thereafter soon introduced. While he continued to enjoy the income, his land in fact was governed by agents of the throne. In most cases, the feudal lords were even required to fix their residences at the capital.

The Reign of Wu Ti.—The next reign, comprising the years B.C. 140 to B.C. 87, was one of the most important periods

* She cut off the hands and feet of Lady Chi (戚夫人), put her eyes out and destroyed the organs of hearing and speech, and then casting the still living victim of her rage upon a dung-hill, she bade her son to go and inspect her. Lady Chi was one of Kao Tsu's concubines.

in Chinese history. It was an age of great generals, brilliant statesmen, and men of letters. During this reign, the Han Dynasty reached the zenith of its power, and the empire was greatly enlarged. In the south it included the modern provinces of Chekiang (Tung Ou 東甌), Fukien (Min-yueh 閩越), the Two Kuangs and Cochin-China (Nan-yueh 南越); in the southwest, all the barbarians that had held sway in Yunnan (雲南), Kueichow (貴州), and Szechuen, now acknowledged the supremacy of the Han emperor; while in the north, the power of the Hsiung-nu was shattered and the boundary of the empire included what is now Inner Mongolia in the north, the Tien Shan Nan Lu in the northwest, and Liao Tung and north Corea in the northeast. Within the limit of this chapter we have only room to relate the events that were connected, directly or indirectly, with the campaign against the Hsiung-nu.

Chang Ch'ien's Mission to Hsi Yueh.—Since the days of Mouton the Hsiung-nu had subdued all the tribes that lived in what is now Manchuria in the east and Chinese Turkestan in the west, and they had not left the Chinese along the northern frontier in peace. Nominally their Shen Yu was the nephew by marriage of the Han emperor, but this did not prevent them from pursuing their usual course of plunder and murder.

HAN WU TI

Wu Ti decided that this condition of affairs should exist no longer. At this juncture it was reported to him that a kindred tribe of the Hsiung-nu, Yüeh Ti (月氏) by name, since their expulsion by the former from their original home in Ho Hsi (河西), had founded a powerful nation in what is now Bokhara. An alliance with this old enemy of the Hsiung-nu might certainly prove of advantage to China. With this end in view, he sent Chang Ch'ien (張騫) to open up communication with Hsi Yüeh (西域), or Chinese Turkestan.

Before giving an account of this mission it will be necessary to state something of the prevailing situation in the region through which it passed.

Hsi Yueh, from times immemorial, has been known as the "routes," Tien Shan Pei Lu (天山北路) and Tien Shan Nan Lu (天山南路), or the Northern and the Southern Routes, according to their positions in relation to the great Tien Shan Mountain system. In Nan Lu, which Western writers call Kashgar, there were a number of states, or groups of people, some of whom had cities while others were no better than nomad herdsmen. Most of their cities are now however buried under the "shifting sands" (流沙). The Kingdom of Yüeh Ti was beyond the Ts'ung Ling (葱嶺) range. It was bounded on the northeast by Ta Yüan (大宛) (Fergana) and K'ang Chü (康居) (Hasak country), on the west by Parthia (安息), and on the south by Kashmir (罽賓). East of Ta Yuan was the Osung (烏孫) country (Ili).

Coins of Parthia.

Such was the situation in Hsi Yüeh at the time Chang Ch'ien started on his mission. He left China B.C. 139; and, after being kept a prisoner by the Hsiung-nu for ten years, finally reached his destination by way of Ta Yuan and K'ang Chü. Travelling through Bactria (大夏), he tried to return by the Khotan-Lobnor (于闐羅卜淖爾) route; but again fell into the hands of the Hsiung-nu and did not reach China till B.C. 126, having been absent thirteen years. Of the more than a hundred men who set out with him, only two returned with him.

Coins of Bactria.

While the mission failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was sent, Chang Ch'ien brought home valuable information of the country, which ultimately led to the isolation of the Hsiung-

nu. In Bactria he found bamboo staves, cloth and other goods, which he recognized as products of Szechuen, offered for sale, and was told that they were brought there from Sindhu (身毒) (India). He reported to the emperor the existence of this foreign trade with China by way of the southwest, and brought the grape vine, the lucerne, the pomegranate, and several other plants, which were afterwards planted in the Shang Lin (上林) Park.

The reason why Ta Yüeh Ti (大月氏)* did not enter into an alliance with China was that they had found a much more ideal country than their old home. The exodus of the Yüeh Ti may be regarded as the beginning of the westward movement of the Hsiung-nu, or the Huns (胡人), as Western writers call them. The Huns first became known to the Greeks under the name of Chuni, probably a corruption of the Chinese term, Hsiung-nu. At all events, they have been identified as of the same stock as the Hsiung-nu.

Coin of Ta Yüeh Ti

Conquest of the Hsiung-nu.—In the meanwhile, Wu Ti had gained many important victories over the Hsiung-nu. After the failure of the scheme to entice them into an ambush at Ma Yi (馬邑),† their incursions had been more frequent. At last in B.C. 127, Wu Ti was obliged to send an army to attack them in their own country. The Chinese were victorious and they recovered the Ordos country, which was turned into a province, under the name of Shuo Fang (朔方), the Northern Region.

*Ta Yüeh Ti, name of Kingdom. Yüeh Ti, name of people.

†The Shen Yu was invited to settle in Ma Yi where armies lay in ambush awaiting the arrival of the barbarians. Before arriving at the place, their suspicion was aroused, and by means of torture they got the emperor's messengers to tell the truth, whereupon they immediately retired to their own country.

After the return of Chang Ch'ien the Chinese policy began to mature. That policy was to isolate the Hsiung-nu, or to break down their power in the west. Thus in B.C. 121, a few years after the return of the envoy, a Chinese general named Ho Chu-ping (霍去病) took an army through Lung Hsi (隴西), captured two of the Hsiung-nu kings there, and advanced as far west as the Chi Lien Mountain (祁連山). This victory was followed by a still greater victory two years later when the Hsiung-nu were driven into the region north of the desert. It is stated that 19,000 of their men were either slain or captured by the Chinese.

Coins of Ta Yüeh Ti

Having gained complete possession of Ho Hsi, the Chinese organized it into another province with garrisons stationed at Wu Wei (武威), Chang Yi (張掖), Chiu Chuan (酒泉) and Tun Huang (燉煌). From the last named place they established military posts as far west as Lun Tai (輪臺), thus extending their dominion through Nan Lu. This succeeded in interrupting the communication between the Hsiung-nu and the Tibetan tribes of the Kokonor (青海) region, or the Ch'iang (羌), as the ancient historians called them.

In B.C. 120, the king of the Osung tendered his submission, and to him a Chinese princess was given in marriage. This virtually blocked the Hsiung-nu in the west. During the following years the war between China and the Hsiung-nu centred in Lou Lan (樓蘭), a state situated between the great northern and southern routes. (The place is now buried in the sands.)* Lou Lan acted as a sort of buffer state until its king was killed in

*Recent excavations carried on in this region have brought to light many articles of antiquity.

battle by the Chinese. In B.C. 102-101 an army advanced as far as Fergana, overran the kingdom of Ta Yuan, and brought back in triumph thirty Nisaean (天馬) horses. Meanwhile friendly missions had been exchanged with Bactria, Parthia, and Sogdiana. According to Chinese annals, the Parthian king at one time sent a band of Parthian acrobats and magicians for the amusement of his brother, the Wu Ti of the Han Dynasty.

Conquest of Corea.—The term Corea in that remote period included the southeastern part of Sheng King and the northern part of modern Corea. It was the territory between the rivers Liao (遼) and Ta Tung (大同江). On the north was the home of the Su Shen (肅愼) tribes, the ancestors of the Manchus, and on the south were the Three Hans (三韓), the ancestors of the present day Coreans. The descendants of Ch'i Tzu (箕子), brother of Chou (紂), the last ruler of the House of Shang, had ruled in Corea down to the year B.C. 194, at which time the House of Wei Man (衞滿) came into power. The kings of the new line were no friends to China. It was to prevent the Hsiung-nu from marching into this region, that Wu Ti endeavored to invade it both by land and sea. At first the Chinese fared badly, but in B.C. 108, the people killed their king and surrendered.

Towards the end of the reign of Wu Ti, the Hsiung-nu were successfully isolated. The great emperor died in B.C. 87.

Character of Wu Ti.—In many respects, Wu Ti was not unlike Shih Huang Ti. That he continued the work of the latter in reducing the power of the Hsiung-nu needs no repetition here. Like Shih Huang Ti, he was a great patron of architecture and other arts, and was completely under the influence of the Taoist magicians. Instead of sending missions into the Yellow Sea, however, he adorned his capital and the surrounding country with lofty buildings; for he had been led to believe that by means of these structures man could have direct communication with the genii. In one of these buildings were installed two huge

copper images with large bowls in hand to receive the elixir from the genii (金人承露盤). Magicians of all descriptions, both male and female, flocked into his court.

At about the same time, literature made great advances. There flourished in this reign Sz Ma Chien (司馬遷), the Chinese historian, and Sz Ma Hsiang Yu (司馬相如), Mei Sheng (枚乘), Li Ling (李陵), Su Wu (蘇武) and others, whose works, in prose and poetry are regarded as the best literary productions of antiquity. Since distant expeditions were always costly, many unjust measures were resorted to to obtain money. It is stated that official ranks were for the first time offered for sale in this period. The emperor, however, regretted his own shortcomings, and all unjust or burdensome measures were repealed shortly before his death.

LIU HSIANG, noted scholar of the Han Dynasty

The Decline of the Hsiung-nu Power.—After the severe defeats inflicted by Wu Ti, the power of the Hsiung-nu was rapidly declining. In an attempt to dislodge the Osung in B.C. 71, they had to face an overwhelming force consisting of Chinese and Osung soldiers and lost most heavily. Thenceforth the Hsiung-nu were hemmed in by the neighboring tribes, viz., the Ting Ling (丁零) in the north, a kindred people of the region around Lake Baikal, the Osung in the west, the Tung Hu (東胡) in the east, and the Chinese in the south. In B.C. 60, a Hsiung-nu Khan in Pei Lu (日逐王), in consequence of a civil war, sought protection from the Han emperor, thus giving the Chinese complete possession of the Northern Route. Then followed a period of great revolution among other Hsiung-nu tribes. As a consequence, as many as five

Shen Yus were set up by different factions. One of them named Hu Han-hsie (呼韓邪), in the hour of distress surrendered himself to the Chinese emperor, and received permission to settle with his followers in Mo-nan (幕南), where they acted as frontier guards of the Chinese marches. In B.C. 36 he came in person to pay his respects to the emperor; and, at his request, a famous beauty by the name of Wang Chao-kun (王昭君) was given in marriage to him.

The Usurpation of Wang Mang.—The cause of the downfall of the Han Dynasty is to be traced to the ambition of its imperial women. The example set before them by Wu Chih (吳雉) was a most dangerous one. In a country like China, where the separation of the two sexes is a matter of fixed custom, even an empress could not make friends among her husband's ministers. Therefore when power fell into her hands she knew of no one in whom she could place her confidence except her own people and the eunuchs. The fact that Wu Ti caused the mother of his son to be put to death before he appointed him heir, is sufficient to show that the interference of an empress dowager in affairs of state had long been a matter to be dreaded. It was the undue influence of the imperial women that finally brought the house of Han to ruin.

Wang Mang (王莽), the notorious usurper, was the nephew of one empress and the father of another. The mother of Cheng Ti (成帝) (B.C. 32—B.C. 7) was from the Wang family, and when her son came to the throne, her brothers were at once raised to positions of great influence. Every one of them abused the power that fell into his hands. Wang Mang, who was then a mere lad, was the reverse of his uncles in his private character. He did everything he could to conceal his true character and to cultivate the friendship of the literary class. As a result, he was as popular as his uncles were unpopular. It was not long before he succeeded to a most important position which had been held by one of his uncles. During the short reign of Ai Ti (哀帝) (B.C. 6–B.C. 1) he was obliged to retire; but upon the accession

of the next emperor, Ping Ti (平帝) (A.D. 1–5), he returned to office, for this emporor was his son-in-law. His ambition, however, knew no relative; and when his time arrived, he showed his true character by murdering the emperor, forcing him to drink a cup of poison on new year's day. A lad (孺子嬰) was then placed on the throne, with Wang Mang acting as an "assistant emperor (假皇帝)."* Two years later the "Assistant Emperor" became a full emperor and the Han Dynasty was no more.

*This is a peculiar use of the Character, Chia 假, meaning unreal, artificial, etc., during the Han Dynasty. It was quite usual for an official to have an associate or assistant and such associate or assistant, as a rule, had the character Chia prefixed to his official title.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EASTERN HAN DYNASTY

Reign of Wang Mang (王莽).—If reverence for tradition may justly be regarded in the light of a virtue, as is the case in China, Chinese history gives us no name which stands out more pre-eminently than that of Wang Mang, the Usurper. Perhaps the word "Old" would give us a better impression of the character of his government than "New" (新), the name he adopted for his dynasty. Once upon the throne, he busied himself in bringing to life all laws and institutes that experience had long since discarded as out-of-date and impracticable. From morning till late in the evening the "new" emperor was seen at his desk reading, writing, and legislating. The Chou Li (周禮), or the Institutes of the Chou Dynasty, became his guide. The ancient system of Ching Tien (井田) was revived and many ridiculous currency laws were promulgated. It was quite as much a crime to buy or sell land as to depreciate the currency issued by the government. At length, excessive taxation, unjust laws, incessant border warfare, severe famines, and the corruption of officials—all combined to arouse the people; and standards of revolt were unfurled in more than one place in the empire. One band of insurgents, called "Red Eyebrows" (赤眉) from their custom of dying their eye-brows red, broke out in what is now Shantung province. Another rose in Hukuang and had headquarters in the Lu Lin (綠林) Hill ("Green Forest"). At first these men had no higher aim than to plunder and to kill; hence the name, "Green Forest", has become a general term for highway robbers in China.

Had Wang Mang taken wise measures, he might have been able to save himself; but he was superstitious and believed that by shedding tears towards the south, the rebellions would die a natural death. Even at the last moment, when he was dragged out of a tower in his palace, where he had been hiding, he still held in one hand a small knife said to have been handed down

from Shun (舜), and in the other the symbolic instrument of the Taoist magicians. This account may have been an exaggeration of his enemies, but it is certain that his failure was attributable to his faith in the ancients. He was beheaded in A.D. 22; but peace did not come to the nation until a member of the house of Han, Liu Hsiu (劉秀) by name, assumed the imperial title two years later. As Liu Hsiu fixed his capital at Lo Yang (洛陽), about 60 miles east of Chang An (長安), the capital of the Former Han Dynasty, the new dynasty has been known under the name of the Eastern Han (東漢).

Kuang Wu.—The dynastic name of Liu Hsiu was Kuang Wu (光武). When he ascended the throne, Chang An was in the hands of the "Red Eyebrows" who had placed another member of the house of Liu on the throne. Other rebels had also set up emperors, or declared independence in other parts of the empire. It was by great exertion that Liu Hsiu succeeded in extinguishing every spark of rebellion in China. In this connection it should be remarked that in what is now the province of Fukien the inhabitants had been transferred to the Lower Yangtze Valley by order of Han Wu Ti, and that the province had completely disappeared from history. It is doubtful whether the army of Kuang Wu ever entered this part of China, although one of his generals went as far south as Tonquin and crushed a rebellion there.

KUANG WU

As regards the Hsiung-nu who had again become active and had wrested Hsi Yüeh from China, Kuang Wu felt that their subjugation was a task he had to leave to his successors. The empire needed rest and the arts of peace were no longer to be neglected. He accordingly devoted the remainder of his reign to works of peace by patronizing learning and the arts. He got rid of his generals without bloodshed by retiring them on a liberal allowance. This act at least entitles him to a higher place in history than Kao Tsu, the founder of the Former Han.

In his work of reorganization, however, Kuang Wu greatly enlarged the field of employment for eunuchs and thus sowed the seed of trouble, which was soon destined to bring ruin to the house that he had just restored. The history of the Eastern Han is largely a record of the ebb and flow of the power of the eunuchs.

After reigning thirty-three years, Kuang Wu died in A.D. 57, at the age of sixty-three, and left his empire to his son, Ming Ti (A.D. 58-75).

Introduction of Buddhism into China.—The most important event of the reign of Ming Ti was undoubtedly the official introduction of Buddhism into China. We say official introduction because its unofficial introduction dates as far back as the reign of Han Wu Ti, or soon thereafter. Chinese historians claim that the golden image found among the plunder of his soldiers from Hsi Yüeh was that of Buddha. While this was more or less guesswork, it is a matter of history that in B.C. 6 an ambassador from the Massagatae to China, with the aid of a certain Chinese scholar, translated a Buddhist book into Chinese. It is safe therefore to conclude that soon after the opening up of communications with the West through Hsi Yüeh, there began to be an influx of Buddhist missionaries into lands then subject to the sway of the Hsiung-nu.

There is a legend that Ming Ti had a dream in which he saw a giant, and that when he told his ministers what he had seen, one of them immediately informed him that it was the Sage of the West, called Buddha. This shows that Buddhism was not unknown at his court. The envoys that Ming Ti sent to inquire into the faith returned in A.D. 65 with two Indian priests* and a number of their classics. These priests were housed in the White Pony Temple (白馬寺), the first Buddhist temple erected with imperial

*The names of these priests are Kasayapa Matanga (攝摩騰) and Dhawara Keha (竺法蘭). Kasayapa Matanga translated a small but important sutra, called Sutra of Forty-two Sections.

sanction in China, and named after the pony that brought back the Sutra (經), and here they continued to reside and translate the Buddhist literature until they died.

SAKAYMUNI

Buddhism.—Buddhism, so far as its Hindu origin is concerned, was an offspring of Brahmanism, the earlier faith of the Hindus. This earlier faith was a belief in a single god, Brahma as he was called, who was the cause and mover of all things. The soul, too, comes from Brahma and passes through all forms

of animal life, until finally, having freed itself from all imperfection, it goes back to him. The great aim of existence was to reach this final state and mingle with Brahma. Such was the substance of Brahmanism.

In course of time the old faith reached such a stage of decay that reformers were required to remind the believers of its essentail truths. "Of these reformers the greatest was Prince Gautama, commonly known as the Buddha, or the 'Enlightened', whose reforms were of such a radical nature as virtually to found a new religion. Yet he did not quarrel with the old, but merely interpreted it anew, and gave it a more practical character.

"Buddha was born about the middle of the sixth century B.C. He was a member of a royal house, but left his home, his wife and newly born child to find religious peace and the way to salvation. He sought truth from the Brahmans in vain, and spent seven years in religious meditation. Finally he learned the truth he had been seeking. It was summed up in the two ideas of self-culture and universal love. About 522 B.C. he proclaimed his creed at Benares. In the details of worship, he left the ancient Brahmanism unchanged; but he taught that every act in this life bears its fruit in the next. Every soul passes through successive lives, or reincarnations, and its condition during one life is the result of what it has done in a previous state. The aim of life is the attainment of Nirvana—a sinless state of existence, which requires constant self-culture. Four truths were especially taught: first, that all life is suffering; second, that this suffering is caused by the desire to live; third, that the suffering ceases with the cessation of this desire; fourth, that this salvation can be found by following the path of duty. A very high morality was preached, including the duties of chastity, patience, mercy, fortitude, and kindness to all men." *

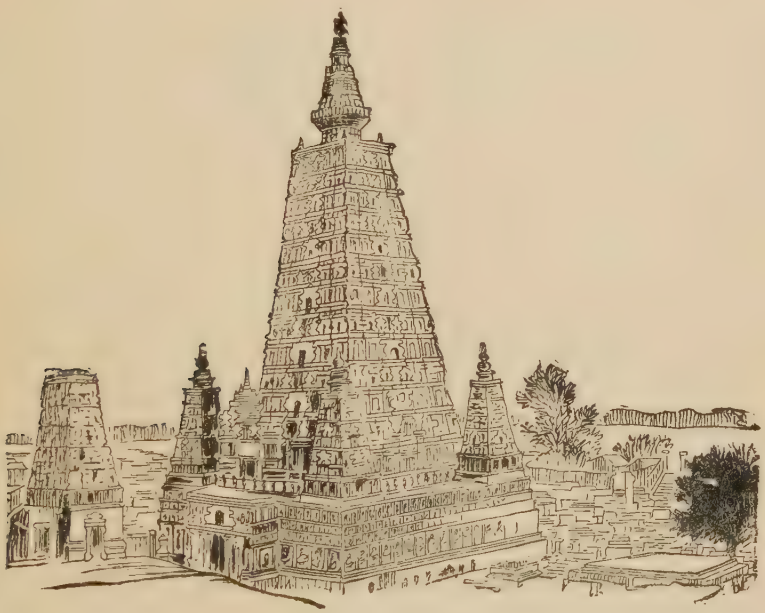
After his death Buddha was worshiped as a divine being. His disciples carried the faith through India and thence it spread to the northwest, and to the southeast of that county. About B.C.

*Colby's Outlines of General History.

377, there was a division among the Buddhists; the Northern branch had their centre in Kashmir, while the Southern section made Ceylon their headquarters. It was the Northern creed that was introduced by Ming Ti into China. Their books were written in Sanskrit while those of the Southern creed were in Pali.

Of the spread of Buddhism in China, we shall learn more as we proceed with the narrative.

Capture of Hami.—As already stated, the Hsiung-nu threw off their allegiance to China in the days of Wang Mang. About A.D. 48, they divided into two sections. The Northern Hsiung-nu



Tomb of Sakaymuni

sought expansion in the west; but the Southern Hsiung-nu went over to the side of the Chinese emperor and were given permission to settle in what is now the Ordos country in Inner Mongolia. In A.D. 73, China, having sufficiently recovered from the effect of her own civil disorders, was ready to resume the conflict, and a severe battle was fought near Lobnor between the Northern

Hsiung-nu on one side and the Southern Hsiung-nu and Chinese on the other. The latter won the day and captured what is now Hami. It was about this time that the old policy of isolating the Hsiung-nu was again resorted to, for the man who could carry this plan to success had been found.

Exploits of Pan Chao.—The name of this man was Pan Chao (班超). At first Pan Chao was sent on a friendly mission to test the loyality of the States to the Northern Hsiung-nu. By tact, treachery, threats, and bribes, he induced several of them to accept the Chinese emperor in place of the Shen Yu as their overlord. While he was thus travelling from one state to another, two Chinese generals gained another battle over the Hsiung-nu and occupied what is now called Turfan; whereupon the Hsi Yüeh dependency was reestablished after an interim of sixty-five years. But the states in the Northern Route as well as those between Kucha and Karashar remained loyal to the Hsiung-nu. At this juncture Ming Ti died (A.D. 75) and there arose at once on the western horizon a cloud which cast a shadow over the whole of Hsi Yüeh. The Northern Hsiung-nu returned, and gathering up what forces those states were able to put in the field, attacked the Chinese garrisou and laid siege to the cities in which the representatives of the Chinese government resided. Rumor soon reached Lo Yang that the whole of Hsi Yüeh was in revolt and caused the weak government of Chang Ti (章帝) (A.D. 76-88) to give up the work begun by his father and recall Pan Chao.

The latter in the meanwhile had formed a plan for the subjugation of Hsi Yüeh. His mission had already borne fruits, which, if given due time, were sure to ripen. He accordingly protested and informed his emperor that the task could be done without such cost of money and life as had been suggested by the statesmen at home. Many of the states were willing to furnish the number of men needed to carry on the war, provided China would drill and lead them to battle. There was, therefore, no reason why these friends should be abandoned to their fate, or China should let the opportunity slip. At last the counsel of Pan

Chao prevailed and permission was given him to remain. Before long this trained Chinese diplomat became the commander of the combined forces of Khotan and Kashgar. These he led from victory to victory until not a vestige of the Hsiung-nu power remained in Hsi Yüeh. First by diplomacy, and then by force, he had recovered Hsi Yüeh to China; and, in A.D. 91, was rewarded with the viceroyalty of the whole region that he had lately conquered. Six years later, he led an army as far as Antiochia Margiana and sent his lieutenant, Kan Ying (甘英), on an embassy to Rome. The envoy reached the Persian Gulf; but, fearing the sea voyage, came back without accomplishing his purpose.

Disappearance of the Northern Hsiung-nu.—With Hsi Yüeh restored to China, the fate of the Northern Hsiung-nu was sealed. In A.D. 89, Tou Hsien (竇憲), having committed a serious crime, obtained permission to lead an army against them in order to expiate his guilt. In this expedition he was quite successful and drove the horde of barbarians beyond the Yen Jan (燕然 Khougi) Mountain. On a stone monument erected on the field was engraved an account of the battle from the pen of Pan Ku (班固), brother of Pan Chao. It is stated that more than 200,000 of the barbarians surrendered themselves to the Chinese. Following up the advantage thus gained, Tou Hsien inflicted another overwhelming defeat on the enemy two years later, and took a second batch of prisoners, among whom was the mother of the Shen Yu. Preferring emigration to submission, the latter led the remainder of his tribes to the west, after abandoning their lands to the Hsien Pei (鮮卑). Henceforth, the Northern Hsiung-nu completely disappeared from history; and when, centuries afterwards, the volcanoes of Mongolia became active again, the streams of barbarians that issued from that region were designated by new names.

Trade with the West.—As a rule, Chinese annals contain but meagre references to foreign commerce. If we may accept the truth of the statement that trade follows the flag, we may safely conclude that China entered into trade relations with the West directly after the opening up of communications through Hsi

Yüeh. China was known to the Greeks as Seres, or the land of silk. In that remote period there was a kind of Chinese silk called Sen Er which was one of the articles that were sent each year by the emperor to the kings of the petty states in Hsi Yüeh. That the Roman Empire was known by the name of Ta Chin (大秦) is on record. Not only did China try to reach Ta Chin but the people of the latter also attempted to open direct intercourse with the Chinese. Between the two great empires, were the Parthians who desired to reap all the benefits of middlemen. It was not until the Romans had access to the Persian Gulf that the idea of reaching China by water began to appeal to them. Roman merchants came by sea to Kattigara (Cochin China) in A.D. 166 whence they travelled overland to Lo Yang. They appear in the annals as envoys from the emperor An Tun (安敦) (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus). Later arrivals at Canton were recorded in A.D. 226, 284, etc. Besides the caravan route which lay through Hsi Yüeh, Cochin China, it would appear, was the centre of China's marine trade during the latter part of the Eastern Han.

Decline of the Eastern Han.—Before the arrival of the first Roman traders, the Eastern Han Dynasty had entered upon a period of decline. For reasons stated in the last chapter, whenever there was a woman on the Chinese throne, the usurpation of power by eunuchs and her own relatives was inevitable. This was no less true of the Eastern Han than of the Former Han, though there is this much difference. During the former dynasty, the two parties always worked hand in hand; during the latter dynasty, they were constantly engaged in bringing ruin to one another. In the main, the eunuchs were masters of the situation and their extermination was followed by the downfall of the dynasty only a few years later.

Period of Eunuch Ascendency.—This period commenced in the reign of Ho Ti (和帝), who came to the throne at the age of ten. During his mother's regency, his uncle, Tou Hsien, was the real power. Being jealous of him, the first official act of the emperor on assuming the government himself was to cause his

death. This was no easy task, for the court was made up of Tou Hsien's own creatures. Under these circumstances, he looked to his chief eunuch, Chen Chung by name, for help. While the emperor succeeded in getting rid of his uncle, he did not improve matters. During the remainder of his reign, he never freed himself from the clutches of the eunuch. His infant son outlived him but a few months, and during this time and the minority of An Ti, the next monarch, the Empress Teng was regent. She would see no minister of state, but suffered her eunuchs to be the sole medium of communication. It was not long before their INFLUENCE was turned into real POWER. They had a voice in every question and had an important part to play in every intrigue.

The destruction of Liang Chi (梁冀), brother of the Empress Liang (梁后) and murderer of Chih Ti (質帝), gave the eunuchs undisputed control of the government. Five of them were ennobled, a thing hitherto unknown in Chinese history, and no office was now too high for a eunuch. Those in power could exalt their friends and slay their enemies at pleasure. In China, the emperor was the state, but he was a mere tool of the eunuch during the reigns of Huan Ti (桓帝) and Ling Ti (靈帝), which embraced the years 147–187. If castration had once been the result of a crime, or an offense, it was now the stepping stone to wealth and power. To become the adopted son of a eunuch was the best passport an official could have, and to obtain such a favor self-castration was often resorted to.

Anti-eunuch Movement.—Since the eunuchs abused their powers to such an extent, there arose an anti-eunuch party headed by Li Ying, a literary genius of the Eastern Han Dynasty. They were radical reformers and advocated the total abolition of the eunuch system. They gathered around Tou Wu, brother of the Empress Tou, who was considered a match for the chief eunuch. Under a wise and strong monarch, Li Ying might have hoped for success; but Ling Ti, who was in the habit of addressing his eunuchs by the familiar terms of "Mother" and "Father," was

not the man. Besides, he was in partnership with them. Every office had its price and the proceeds were divided equally between the emperor and the eunuchs. The consequence was Li Ying and all his followers numbering 100 or more were condemned to death. Even the Empress Tou had to bow before the eunuchs and submit to her fate of imprisonment in one of the deserted palaces. It looked as if nothing short of a change of the dynasty was capable of bringing about a new order of things, and a general uprising was not slow in coming.

Rebellion of the Yellow Turbans.—This rebellion was so named, because the yellow turban was the distinguishing mark worn by the rebels. Their leader was an oculist named Chang Chio, a native of Chu Lu (now part of Southern Chihli), who claimed a knowledge of the art of magic healing. He and his two brothers made dupes among all classes of society and people flocked to them by the thousand. As their number multiplied, the latent ambition of the brothers was aroused. Sedition was secretly preached, and the nation was soon ready. Chang Chio's original plan was to seize the emperor in the capital, and with this end in view he sent agents to cultivate the friendship of the eunuchs. When his plot was discovered and his agents were put to death, Chang Chio could not do otherwise than raise the standard of revolt. This was in the year 184. Before the year closed the rebellion had assumed an alarming magnitude. His followers, however, were mostly untrained recruits and they were as easily dispersed as they were gathered. In less than two years the two brothers of Chang Chio were both slain; and, so far as Chang Chio* was concerned, the rebellion was at an end. Small bands of brothers, nevertheless, continued to disturb local peace in different parts of China. This was the first instance in Chinese history, when the degenerated doctrines of Taoism were directly responsible for an anti-government uprising.

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* He died soon after he raised the standard of rebellion.

First Contamination of Confucianism.*—In this connection, it is necessary to say something as to the change Confucianism had undergone since the days of Chih Huang Ti. In the history of Confucianism, or Chinese literary classics (we can hardly separate the one from the other), the two Han Dynasties form but a single period. Numerous commentaries of the Confucian Classics were issued during this period, but the commentators were more or less under the influence of the Fang Su (方士). (Taoist magicians). Their tone of speculation was entirely Taoist. Thus Taoist elements, foreign to Confucianism, became mingled with the teaching of the great Chinese sage. The Classics which contain their commentaries were largely written from memory by the learned scholars of the Former Han. They are known as "Modern Literature (今文)." About the time of Wang Mang, however, some books, said to have been exhumed, were presented to the government. They contained a text slightly different from that of the "Modern Literature," and were called "Ancient Literature (古文)." Their authenticity, however, is a disputed point even at the present day. After the appearance of the "Ancient Literature," a movement was on foot to separate Taoism from Confucianism, with the result that by the time of Huan Ti, the former became an independent creed. In A.D. 165, the first Taoist Patriarch (天師), Chang Tao-ling (張道陵), was appointed to represent the faith, and his descendants still continue in that office.

The Shuo Wen Chinese Script Explained.

As regards Chinese literature, the most useful production of the age was the Shuo Wen (說文) by Hsu Shen (許愼). This is the oldest dictionary in China, and contains some ten thousand characters with notes. It affords a key for deciphering the Chinese writing of antiquity. To-day one-fifth of the characters contained

*The second contamination took place during the Sung Dynasty.

therein suffice for our every-day use. It would appear that literature reached its highest point under the Han Dynasties.

Extermination of Eunuchs.- Ling Ti died in A.D. 188, leaving two sons and a widow. The first born was raised to the throne with his mother acting as the regent. The cry for the downfall of the eunuchs now became louder. Yuan Shao (袁紹), a young officer of the imperial guards, formed a plan for their extermination. This he quietly communicated to Ho Chin (何進), brother of the empress dowager, who in turned told it to the regent. The latter objected, but the young officer was obstinate. He sent word to General Tung Cho (董卓), then at Ho Tung (河東) (Southern Shensi), to come to the capital with all his troops. Tung Cho knew why he had been sent for, and saw a great opportunity for him to come to the front. He responded to the call willingly, but did not wish to be at the capital before there was bloodshed. He accordingly betrayed his friend to the eunuchs, and the latter at once seized Ho Chin and had him put to death. They, however, were unable to lay their hands on Yuan Shao, the young officer in question. On the contrary, the palace was broken into by his men and a general slaughter began. It is stated that many young men wearing no mustache were mistaken for eunuchs, and perished with them. At this juncture Tung Cho entered the capital at the head of a large force; and taking advantage of the condition of affairs, dethroned the emperor, murdered the empress dowager and raised his brother to the throne. This was Hsien Ti (獻帝) (188-220). With the dethronement of Fei Ti (廢帝), as the emperor was called, we may consider the Eastern Han Dynasty at an end. Hsien Ti was an emperor in name only; in fact he was but a prisoner in the hands of his captors, and on more than one occasion, became the bone of contention between rival generals. All this will be more fully related in the next chapter, since it led immediately to the founding of the Three Kingdoms.

The following table shows the age of Ho Ti and his successors when they came to the throne.

Name	Age	Length of reign	Name of regent
Ho Ti 和帝	10	89-105	Empress Tou 竇
Shang Ti 殤帝	100 days	106	Teng 鄧
An Ti * 安帝	14	107-125	do.
Shun Ti 順帝	2	126-144	Yen 閻
Ch'ung Ti 冲帝	2	145	Liang 梁
Chih Ti* 質帝	8	146	do.
Huan Ti* 桓帝	15	148-167	do.
Ling Ti* 靈帝	12	168-188	Tou 竇
Fei Ti 廢帝	17	189	Ho 何

*Emperors who were not the sons of Emperors.

CHAPTER XV

THE THREE KINGDOMS

Flight of Tung Cho to Chang An.—What Tung Cho did immediately after his arrival at Lo Yang has been mentioned in the preceding pages. So far as the city was concerned, the presence of a strong army sufficed to silence the voice of resentment; but it was not so without. If Yuan Shao had made a mistake in inviting Tung Cho to come to the capital, the latter was no more sagacious when he permitted him to escape to Chi Chow (冀州). Now, this Yuan Shao, it should be borne in mind, belonged to a very distinguished family. Owing to the prestige of a great name, he was at once hailed as leader by the provincial governors who refused to submit to Tung Cho's usurpation. They joined him with what forces they were able to gather at short notice, and were soon on the march to Lo Yang. Seeing the peril he was now in, Tung Cho decided to remove the court to Chang An (長安), a city more favorably situated from a military standpoint. He, however, took care to destroy the city of Lo Yang by fire, and to despoil the imperial and other sepulchers in the vicinity of such valuables as they contained. Wealthy inhabitants first saw their homes sacked by his soldiers and then were compelled to accompany him to the west. A great number of them perished on the way, either of hardships or at the hands of Tung Cho's soldiers. Thus was the capital, Lo Yang, left a mass of ruins.

Dismemberment of the Han Empire.—To pursue an enemy through a deserted country is always a hazardous undertaking and none of the allies was anxious to run such a risk. Tung Cho, the common enemy, was now out of reach; but he had left all the territory to the east and south of the famous Tung Kuan Pass to his enemies. The temptation was very great. Jealousy, too, had already begun to work among the allies and harmony among them was no longer possible. The cause that had brought them together was forgotten. Dismemberment of the empire followed, as shown by the following table.

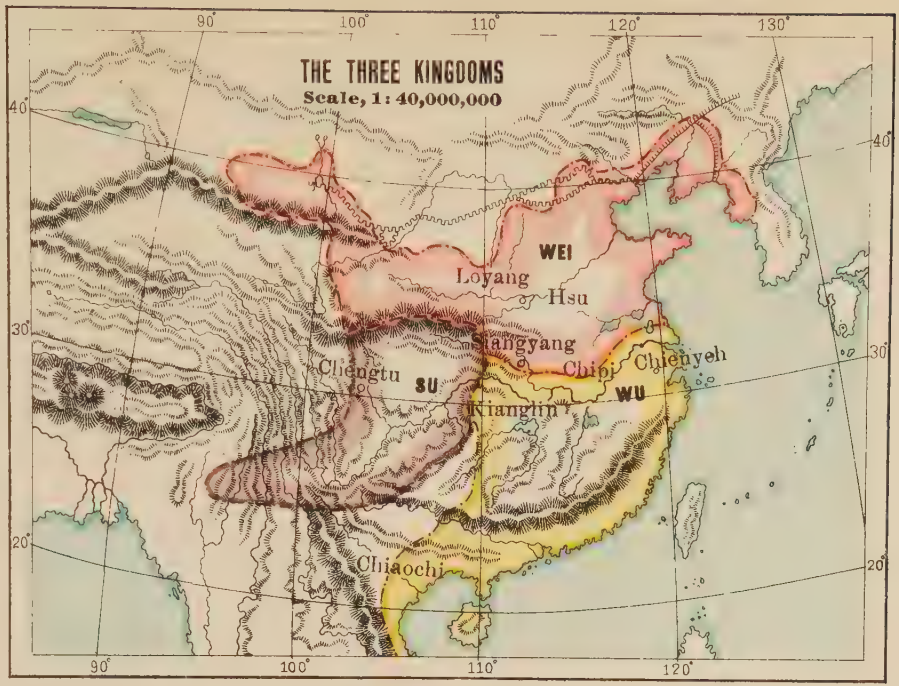

THE THREE KINGDOMS
Scale, 1: 40,000,000
90°
100°
110°
120°
130°
40°
30°
20°
WEI
Loyang
Hsu
Hsiangyang
Chiyeh
Chiji
Chiengtu
SU
WU
Kianglin
Chiaochi

TABLE SHOWING THE APPORTIONMENTS

Name	Territory
Yuan Shao 袁紹	Chi Chow (冀州), Ching Chow (青州), and Peng Chow (幷州).
Ch'ao Ch'ao 曹操	Yen Chow (兗州) and Yu Chow (豫州).
Yuan Shu 袁術	Shou Chun (壽春)
Tao Chien 陶謙	Hsu Chow 徐州
Liu Piao 劉表	Chin Chow 荊州
Liu Yen 劉焉	I Chow 益州
Kung Sun Tsan 公孫瓚	Yu Chow 幽州 *
Kung Sun Tu 公孫度	Liao Tung 遼東
Sun Chien 孫堅	Chang Sha 長沙
Chang Lu 張魯	Han Chung 漢中

While the empire was being thus parceled out, Tung Cho did as he pleased in the new capital. Any one who had the courage to oppose his will was put to death with torture. There was no doubt that the imperial throne was his goal. Great efforts were made to fortify Mi Wu (郿坞), a town in the vicinity of Chang An, and to accumulate therein wealth and provisions. Here Tung Cho expected to spend his latter days in case his larger plans should fail, and he would not venture out of this stronghold without a strong escort. But his tyranny was such that before long he alienated the support of Lu Pu (呂布), one of his best friends, who was at the time in command of his bodyguard. To his great surprise and dismay, it was this man that inflicted on him the fatal wound one morning as he was proceeding to see the emperor. His friends were now condemned to die and they at once revolted. Hsien Ti, the unfortunate emperor, fell successively into the hands of the various rebels, until, with great difficulty, he escaped into the neighborhood of Lo Yang. Here he met his fate by falling into the hands of Ch'ao Ch'ao (曹操), the founder of the Wei (魏) Kingdom, from whose grasp he never escaped.

*Later annexed by Yuan Shao.

Beginnings of the Three Kingdoms.—Ch'ao Ch'ao first rose to fame by taking part in punishing the Yellow Turbans, and later by joining in the popular expedition against Tung Cho. By the time he met Hsien Ti, he had established himself in Yen Chow and Yu Chow, and was watching eagerly for an opportunity to rise and destroy the power of his rivals. For a time it looked as if the unfortunate emperor could have no better friend than Ch'ao Ch'ao. The truth was the latter needed him. With the emperor a prisoner in his hands, he could claim a semblance of authority for everything he did, and was ready to march with his well-disciplined troops against any who refused to submit to this mere shadow of royal power.

Under this new order of things Ch'ao Ch'ao found it comparatively easy to sweep the country, watered by the Yellow River, free from his rivals, including Yuan Shao, the most powerful of them all.

Meanwhile Hsien Ti had found out the true character of his captor. With his own blood he wrote the death warrant of Ch'ao Ch'ao, but for a long time could find no one faithful enough or powerful enough to undertake its execution. At last the man was found in the person of Tung Cheng (董承). A plan was decided upon between him and his friends for bringing about the downfall of the powerful minister; but the information leaked out and Tung Cheng, his sister, the favorite concubine of the emperor, and others were ruthlessly put to death. Ch'ao Ch'ao had evidently decided that it must be the throne of a united China that he would take or none. So long as there were rivals he had need of the emperor and would not permit him to die. He should, however, be closely watched, and, with this end in view, he was made to take to wife Ch'ao Ch'ao's own daughter.

One of the men who espoused the cause of the emperor was Liu Pei (劉備), the founder of the Kingdom of Szu (蜀), and a man of imperial lineage. Like Ch'ao Ch'ao, his public career began at the time of the Yellow Turban Rebellion; but fortune had been against him. Rallying at one time with one party and then with

another, he had been hunted from place to place until he came to seek protection from Ch'ao Ch'ao; but when his connection with the Tung Cheng affair became known he could no longer remain in Wei. In the Yangtze valley, there then existed two powerful governors, Liu Piao, governor of Chin Chow, and Sun Chuan (孫權), governor of Tung Wu (東吳); the latter being the second son of Sun Chien and founder of the Kingdom of Wu. It was now to Chin Chow that Liu Pei fled.

Even there he found but temporary peace. Liu Piao died soon after his arrival, and the government of Chin Chow fell to Liu Ts'ung (劉琮), his second son. The latter, on the approach of Ch'ao Ch'ao, gave in his submission, thus leaving Liu Pei to his own resources. His forces were completely routed at Chang Pan (長坂), and he fled to Tung Wu, with whose king or governor, Sun Chuan, he entered into a defensive alliance, for even Tung Wu, protected by the Great River (長江), was now threatened with an invasion from the North.

Battle of Chi Pi.—The forces of Ch'ao Ch'ao numbered no less than 400,000 men, but most of them knew nothing about marine warfare. Between them and the country they were now called upon to subdue, was the great Yangtze River. To procure ships was easy; but to man them, an entirely different problem which Ch'ao Ch'ao had overlooked. Having secured a large fleet at Chin Chow, he sailed down the river with his immense force. At Chi Pi, Sun Chuan had stationed a small fleet ready to dispute the passage of the river at any moment. If numerical superiority was with the invader, it was more than balanced by better seamanship on the part of the invaded.

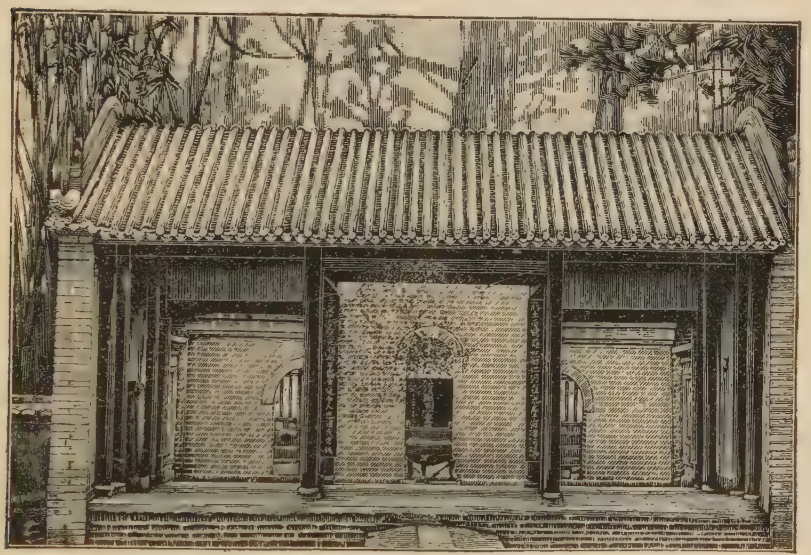
In the battle that ensued, the following ruse was resorted to by Chou Ju (周瑜), the commander of Tung Wu's fleet. One of his officers feigned submission by promising to surrender to Ch'ao Ch'ao with ten vessels full of rice and other provisions. It was now midwinter (A.D. 208). In the dead of night the ten vessels appeared; but instead of rice and other provisions their contents

consisted of combustible material. At a short distance from the fleet of Ch'ao Ch'ao, those on board set fire to them. Driven by the wind, the ten vessels ran into the immense fleet then at anchor and everything that came in contact with them was soon on fire. At this juncture, the fleet of Tung Wu bore down upon the enemy, and between the fire and the water, the flower of Ch'ao Ch'ao's army perished. With great difficulty Ch'ao Ch'ao reached the land where he fared as badly as on the water. In the course of his retreat, he and the remnant of his men fell into so many ambuscades that his retinue numbered less than one hundred when he reached Hsu Chang (許昌), which was then his home and the seat of government. This battle not only established the boundary between Wei and Wu but gave rise to a third kingdom.

The Kingdom of Szu.—The friendship between Liu Pei and Sun Chuan was further cemented by the marriage of the former to the latter's sister. Sun Chuan also gave his brother-in-law a portion of the vast territory, known as Chin Chow, for a home. Liu Pei had long cast a covetous eye over Szu, the land to the west of Chin Chow, and then in weak hands. Having been checked in the south, Ch'ao Ch'ao sought to extend his boundary in the west. When his soldiers overran Han Chung, Liu Chang (劉璋), governor of I-chow (益州) (Szu), became alarmed and sent messengers to implore help from his kinsman, Liu Pei. To this invitation, the latter gladly responded with a large army, which he himself led into the territory he had so long desired to possess. He proved to be the worst enemy Liu Chang could have, and had soon made the latter resign to him all the territory which was in need of a defender. By a series of subsequent wars, Han Chung was added to the Kingdom of Szu. Thus was Szu, the third kingdom both in point of time and with respect to size, founded.

Fall of Chin Chow.—To secure a state of equilibrium among the three Kingdoms, an alliance between the two smaller states was an absolute necessity. Soon after the conquest of Han Chung, instructions were sent by Liu Pei to Kuan Yu (關羽), commandant of the garrison at Chin Chow, to attack the city of Hsiang Yang

(襄陽) on the border of the kingdom of Wei. This expedition necessarily weakened the garrison to a considerable extent. Besides, through the haughtiness of Kuan Yu, the relations between Wu and Szu had not been very cordial of late. All this was no secret to Ch'ao Ch'ao. Intriguers were busy and succeeded in detaching Sun Chuan from his brother-in-law. While Kuan Yu was on the point



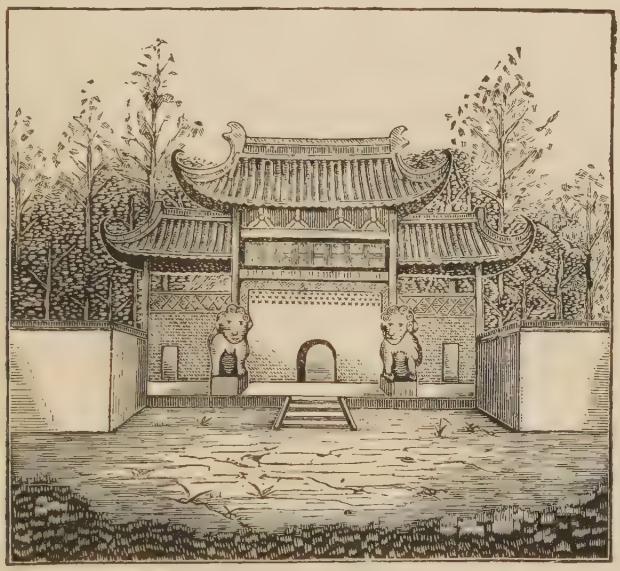
Tomb of Liu Pei

of taking Hsiang Yang, news arrived of the fall of Chin Chow into the hands of Lu Meng (吳呂蒙), a Tung Wu general. The ranks of Kuan Yu began to thin, and those who remained faithful to their commander were annihilated between two powerful armies, one sent by Ch'ao Ch'ao to the rescue of the city, and the other by Sun Chuan to cut off the retreat of the haughty general. Kuan Yu was taken prisoner by the Tung Wu soldiers, beheaded and his head sent to Ch'ao Ch'ao (219). Owing to his prowess in battle, Kuan Yu has, since A.D. 1594, been deified as the Chinese god of war, or Military Sage. To-day he is worshipped all over China, his shrine being second in importance only to that of Confucius, the Greatest Chinese Sage.

Hostilities Break out Between Wu and Szu.—In the following year (220), Ch'ao Ch'ao died, leaving his son Ch'ao P'ei (曹丕) to accomplish what the old man had been unwilling to do, viz., the dethronement of the emperor. He made Hsien Ti abdicate the throne in his favor, thus establishing a dangerous precedent which was often repeated during the next two or three centuries. When the news reached Chengtu (成都), the capital of Szu, Liu Pei did not hesitate to assume the imperial title himself. The question that now presented itself, was whether he should avenge the death of the emperor or that of Kuan Yu. His generals wanted him to take the former course, but this he absolutely refused to do. With an army of 700,000 men, he set out from Chengtu to invade the Kingdom of Wu; but met with defeat at I-ling (夷陵). It was with great difficulty that he managed to escape into the rampart of Pei Ti Cheng (白帝城), where he died of grief in A.D. 222. Five years later, Sun Chuan also took upon himself the imperial honor.

Chu Ko-liang.—Chu Ko-liang (諸葛亮) was perhaps the most famous character of the period that we have now reached. He was a native of Yangtu (陽都), but passed much of his early life in Nan Yang (南陽) within the district of Liu Piao. In A.D. 207, Liu Pei, then an unimportant adventurer, made three visits to the reed-hut (茅廬) where this man was leading a life of retirement. It was not until the third visit that Liu Pei was granted an interview; and so astounded was he at Chu Ko-liang's wide knowledge of the empire and the needs of the time, that he exclaimed on securing a promise of his services that he felt the joy of a fish regaining its native element. To him Liu Pei owed the Kingdom of Szu, and had he listened to him he would not have met the defeat that we have just mentioned. On his deathbed Liu Pei sent for him and confided to him Liu Ch'an (劉禪), his degenerate son and successor. The policy of this minister was peace with Wu and war with Wei, and he held to this during his administration. Before he could lead an army against Wei, however, his attention was drawn to the activities of the border tribes who lived in what is now the Yunnan

province. It was a custom among the Yunnanese at that time to offer human sacrifices to their god, which was only discontinued at the instance of Chu Ko-liang, who told them to use bread made to resemble a human head. This is commonly believed to have been the beginning of the Chinese bread called Man-tou, or Barbarian's head (蠻頭). The place was so unhealthy that Chu Ko-liang, after



Chu Ko-liang's Temple

a successful campaign, had to content himself with the submission of the chieftain, instead of annexing the territory. Between 228 and 234, he conducted several expeditions against Wei; but owing to the difficulties encountered in the matter of transportation, and since it was almost impossible to induce Sz Ma I (司馬懿), the Wei general, to fight a pitched battle, he died in his camp on the bank of the Wei (渭) River in 234, without accomplishing his end. In 1724, his tablet was placed in Confucius' temple. In the course of one of these campaigns, he is said to have invented a device, commonly called "Wooden Oxen (木牛) and Running Horses (流馬)," as a means of transport. What the device was, no one now knows.

Overthrow of Szu.—With the death of Chu Ko-liang fortune began to desert the Kingdom of Szu. Chiang Wei (姜維), the general who succeeded to the powers of Chu Ko-liang, continued the struggle for a few years, but was not able to achieve anything worth mentioning. Meanwhile Liu Ch'an became a tool of his favorite eunuch, and the country was on the verge of a civil broil, when two armies invaded it from the north. One army detained Chiang Wei in Han Chung, while the other in command of Teng Ai (鄧艾) was directed to Chengtu through a dangerous pass in the Ying Ping (陰平) Range. For twenty days or more the Wei general and his men crawled along the edges of precipices, scaled high rocks by means of ropes, and endured unparalleled hardship. Upon their arrival at Chengtu, however, their toils were amply rewarded. Not only was the city without defenders, but Liu Ch'an also awaited their arrival with an empty coffin before him, an unmistakable sign of submission (263). He was afterwards given the title of "Duke of Pleasure" (安樂公) by Sz Ma Yen (司馬炎), the first emperor of the house of Tsin (晉). It was a most befitting title for him in view of the life he had led in Chengtu.

Extinction of the Ruling House of Wei.—After the death of Chu Ko-liang, Wei had nothing to fear from Szu. So she sent her best general, Sz Ma I, to subdue the tribes in Liao Tung. His success raised him on his return to the position of prime minister. Here history repeats itself. What Ch'ao Ch'ao had done with Hsien Ti two decades before was now repeated by Sz Ma I and his sons, Sz Ma Sz (司馬師) and Sz Ma Chao (司馬昭), who followed the footsteps of their father. Although Wei had five more emperors, the power remained in the house of Sz Ma I, after the death of Ch'ao P'ei. Sz Ma Yen, son of Sz Ma Chao, caused Hsüan Ti (玄帝), the last emperor of the line of Ch'ao Ch'ao to abdicate in his favor, thereby establishing a new dynasty which he called Tsin (晉) (A.D. 264).

The Kingdom of Wu.—So far little has been said about the Kingdom of Wu. As a matter of fact, she took very little part in the affairs of the other two kingdoms. Owing to her geographical

position and the policy of her rulers, her wars, with one or two exceptions, were defensive in character. That she was able to maintain her existence after the downfall of Wei and Szu was a fact due entirely to her location. She had no border tribes to contend with, and had her ruler taken timely warning after the fall of her ally, the Kingdom of Szu, she might have existed longer. In fact, Sz Ma Yen, the first emperor of Tsin, would never have thought of conquering the territory south of the Yangtze if he had not been forced to do so by his generals. He had several times refused permission to his general, Yang Hu (羊祜), to lead an army across

Pictorial Art, Tsin Dynasty

the river. The honor of adding this part of China to the Tsin empire belongs to Tu Yu (杜預), the successor of Yang Hu. Sun Hao (孫皓), the last emperor of Wu, was by no means unlike Liu Ch'an in private life; and, like him, he opened the gates to the first general that appeared with an invading force before Chien Yeh (建業), the present city of Nanking, which was then the capital of the Wu Kingdom. Before this, the capital was Wuchang. It was the first time that Nanking and Wuchang rose to the rank of important cities in China. Thus perished in 280, the kingdom founded by Sun Chuan, after an existence of fifty-nine years, dating from the time of his assumption of the imperial title.

In this connection it is of interest to note that it was during the reign of Sun Hao (264-277) that tea was for the first time used by Chinese of the South. With Sun Hao it took the place of wine; but its use as a common beverage—that is in the same way as it is served to-day—was not of much later date. In the annals of the Tsin Dynasty (265-313), we read of a man named Wang Meng (王濛) who was in the habit of offering tea to his friends who came to visit him. Many of them who disliked the drink would excuse themselves on the ground that it was a day on which water would bring them bad luck (水厄); for it was then an age of superstition and the theory of the influence of the Five Elements (五行家) constituted the common belief of the people.

The first pagoda in China, according to the same authority, was constructed in A.D. 249-250 by Sun Chuan.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PERIOD OF DARKNESS

The Period.—We are now entering upon a period of a little more than three hundred years which forms the darkest part of Chinese history. Heavy sleep is necessary after days of indulgence. With the closing scenes of the Three Kingdoms, China's days of indulgence had come to an end. It was now the turn of the barbarians—the same barbarian tribes that had for centuries been reduced to submission and serfdom—to gain the upper hand in China and crowd the Chinese beyond the Yangtze. From A.D. 317 to 581 China was divided between the barbarians in the North and the Chinese in the South. Chinese historians prefer to call the first epoch (317-420) a continuation of the Tsin Dynasty, thus making the division to begin with the later date. Since the general features of the two epochs are practically identical, we will group them—the Tsin Dynasty and the epoch of division between the North and the South—together, under the general title of The Period of Darkness.

During this period China, or more particularly the region between the Yellow and the Yangtze Rivers, was the scene of constant eruptions and wars. Every conquest was marked by fearful atrocities; every accession of a new emperor or king was preceded by intrigues and at times by many murders. Such a dark age would seem to be uninstructive and of little general interest. Nevertheless it was a time during which Buddhism gained unparalleled success in China. Besides, the mingling of blood which followed the barbarian supremacy in the North, in no small degree, accounts for the difference in language, appearance, and culture, still noticeable among the Chinese of different provinces at the present day.

Barbarian Settlements in China.—During the Han Dynasties, there was scarcely a border tribe that did not feel the weight of Chinese dominion. As a rule, the conquered were transferred from points along the frontier to more inland places. Thus the very

point for which the barbarian tribes had for ages been strenuously fighting, viz., to gain a foothold in China, was now readily conceded to them. The result was that the Hsiung-nu element dominated what is now Shansi province; the Tibetan tribes (Ti (氐) and Chiang (羌)) the Kansu and Szechuan provinces; and the Tungustic Tribes (Hsien-pei (鮮卑) and Chieh (羯)) the Chihli province; all retaining their own customs as well as their tribal forms of government. It required no prophet to foresee that as soon as the restraining hand slackened, these barbarian hordes would make trouble. On more than one occasion was Sz Ma Yen reminded of the coming danger, but nothing was done. The harem ladies of Tung Wu had been added to his own and the reunion of the empire seemed complete. The emperor had something to keep him busy. As to what might happen in the future, his successors must look out for that.

Seals given to Hsiung-nu and Hsien-pei, Tsin Dynasty

Successors of Sz Ma Yen.—His successors, however, were not capable of looking out for themselves. The death of Sz Ma Yen in A.D. 290 left his throne to his idiotic son, Hui Ti (惠帝). Worse still, this imbecile monarch had a queen whose ambitions knew no bound, and whose hands had but recently been stained with the blood of many of her husband's concubines. To gain power, the Empress Chih (賈), for this was her name, set one prince against another, until she became a terror in the court of Lo Yang. Even the step-mother of Hui Ti and the heir-apparent (by a palace lady) perished at her hands. Every item that usually appears in the list of royal crimes could with justice be charged against her. At last a rebellion broke out and she paid the penalty with her life. This was called the Rebellion of the Eight Princes from the number that took part in it, though some of them were fighting on the side of the queen.

The next emperor, Huai Ti (懷帝), brother of Hui Ti, was a better man than his predecessor, but the condition of the empire had reached a state beyond his repair. Under the feudal system inaugurated by his father, Sz Ma Yen, the empire was virtually dependent upon the feudal princes for defence, but these had wasted the energy of the nation for their own purposes. Just at this juncture a formidable foe appeared at the door, and allowed no time for reconstruction. After a reign of six years, Huai Ti was captured by the barbarians and was led into Ping Yang (平陽), the capital of the Kingdom of Han.

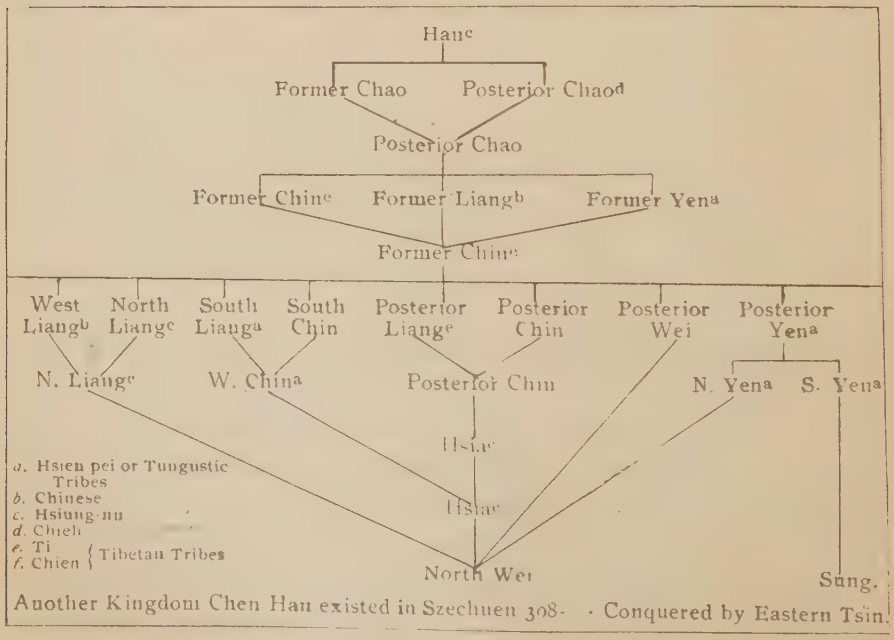
Kingdom of Han.—This was the kingdom set up by the Hsiung-nu population in Shansi. They had been divided by Ch'ao Ch'ao into five tribes, each governed by a chieftain, subject to the power of the Chinese resident at Ping Yang. These chieftains all adopted the surname of Liu, thus claiming descent from the Han emperors through those princesses that had been given in marriage to their ancestors. One of these chieftains, Liu Yüan (劉淵), was a man of commanding presence and exceptional abilities in addition to being a Chinese scholar. With the consent of his colleagues, he assumed the tittle of Hsien-yu and made Tso Kuo Cheng (左國城) his capital. In 308 he changed his title to Huang Ti and removed his court to Ping Yang. His son, Lieh Ts'ung (列聰), not only inherited his father's throne but also his war with the Tsin emperor. After a series of battles, his generals, Liu Yao (劉曜) and Shih Lê (石勒), appeared before the city of Lo Yang. No rescue came from the feudal lords, and the city was taken.

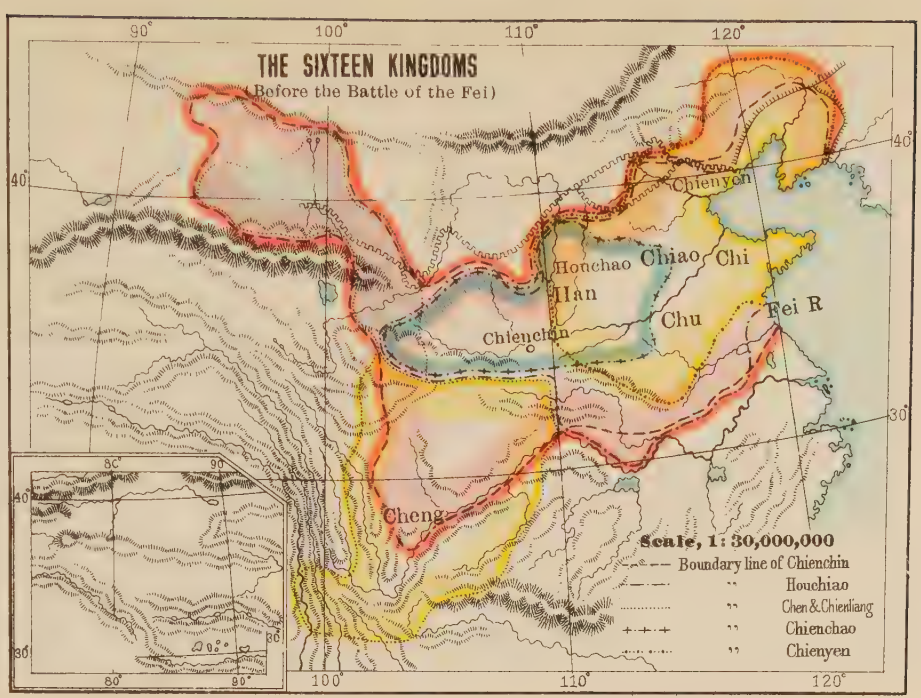
When the news of the capture of Huai Ti reached Chang An (長安), his nephew, Prince of Ch'in (秦), immediately assumed the imperial title. In the year following, he opened the gates of Chang An and submitted to Liu Yao. Thus in two years Liu Ts'ung had captured two Chinese emperors, one of whom was made to serve him at the table while the other held his imperial umbrella, before they were finally put to death.

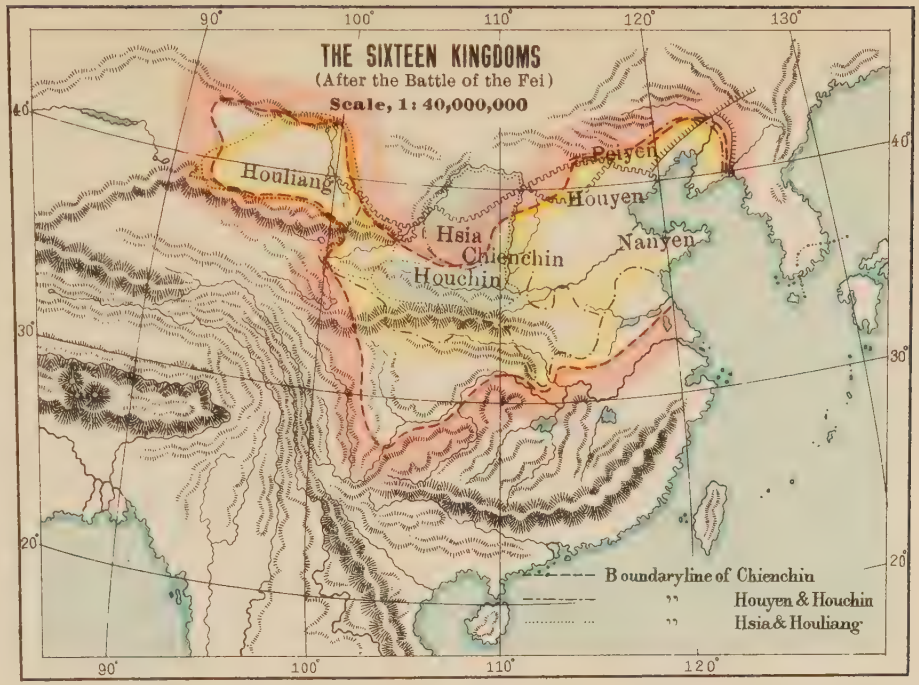
Dismemberment of North China.—The glory of the Han empire did not last long. After the death of Liu Ts'ung

his generals, Liu Yao and Shih Lê, divided the kingdom between them, the former receiving all territory to the west of Lo Yang and the latter all to the east of it. These were known as anterior (前) and posterior (後) Chao (趙) respectively. In course of time the latter absorbed the former. Posterior Chao itself was then split up into small kingdoms which were at length united by Fu Chien (符堅) of the Former Ch'in (前秦). This colossus collapsed in turn, and the fragments into which it was broken maintained a sort of independence until they were absorbed by the Toba Tartars. In short, North China within the space of 135 years witnessed the rise and fall of no less than sixteen kingdoms. The principal actors in this great drama belonged to five subdivisions of the Tartar race: hence we speak of this event as "The Middle Kingdom in the hands of Five Huns." Such are the outlines of the political history of the Northern Empire during the time the house of Eastern Tsin maintained a shadow of authority in the South.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE NAMES AND FORTUNES OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS




THE SIXTEEN KINGDOMS
(Before the Battle of the Fei)
90°
100°
110°
120°
40°
30°
Chienyen
Houchao
Chiao
Chi
Han
Chu
Fei R
Chienchin
Cheng
Scale, 1: 30,000,000
Boundary line of Chienchin
" Houchiao
" Chen & Chienliang
" Chienchao
" Chienyen


THE SIXTEEN KINGDOMS
(After the Battle of the Fei)
Scale, 1: 40,000,000
90°
100°
110°
120°
130°
40°
30°
20°
Houliang
Peiyen
Houyen
Hsia
Chienchin
Houchin
Nanyen
Boundaryline of Chienchin
" Houyen & Houchin
" Hsia & Houliang

Eastern Tsin.—When the last representative of the line of Sz Ma I was led captive into Shansi, a prince of the blood, whose fief included what is now the city of Nanking, afterwards known as Yuan Ti (元帝), declared himself Emperor and made that city the capital of the South. Neither he nor his successors were able to recover the land from the barbarians, although the condition of affairs in the North during most of the time was such as to invite interference. This was due to the fact that Eastern Tsin had troubles of her own and needed all the available troops to restore order within her own borders, the formidable rebellions of 322 (by Wang Tun 王敦) and 328 (by Su Chun 蘇峻) having considerably weakened her. On more than one occasion was the city of Wuchang, the rendezvous of the empire, the centre of the storm.

For obvious reason the northern tribes were also unable to cause the Chinese much trouble except on one occasion in the year 384.

Battle of the Fei.—At this time, the kingdom of Former Chin was in the zenith of her power. Fuh Chien, her king, not only had subdued the whole of North China but had also extended his dominion over some sixty-two states in Turkestan in the west and Corea in the east. Against the advice of his best generals, in 384, he led 600,000 infantry and 270,000 cavalry into Eastern Tsin. In reply to a remark on the natural barrier afforded by the Yangtze, he said contemptuously that if each of his cavalry men should only drop his riding whip into it, the army would be able to cross it dry shod. Upon receipt of the news that his flying column had captured the city of Shou Yang (壽陽), he hurried forward with only 8,000 men in order to be in the front. The opposing army numbered but 80,000 men. It was, therefore, to the interest of the Chinese that they should induce the enemy to give battle before the arrival of his main force, and in this they were successful. The armies met on the banks of the Fei (淝), where Fuh Chien was so badly defeated that he was not able to collect his scattered forces. They continued

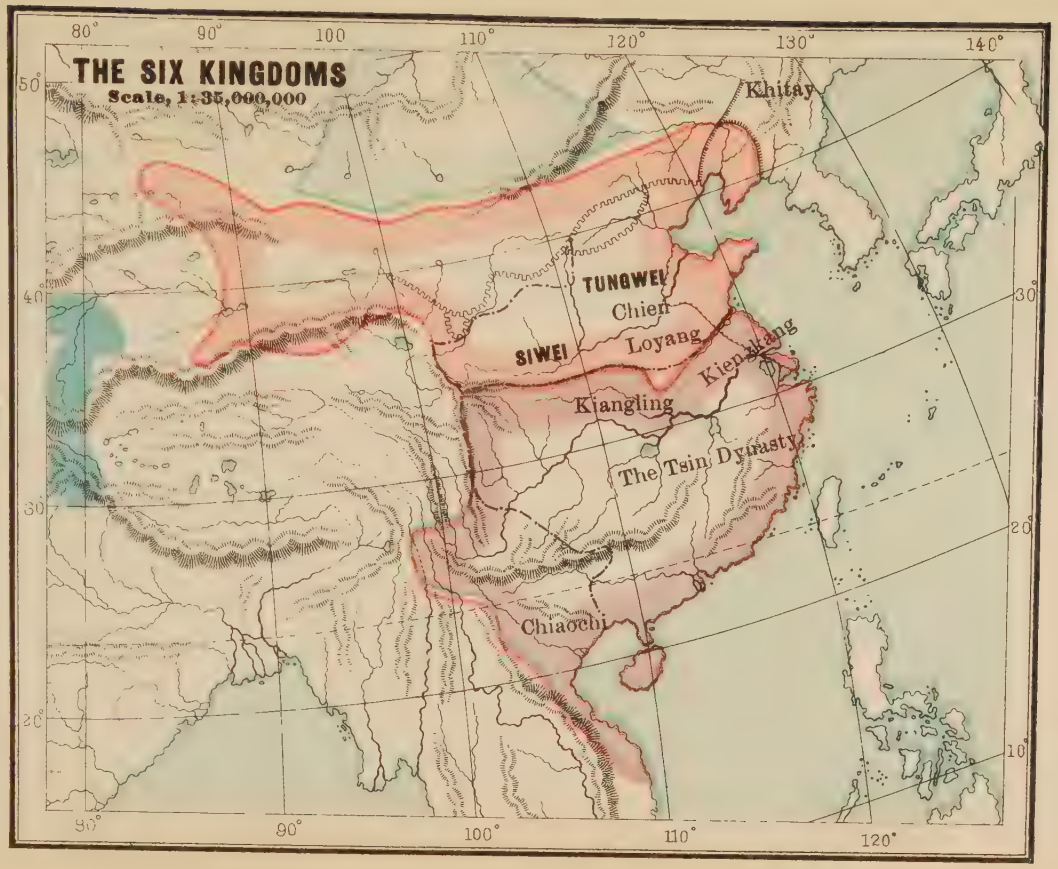
their flight until they reached their own country. This battle reaffirmed the boundary between the North and the South and ultimately led to the partition of Fuh Chien's kingdom.

Epoch of Division between the North and the South.—Upon the ruins of Former Chin, as many as eight separate kingdoms sprang up. One of them, North Wei, founded by the Toba Tartars in 386, soon began such a career of conquests that by 445 the Northern Empire was restored to the original boundaries of Former Chin. In the South, the house of Eastern Chin had, some 25 years before, been superseded by the house of Sung. Thus there was one empire in the North with its capital at Lo Yang, and another in the South with its capital at Nanking.

THE NORTH

Military Fame of the Toba Tartars.—In point of strength, the Northern Empire was by far the superior. The Toba Tartars belonged to the Hsien-pei family who had come into possession of the country formerly belonging to the Northern Hsiung-nu. It would seem that this part of Mongolia was inexhaustible as a producer of warlike hordes; for as soon as it was vacated by the Hsien-pei, it became the home of the Jou Jan (柔然) and Kao Ch'e (高車). The latter caused their kindred in the South no less trouble than the Hsien-pei had given the Chinese. The reign of Tai Wu Ti (424-452) constituted the brightest period in the military annals of the Wei Empire. In one engagement he drove his more barbarous brethren into the wildness of the Yen Jan (燕然) Mountain, and took as many as 1,000,000 prisoners. Tribute began to pour into his court at Ping Cheng (平城), which was then the capital of the Empire, from such distant states as Corea and Turkestan.

The Toba Tartars Became Chinese.—Since these Tartars had very little to impart in the way of civilization they were ready to accept what the conquered had to offer. Within the space of a hundred years, their traits were entirely changed through their contact with the superior civilization of the Chinese. This result may be attributed to the efforts of one of their princes, Hsiao Wu Ti (孝武帝), who reigned between A.D. 471 and 499. It was he who


THE SIX KINGDOMS
Scale, 1:35,000,000
Khitay
TUNGWEI
Chien
SIWEI
Loyang
Kiangling
The Tsin Dynasty
Chiaochi
80°
90°
100
110°
120°
130°
140°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°

moved the capital from Ping Cheng to Lo Yang, the centre of Chinese civilization. Laws were then proclaimed making it an offence either to wear the Tartar costume or to speak the Tartar tongue. The family name, Toba (meaning *origin*) was changed to Yüan (元), a Chinese character of the same import. The names of other families were likewise changed by order of the emperor. It was the Chinese ceremonials and government that the court adopted. To encourage intermarriage, it was decreed that the Chinese wife of a prince should take precedence of his Tartar wife or wives, irrespective of the time of marriage. Such changes were naturally considered unjust and conspiracies against the authority of the emperor were numerous.

There is much truth in the statement that "China is a great sea that salts all the water that flows into it." While the Tartars made every effort to imitate the Chinese, the latter were no less diligent in picking up the Hsien-pei tongue. This is evidenced by the number of books published to aid in the study of that language. The names of many of these publications have been preserved in the annals of the Sung Dynasty.

Break-up of North Wei.—In 535 North Wei was divided into two parts, the Western and the Eastern. The former existed for 17 years and the latter 10, when they were succeeded respectively by North Chou (北周) and North Ch'i (北齊). North Ch'i had five rulers, whose reigns aggregated twenty-eight years; and then it was added to North Chou, though it had previously lost a portion of its territory to the Southern Empire, which, at this time, was called Ch'en (陳). North Chou was taken in 581 by its powerful minister Yang Chien (楊堅), who seven years later conquered Ch'en. Now it was that China was restored to the Chinese, and came again under the rule of one man.

The South

Sung.—The Sung Dynasty was founded by Liu Yu (劉裕), a general of the Eastern Tsin, who had previously gained popularity through his successful campaigns against the Tartars. Upon becoming

emperor, he took the title of Wu Ti (武帝) and reigned three years. His son, Shao Ti, was dethroned and murdered after a reign of one year. Wen Ti (文帝), the next occupant of the throne, struggled with the Northern Power for the conquest of Honan. At one time, he took possession of the land he coveted, but was soon obliged to relinquish it. His second attempt ten years later resulted in an invasion of his own country by the Toba Tartars, who came as far south as Kua Pu (瓜步), and committed many savage atrocities. Wen Ti could see the tents of the Tartars on the opposite bank of the Yangtze from the walls of Nanking. Owing to lack of provisions, the invaders, however, withdrew without making an attempt to take the city.

Wen Ti was murdered by his son, who, in turn, was murdered by his brother. The next two emperors Ming Ti (明帝) (465-473) and Tsang Yü Wang (蒼語王) (473-476) were cruel and bloodthirsty, while the last two, being adopted children, held but nominal sway over the country. The dynasty with its eight rulers lasted 59 years and ended thus miserably after a series of unwonted crimes.

Ch'i.—(A.D. 479-502). Su Tao Cheng (蕭道成), the founder of the Ch'i (齊) Dynasty, was a general who rose to fame by his wars with Wei. In 479, he forced Shun Ti (順帝), the last ruler of the house of Liu Sung (劉宋), to abdicate in his favor. Assuming the dynastic title of Kao Ti (高帝), he reigned but four years, and was followed by six rulers most of whom died in quick succession by violence.

Liang.—(A.D. 502-557). This was the dynasty founded by Su Yen (蕭衍), who obtained the throne as usual in those days by forcing his weak sovereign to abdicate and then killing him. During his reign of forty-eight years the South enjoyed an interval of comparative prosperity and peace.

His reign was an important epoch in the history of Chinese Buddhism, but this will be related elsewhere. In connection with a military plan, a dam was built in his reign across the Han (漢) River with a view to inundating the city of Hsiang Yang, which guarded the entrance into the Wei Empire. The dam when

completed was three miles long, 500 feet high, 1,445 feet wide at the base, and 450 feet wide at the top. It, however, failed to bring about the desired effect. On the contrary, the accumulated waters breaking through the dam carried away fifteen thousand of the Liang soldiers.

Towards the close of the reign of Liang Wu Ti, the dynastic title of Su Yen, a formidable rebellion broke out, headed by Hou Chin (侯景), who had recently deserted Eastern Wei, and sought safety at the court at Nanking. This rebellion resulted in the division of the Liang Empire into the Posterior Liang (後梁) and Ch'en (陳). The former, however, being only a vassal state of Western Wei, is hardly worthy of our attention.

Ch'en.—(A.D. 557-587). Ch'en maintained its independence in Nanking, and Ch'en Pa-hsien (陳霸先), its founder, also took the title Wu Ti. So far as the means that he employed in obtaining the throne were concerned he was not unlike the Wu Ti of the preceding dynasty; but he ruled only three years. Hsüan Ti (569–582) wrested several districts from North Ch'i, but in his encounter with North Chou he was badly defeated. His son, Hou Chu (後主), though a good poet, was by no means fit to rule a nation. He squandered the public money in the building of fine palaces to please the fancy of his harem ladies, many of whom were poetesses. His literary taste was such that state affairs were entirely neglected. On the fall of Nanking, in the emperor's department were found a number of unopened despatches which had come from his generals reporting the movements of the invader.

The fall of Ch'en brings us to the close of the period of Darkness, and now it remains for us briefly to consider the spread of Buddhism, its cause and effects, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM

Influences Favorable to Buddhism.—With the rise of the Tsin Dynasty, the tide of Confucianism, which had reached its high water mark through the efforts of the Han writers, began to ebb. It was the doctrine of Lao Tze (老子), as ably expounded by Chuang Tze (莊子), rather than Confucianism, that was now gaining the public favor. Learned men began to attack openly the Confucian system of morality, condemning it as one well calculated to fetter the human intellect. "The highest virtue," says Lao Tze, "does nothing and consequently does not trust to or rest on any action. Virtue of an inferior kind anxiously acts and trusts to action." So long as Confucianism was based upon action, it was no virtue; and all the moral restraints it had imposed upon society were open to criticism. Such were the views of men who have been nicknamed "Purity Debaters" (清談). They devoted their time to the abstruse "Purity" of Lao Tze, rather than to the ideas of Confucianism.

Carved pedestal of Buddhist image. Northern Wei Dynasty. ("Chinese Art")

After the rise of the Tartar Tribes in the North, these men flocked into the South, and their views soon spread through the country like an epidemic. This accounts for the absence of classical schools during the Eastern Tsin. To the "Purity Debaters," Buddhism naturally afforded more food for deliberation than Taoism, and they were not slow in placing their literary genius at the disposal of the foreign faith. The popularity of some of the Buddhist writings is due to the literary finish received from these men.

In the North where the "epidemic" was less severe, the Confucian classics continued to hold their own ground; but that region was continuously under the rule of Tartars who with few exceptions were thorough Buddhists.

Influx of Foreign Monks.—Ever since the introduction of Buddhism into China by Ming Ti, there had been a large influx of foreign monks through the two Great Routes. In 335 a decree was issued by the Prince of Chao (石虎), at the instance of Buddhojanga (佛圖澄), removing all obstacles that had been placed in the way of a Chinese subject desiring to become a Sramana (沙門). This was the first time the people of China were suffered to enter the Buddhist priesthood, and it is recorded that large monasteries began to be established in North China, and that nine-tenths of the common people followed the foreign faith. The next Indian monk of importance, Kumarajiva (鳩摩羅什), visited China in A.D. 405. He was brought from Kau-tzi (龜茲), a kingdom in Nan Lu. This state was invaded by the King of Tsin (姚興), who gave his general instructions not to come home without this Indian whose fame had preceded him. After his arrival at Chang An, the work of editing and revising the Chinese translations of the Sutras (經) was assigned to him. He also wrote a Shastra (論) on Reality and Appearance and translated the Diamond Sutra (金剛經), which has done more to popularize Buddhism with the educated classes than all the other material put together.

Buddhidharma (達摩), who reached Canton by sea during the reign of Liang Wu Ti, deserves special notice. He was the sixty-second patriarch of India and the first in China. He discouraged the use of books, claiming that the attainment of Buddhahood was entirely the work of the mind. Not being satisfied with the result of his interview with Liang Wu Ti, he went to Lo Yang, where he is said to have sat with his face set towards a wall for nine years.

After the Brahmanical persecution in the beginning of the sixth century, more Indian monks sought China both as an asylum and

as a field for their chosen work. Instead of confining themselves to literary work, they undertook to propagate their faith by preaching.

Chinese Pilgrims.—While streams of Indian monks virtually deluged China, the road between Eastern Persia and Hsi Yüeh had frequently been travelled by the Chinese. A succession of Chinese monks thus found their way into the land of Buddha, either to gather additional books, or to make pilgrimages to places of religious renown. Many of them, on their return to China, wrote accounts of what they had seen. The oldest report of this sort is the Account of Buddhist Kingdoms (佛國記) by Fa Hsien (法顯). This has been translated by Europeans and to it we owe much of our present knowledge of the lands therein described. Having travelled overland to India, Fa Hsien, after an absence of 14 years, came home by sea. He embarked at Ceylon (Singhalæ 獅子國) and landed at some point on the Kaochow coast, in the year 414. While in India he made an effort to collect as many works of the "Great Development (大乘)" (Mahayana) as possible, for very little of this sect had hitherto been known. Most of the books that had been translated before his time, belonged to the "Small Development (小乘)," (Hinayana). This is what we may call Primitive Buddhism, while the "Great Development" represents later additions. The books of the latter school were composed, it is thought, in the reign of Kaiushka (迦膩色迦), (A.D. 15-45) in Kashmen at the fourth Council. After his return he was engaged in translation work with the aid of Palatsanga, a native of India.

Eight years before the arrival of Buddhidharma in China, Sun Yün (孫雲) was sent to India by the Prince of Wei. He travelled to Candahar, stayed two years in Udyana and returned with 175 Buddhist works. He has also left us a narrative of his journey.

Foreign Embassies to China—The rapid advancement of Buddhism in China was the cause that led to free intercourse between China and the outside world. During the reign of Sung Wen

Ti (宋文帝) (424–453) several embassies from states in India reached China. In the annals of this dynasty have been preserved letters from the kings of Aratan, Jebabada, Ceylon and Kapilavasta, the last being the place of Buddha's birth. The object of these kings was to congratulate the Chinese emperor on the flourishing condition of Buddhism in his dominions, and to open up intercourse on the ground of a common religion.

In the time of Liang Wu Ti, Corean envoys came to ask for the "Nirvana" and other Buddhist classics.

Buddhist Prosperity under the Wei Dynasty.—The period of Buddhist prosperity under the Toba Dynasty commenced with the reign of Hsien Wen Ti (獻文帝), a thorough Buddhist (466-470). Prior to this reign, Taoism had obtained a temporary supremacy due to influence of Ts'ui Hao (崔浩), Wen Cheng Ti's (文成帝) chief adviser, who was a devoted Taoist. Buddhist literature was threatened with total destruction, and monks and nuns were to be put to death wherever found. It is questionable, however, whether or not these stern decrees were ever vigorously executed, for Hsien Wen Ti, then heir to the throne, was known to have had great influence with his father. At all events, whatever harm had been done to Buddhism during his father's reign was more than made good when he came into power. No expense was spared by him to promote Buddhism; and one image alone, constructed in 467, was forty-three feet high and required one hundred piculs of brass and six piculs of gold.

Hsien Wen Ti was followed by rulers no less devoted to Buddhism than himself. In the reign of Hsiao Ming Ti (孝明帝) (516-527), there were 415 sets of Buddhist books, 30,000 temples, and more than 200,000 monks and nuns. The building of temples and pagodas and the making of images were greatly encouraged by his mother, the Empress Hu (胡后).

In this connection, it is interesting to observe that image making seems to have been employed as a means of divination by the Tartars from times immemorial. Under the Wei Dynasty, no girl

could become an empress unless she had cast a perfect image of Buddha. The same process of divination was always resorted to by men who had designs on the throne, and the failure in casting perfect Buddhas saved the life of more than one emperor.

Another peculiar custom of the Toba Tartars was their early marriage. This is evidenced by the fact that Hsien Wen Ti (獻文帝) was only seventeen years old when he resigned his throne in favor of his five-year-old son, Hsiao Wen Ti (孝文帝), in order to devote his time to the study of Buddhism. A second case in point was that of a prince of North Ch'i (北齊), who, when put to death at the age of fourteen, had five sons by different mothers. Though it is said that some of them were born shortly before and some shortly after his death.

Buddhist Prosperity under Liang Wu Ti.—In the South, the reign of Liang Wu Ti (梁武帝) formed an important era in the annals of Chinese Buddhism. To quote from his own words: "From my accession to the throne, I have been incessantly building temples, transcribing sacred books, and permitting new monks to take the vows." More than this he even forbade the weaving of figures of animals in silk. Not that it had anything to do with the life of an animal, but he thought that the cutting through these figures by tailors might lead people to treat animal life with less consideration. No animal was to be offered for sacrifice, but its place was to be taken by imitations made of bread. This emperor was so zealous a Buddhist that he gave himself up three times to become a monk in the T'ung T'ai Monastery (同泰寺) at Nanking; and each time large ransoms had to be paid by his courtiers before he would return home and resume the reins of government. Of Buddhist emperors there have been many, but in point of mad devotion Liang Wu Ti leads them all.

Opposition by the Confucianists.—We must not suppose that Buddhism met with no opposition from the Confucianists. On the contrary, the opposition was strong; and, at times, it even amounted to persecutions. But whatever effect there was, it was but

temporary. Buddhism had come into China to stay, and from the time of its admittance it grew side by side with Taoism and Confucianism. A part of a discussion, which took place in the court of Ch'i Wu Ti (齊武帝), between a Confucianist and a Buddhist is worthy of reproduction here, as it illustrates the views of the Confucian scholars at that remote period in regard to the theory of retribution and the existence of the soul.

On the first point, the Confucianist says:—"Men are like flowers on trees; they grow together and are bent and scattered by the breeze. Some fall upon curtains and carpets, and are like those whose lot is cast in palaces; while others drop among heaps of filth, and represent men who are born in humble life. Riches and poverty, therefore, can be accounted for without the doctrine of retribution."

On the second point, his remark runs as follows:—

"The soul is to the body what the sharpness is to the knife. The soul cannot exist without the body any more than the sharpness can remain without the knife."

Influence of Buddhism upon Chinese Civilization.—That pagodas, temples, etc., are built in China after a Hindoo pattern is a fact too well known to need repetition here; but it is not in Chinese architecture alone that traces of Hindoo influence are found. They are also found in Chinese arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, literature, music, sculpture, painting, and, in fact, in almost every branch of Chinese art and science. The most important point students have to bear in mind is the extent to which Chinese civilization has been revolutionized since the coming of Buddhism. Modern writers are of the opinion that evidences of Greek elements are not wanting in the early Hindoo civilization. If this is true, Buddhism was also the agent that imported Greek culture into China. Of all the changes that have resulted from the spread of Buddhism, those in connection with Chinese literature are of the most permanent value. They are what we may call the Chinese syllabic spelling and the system of Four Tones.

The Chinese Syllabic Spelling.—This is a system of phonetic analysis introduced by those Hindoos engaged in translating Buddhist works into Chinese. For the first time the Chinese were given an alphabet and taught that each monosyllabic sound was divisible into parts. With the help of these Hindoos a table of thirty-six initial letters was formed on the model of the Sanskrit alphabet, and the vocal organs by which they were made were carefully explained. Thus by means of two sets of representative characters, one for initials and another for the finals, a mode of spelling was provided. No foreign alphabet was required; the Chinese characters were made to answer the purpose. The use of this system soon became universal, and in fact it has been handed down to us in the dictionaries and popular editions of the Chinese Classics issued subsequent to its invention. Owing, however, to the changes that our language has since undergone, this method of spelling, in some cases, fails to give the correct pronunciation of the character, especially in dialects which bear no resemblance to the old tongue. Still, the principle is useful and can be advantageously employed in any dialect.*

The System of Four Tones.—Shen Yo (沈約), the Historian of the Tsin, Liusung, and Ch'i dynasties, is said to have been the author of this system. In his autobiography, he said: "The poets of old, during the past thousands of years, never hit upon this plan. I alone discovered its advantage." Inasmuch as the discovery seems to have been the natural result of the first invention, it may be doubted whether or not he arrived at the result unaided. At any rate, he lived in the court of Liang Wu Ti, the great centre of the best representatives of the Hindoo mind then in China. Furthermore, several contemporaneous works treating of the tones have been preserved. There is no good reason, therefore, to give Shen Yo the credit that he claimed. According to some authorities the number of tones

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*Since most of the translations of Buddhist works were made in Shensi, Shansi, Chihli and Honan provinces, a reference to the original Sanskrit text will not fail to give us the right pronunciation of the character as they were pronounced at that remote period.

increased from two to three in the time of Confucius, and from three to four in the time of Shen Yo. The number at the present day is eight.

The Style of the Six Dynasties.—With the invention of the two phonetic systems above mentioned, a new style of Chinese composition sprang into being, commonly called the Style of the Six Dynasties (六朝體).* This required sentences to be arranged in pairs throughout the whole narrative and with strict regard to the tones of the words. It was neither prose nor poetry, but the combination of the two. For several centuries it continued to be the most favorite style with the Chinese scholars; but subsequent writers condemned it as an attempt to obtain rhetorical beauty at the expense of freshness and originality. It is little used at the present day.

Chinese Geomancy or "Feng Shui."—By *Feng Shui* (風水) is meant the peculiar superstition of China which attempts to explain how the location of a house, a grave, a city, a road, and the like, has to do with the destinies of individual families, or the people at large. The origin of this system is uncertain, although some authorities are inclined to think that Kuo P'o (郭璞), a scholar of the Tsin Dynasty, was its author. It is safe to say that it is a system which has in it Buddhist as well as Taoist elements. The mention, in some books of *Feng Shui*, of the Sumeru mountain as the centre of the world certainly shows that part at least was borrowed from India. It is also certain that, since the spread of Buddhism, *Feng Shui* and Buddhism have worked hand in hand. Pagodas were originally built as the depositaries of religious relics (Shiriras 舍利); but in many places in China, they owe their existence entirely to the prevalence of *Feng Shui*, which is the greatest enemy to progress. *Feng Shui* interferes with commerce, retards the industrial growth of a nation, and enslaves the human intellect by foisting upon it the superstitions of antiquity. Whether it was an imported system like Buddhism, or the product of the Chinese mind, the sooner it is forgotten by the Chinese, the better for China.

* The Six Dynasties here referred to are, the Tung Wu, Tung Tsin, Liusung, Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en, all of which maintained their courts at Nanking.

Age of Calligraphers.—The time of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty was an age of calligraphers. It was then that Wang Hsi-chih (王羲之) and his son Hsien Chih (獻之) and others, lived and gave to the world the specimens of their best works. These specimens of calligraphy, as a rule, are cut in stone, and their "rubbings" sold to school boys in China as models. The number of famous calligraphers was greatly multiplied during the Epoch of Division between the North and the South; but, by general consent, Wang Hsi-chih stands at the head of the list. In China, a calligrapher is as much an artist, and enjoys as much respect as a painter. Since the Eastern Tsin Dynasty, calligraphy has been considered a separate profession. Its development, of course, has had nothing to do with the growth of Buddhism; but, among the specimens that have been preserved to the present day, there are many copies of Sutras made by the calligraphers of note.

Conclusion.—To criticize Buddhism has been the fashion with Confucian historians. These men are not slow to take advantage of the fact that the great patrons of Buddhism during the period under consideration, were mostly persons, such as Shih Fu, the Empress Hu and Liang Hu Ti, whose lives were in no wise consistent with the faith they professed. Many of them were great murderers. The historians therefore have come to the conclusion that Buddhism encourages crime. If the building of pagodas and temples and the like can atone for crimes committed, what deterrent is there, especially when such crimes provided the money needed for the alleged charitable work? While in certain cases men did seek Buddhism because of remorse, the prosperity of this faith has been due, no doubt, to political as well as religious reasons. The theory of retribution is an instrument that an absolute government can handle to the best advantage; and in this respect, Buddhism supplies a defect which has long been felt in Confucianism. From a religious standpoint, Buddhism actually prepared the way for the Nestorian Christianity and the Mohammedanism which flourished in the T'ang Dynasty.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SUI DYNASTY

Introductory.—As stated in Chapter XVI, China was reunited under the Sui Dynasty. Yang Chien (楊堅), its founder, claimed the empire from A.D. 581, the year in which he deposed the last ruler of the North Chou (北周), although the South was not annexed until seven years later. The dynasty took its name from his father's dukedom, which he had inherited. Before that time it had been perfectly correct to write the character, Sui (隨), with the radical meaning "to run," but Yang Chien considered it a bad omen, and discarded the offensive radical, making the character appear thus 隋. The change he thus introduced, however, did not establish his dynasty more firmly. It was short-lived and came to an end in A.D. 618.

Yang Chien, the Founder of the Dynasty.—Yang Chien began his public career in the reign of the Wu Ti (武帝) of North Chou. In 576 he became an object of suspicion, and policy required him to lie in hiding for a while. The next emperor, Hsüan Ti (宣帝), being his son-in-law, reinstated him. This emperor evidently thought himself equal to the gods, for he required the image of Buddha and that of the Taoist god to be placed by him whenever he held court. As the authority of the emperor waned, the popularity of Yang Chien increased. After the death of Hsüan Ti, which took place in 580, Yang Chien compelled his grandson, Ching Ti (靜帝), to make him prince of Sui. This only served as a stepping stone to the throne. It was followed in the next year by the dethronement of Ching Ti himself and by the subsequent wholesale slaughter of all the Yu-wen (宇文) Tartars, to which tribe the reigning house of North Chou belonged.

The credit for the annexation of Ch'en belonged to his two generals, Han Ch'in-fu (韓擒虎) and Ho Jê-pi (賀若弼). On

the fall of Nanking in 586, Hou Chu (後主) was led to Chang An and presented to the spirits in the ancestral hall.* Chang An now became again the capital of united China.

Yang Chien was by no means an unworthy ruler. He lightened the taxes, codified the criminal law, instituted the tithing system, opened public libraries, and set an example of simplicity and economy in food and dress. His reign lasted sixteen years, during which the population is said to have doubled, reaching a total of nearly nine millions. Assassinated by his second son, Yang Kuang (dynastic name, Yang Ti), in 605, he was canonized as Wen Ti (文帝) with the temple name of Kao Tsu (高祖).

Reign of Yang Ti.—This monarch was the reverse of his father. Through the frugality of the latter, he now found the finances of the empire in such a condition as to justify his expenditure. Accordingly 2,000,000 workmen were forced to lay out a new city at Lo Yang. Many magnificent palaces sprang up. Rare plants, flowers, birds and animals were brought from distant parts of the empire to adorn a park in Lo Yang which was 200 *li* in circumference with a lake ten *li* in circumference in the centre. The emperor's libraries were also many, and they were constructed so that the windows and doors would open automatically as one entered and close again as he departed. Kiang Tu (江都) (Yangchow) was likewise adorned with beautiful edifices. Besides these, there were forty wayside residences, established in as many different places, where he took up his abode when on his pleasure trips. A less energetic

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*This is a custom dating, so far as we know, from the Chou Dynasty. The idea was to notify the ancestors that a powerful enemy had been overthrown. Under the Chou Dynasty no such ceremony was required when the captive belonged to the same family as the captor. When the young King of the Taipings was captured, the question came up as to whether he should be sent to Peking or not and then be presented in the Manchu Temples, the Emperor, Tung Chi, however, decided it in the negative; a rebel King not being the chief of a foreign state, was not "dignified enough" to be placed in the presence of the spirits.

ruler would perhaps have been contented with what had been good enough for his father to live in.

The Grand Canal.—If fine palaces do not belong to the reign of a weak and effeminate monarch, we can certainly expect less from him in the line of public improvements. Whatever may have been the motive of Yang Ti,* no one can deny that the canal system which he gave to China was a blessing rather than a curse, as it has often been represented by the Confucian historians. He built four principal canals; one connecting Cho Chün (涿郡) with the Yellow River (now known as Wei Ho (衛河) in Shantung); the second prolonging the first until it met the Huai (淮) at right angles; the third connecting the Huai and the Yangtze; and the fourth extending from Ching Kou (京口) to Hangchow (杭州). For the first time, one could travel by boat from "Chang An to Kiang Tu." It is hardly necessary to add that such a tremendous work was executed at a great sacrifice of life. In China where superstition is supreme, it requires a man of more than ordinary will power to effect any public improvement of the character described.

Yang Ti's Foreign Policy.—In external affairs, Yang Ti was no less energetic. When their images of gold became the trophies of the Chinese soldiers, the ancient people of Annam (林邑) were taught that their elephants could avail them very little. The inhabitants of Kokonor (吐谷渾) were subdued and the king of the Turkie (突厥) was induced to enter into a matrimonial alliance. Envoys were sent to the states in Hsi Yüeh, and when their agents came with tribute, a whole month was given up to feasting. A trading mart was established at Feng Chow (汾州), Shansi, where Chinese, the Turkie (突厥), the peoples of Hsi Yüeh

* The motive assigned to Yang Ti by the ancient historians was his own pleasure. It is quite possible that the canal owes its existence as much to military schemes as to the emperor's love for pleasure trips. Certain it is Cho Chün was made the base of operations during his three Corean campaigns. Here supplies of all kinds were brought in from the South. And no record exists to-day showing that the Emperor ever made his pleasure trips on this canal.

and others carried on a sort of barter trade. Yang Ti's attention having been attracted to the Great Wall, the everlasting monument of the "First Emperor," he built an additional wall from Yulin (榆林), Shensi, to the Tzŭ (紫) River in Tatungfu (大同府), Shansi.

In the east, his soldiers ventured even into the Pacific, attacked the Loo Choo (琉球) Islands, and brought home some of the natives who were sold into slavery. His fame travelled so far that the Emperor of Japan also sent an embassy to him. In the letter addressed to him, the Chinese emperor was spoken of as the "Son of Heaven for the Land of the Setting Sun (日入處天子)," which shows how little the people at that time knew of the world. Yang Ti, who could not bear to think that his sun had begun to set, is said to have been highly displeased with the wording of this letter. Nevertheless it was true; the Sui Dynasty did not remain long in power after the receipt of the letter in question.

Expeditions Against Corea.—Towards the close of his reign, Yang Ti made several attempts to invade Corea, because its king had refused to pay tribute to the court at Lo Yang. An army of 350,000 set out from Cho Chün in 611 to overrun the Liaotung peninsula, while a fleet of 300 ships was sent to harass the coast. The army fell into a trap and only a small portion of it returned to report the defeat. A second expedition, a year later, had hardly reached the country of the enemy when Yang Ti had to withdraw in order to put down a rebellion in Li Yang (黎陽). This work having been easily accomplished, he was again in 614 at the head of an army marching towards the Corean frontier. This time the Coreans, tired of war, sued for peace and promised to pay a nominal tribute. The failure of the Corean campaign was due, in the first place, to the fact that the invading army was too large to be maintained at such a distance. As one of Yang Ti's ministers remarked, he was virtually "using a ballista of a thousand pounds to shoot a rat." In the second place it was a fatal mistake to require his generals, as he did, to refer every movement to him.

The Dragon Boat Trips.—Whenever there was no war, Yang Ti would set out from his capital on pleasure trips. In 615 while on a progress he was besieged at Yen Men (雁門) in Shansi for no less than a month by the Turkie khan. It was the trips to Kiang Tu in the South, however, that had the most fascination for him. From his officials above a certain rank, he required a quota of ornamental dragon boats, the whole forming a line of vessels nearly one hundred miles in length. On each pleasure trip his entire harem accompanied him. The burden of keeping this multitude fed, clothed, and supplied, rested entirely with the local population whose governors rivalled one another in sending the best of everything to the emperor, his ladies, and other favorites. Ere long the burden proved too much for his people. While Yang Ti was on his last pleasure trip to Kiang Tu, rebellions broke out in Shantung, Chihli, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Kiangsi, and other places.

The Downfall of the Sui Dynasty.—By A.D. 617, as many as seven usurpers had established themselves at various points. They, however, only paved the way for the great governor of T'ai Yüan (太原留守), the future founder of the T'ang (唐) Dynasty. The name of this governor was Li Yüan (李淵). He had been dispatched to T'ai Yüan to keep back the Turkie tribes who had arisen against the authority of Yang Ti; but in an engagement his forces had been badly routed. To continue the struggle with the enemy was out of the question; to give up the garrison meant his death. It was at this juncture that the suggestion of his son, Shih Min (世民), afterwards the illustrious T'ai Tsung (太宗) of the T'ang Dynasty, was acted upon. The suggestion was that he should make peace with the Turkie king and unfurl the standard of revolt. After a sleepless night, the governor gave the final order. "Now, go ahead with your scheme," said he to his son; "you either bring ruin to our family, or give me an empire." It was the latter that Shih Min did. With the aid of the Turkie, Li Yüan soon found himself in the city of Chang An, where he set up as emperor. Yang Yu (楊侑),

Prince of Tai (代王), who was a grandson of Yang Chien and had been left in that city as regent during the absence of Yang Ti. Hsiao Hsien (蕭銑), the new ruler, became undisputed master from the East River to the western border of Kuangtung, and of Hupeh and the Yellow River defile, and from Han Yang in Hupeh to Cochin China. Wang Shih-ch'ung (王世充), another leader, finding himself master of Lo Yang, set the Prince of Yeh (鄂) on the throne.

Death of Yang Ti; his Character.—Meanwhile Yang Ti had been assassinated by Yu Wen Hua Chi (宇文化及) in Kiang Tu. The emperor evidently had thought that when the worst came, he could easily establish himself in Nanking. It is stated that he made no sign of returning, but continued to live in shameless debauchery. Looking into a mirror one morning, he is said to have remarked: "I wonder who will have the honor of chopping my head off my neck". He knew that the empire was slipping away from his grasp but made no effort to save himself.

Undoubtedly Yang Ti was a monarch of many vices, but was not entirely without claims to greatness. It is quite possible that the accounts we have of him from the Confucian historians have been exaggerated to a great extent. It should be borne in mind that these men, faithful to the tradition of ages, could not view the progress of the arts, the introduction of public improvements, or the military achievements of a ruler, without jealousy or prejudice. According to them an ideal ruler should not object to being imprisoned in his palace, filled with ladies and eunuchs. He should patronize no art except what pertained to the province of Chinese literature. No work that called for an outlay of labor or money was to be attempted. Everything in this connection was judged by its cost and then by its motive, but they absolutely refused to see results. An emperor was not to try to subdue a distant tribe. Let him cultivate his virtue and then his fame would make the expeditions unnecessary! Such being their idea of a good ruler, it is no wonder that Yang Ti and

the "First Emperor" both have their names among the worst monsters of China, and even their good acts condemned in the severest language.

Of Yang Ti, Mr. K. Giles speaks as follows:—"In spite of his otherwise disreputable character, Yang Kuang (楊廣) prided himself upon his literary attainments. He set one hundred scholars to work, editing a collection of classical, medical, and other treatises; and it was under his reign, A.D. 606, that the examination for Chin Shih (進士) was instituted."

With the death of Yang Ti, the Sui Dynasty came to an end. The Prince of Tai whom Li Yüan set up in Shansi was made in the same year to resign the throne in favor of the emperor-maker, who then gave the name T'ang to his dynasty. Thus the Sui Dynasty bears the same relation in history to the T'ang as does the Ch'in to the Han. And Yang Ti was not at all unlike the "First Emperor" of the Ch'in.

CHAPTER XIX

T'AI TSUNG AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Consolidation of Chinese Empire.—When Li Yüan became emperor in Chang An (618), his authority was disputed by as many as eleven rivals. To the north, Liu Wu-chou (劉武周) and Liang Ssü-tu (梁司都) had, with the aid of the king of the Turkie (突厥), established themselves, respectively, in Ma I (馬邑) and Shuo Fang (朔方). To the west two more independent states had sprung up in Ho Hsi (河西) and Lung Hsi (隴西). In the east, the prospect was no brighter. North of the Yellow River was the kingdom of Hsia (夏), founded by Tou Chien-teh (竇建德), and south of it was the kingdom of Wei (魏), founded by Li Mi (李密). The valley of the Huai was divided between Li Tzü-tung (李子通) with headquarters at Hai Ling (海陵), and Tu Fu-wei (杜伏威) with headquarters at Li Yang (歷陽). At Lo Yang (洛陽), Wang Shih-ch'ung (王世充) had defeated Yu Wen Hwa Chi (宇文化及), and proclaimed himself Emperor of Cheng (鄭). As to the territory south of the Yangtze, Hsiao Hsien (蕭銑) continued to rule as Emperor of Liang (梁) at Kiang Ling (江陵), while Po Yang (鄱陽) was made the capital of a new state, the kingdom of Ch'u (楚). Such was the situation in China at the time of the accession of Li Yüan, the first emperor of the T'ang Dynasty. The work of pacification, which fell to the lot of his second son, Shih Min, was, therefore, one of enormous difficulty. Shih Min was then only a boy of seventeen, but he soon proved his worth as a general. After seven years of hard fighting, China, with the exception of Shuo Fang, which was not conquered till A.D. 628, was reunited. For his distinguished services, he was made Prince of Ch'in (秦王), and Chief Guardian of the Empire (神策上將軍), the latter being an office specially created for him. As a matter of fact, he was a co-ruler with his father.

"Tragedy of the Yüan Wu Gate" (元武門之變).—Unfortunately for him, Shih Min was not his father's first born son; and

THE TANG DYNASTY
Scale, 1: 35,000,000
Hasui
Wihia
Supui
Siwei
Pohai
Khitay
Yungchow
Pinglu
Korea
Singlo
Peidhi
Omgue
Western Tuikeeh
Eastern Tuikeeh
Hoping
Huaining
Luting
Chengteh
Ansi
Hosi
Sofang
Lungyu
Kyannei
Chuyang
Loyang
Changan
Turfan
Shannan
Huainan
Kiangnan
Chiennan
Changloh
Tangut
Lingnan
Nanchao
50°
60°
70°
80°
90°
100
110°
120°
130°
140°
150°
60°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°

consequently in spite of his previous brilliant career, he was not in line of succession. It was doubtful whether the co-ruler would willingly resign his power to his less famous brother upon his father's death; but meanwhile matters reached a crisis. Shih Min's popularity with the court and the people at large turned both his brothers, Chien Cheng (建成) and Yüan Chi (元吉), the heir to the throne, and the Prince of Ch'i (齊), respectively, into enemies. They resolved that he must die. The art of poisoning was first resorted to; but, as the dose administered was not large enough to kill a man, they conspired to make away with him by means of the assassin's knife. To anticipate this plot of which Shih Min had been fully informed, he had the entrance to his father's palace guarded one night by his own soldiers. When the brothers came, as usual, in the morning to pay their respects to the emperor, one arrow shot by Shih Min himself pierced Chien Cheng and caused instant death; while another from the bow of Wei Ch'ih-kung (尉遲恭), a staff-officer of the Prince of Ch'in, sent the other brother to his fate. This tragedy took place in front of the Yüan Wu Gate (元武門), hence its name. A few months after, Li Yüan, feeling himself unequal to the burden of the government, or owing to the grief that had been caused by the unfortunate event, resigned in favor of Shih Min, now the undisputed heir to the throne. Nine years later Li Yüan died.

Reign of T'ai Tsung.—(A.D. 627–649). Barring the crime that paved his way to the throne, T'ai Tsung was one of the greatest rulers China ever had. His reign of twenty-two years formed the golden age of the T'ang Dynasty. Although he had been brought up in the art of war, he was a man of literary attainments, lofty views and kindly disposition. He knew that "an empire founded on horseback could not be governed on horseback." He accordingly gathered about him the best ability of the day, both among the great statesmen and the valiant soldiers. Under the guidance of men like Wei Cheng (魏徵), Tu Ju-hui (杜如悔), Fang Yüan-ling (房元齡), and others, T'ai Tsung not only led a life worthy of his position, but also established a government which was the model for

T'ANG T'AI TSUNG

subsequent ages and all the contemporaneous states and nations in the Far East. Learning was encouraged, and schools were founded. Government methods were reformed. At the same time he did not neglect the military branch of the service. Many of the border tribes that had been making trouble upon the frontier of China with immunity were now taught that a stronger hand had assumed the direction of affairs.

Early History of the Turkie.—One of the troublesome tribes was the Turkie, or Turks. The main interest of their early history centres about the efforts of a certain Tumen (土門), probably the Dutumene of the Turkish and Mongolian legends. Before his time, the Turkie were an unimportant tribe of the Altai Mountains, who accepted the yoke of the Jou-jan (柔然) and "followed the calling of blacksmiths." Through his efforts, they became a terror to China, the Roman Empire of the East, and the Persian Empire. The Jou-jan, it will be remembered, were the successors of the Hsien-pei in Mongolia and were at the height of their power when the Toba Tartars ruled North China. Both the Eastern and Western Wei found it expedient to purchase immunity from them at a great price. Then followed a period of decline in the history of the Jou-jan, when the Turkie under the leadership of Tumen suddenly emerged from obscurity and, in a single battle, shattered the power of their old masters. Leading his bands across the Great Northern Route, he stopped to draw breath in Turkestan; then fell upon the White Huns (噘噠 Getar?) and crushed them at a blow. After this exploit, he took the title of Ilkhan. The second of his line, Mokan (木杆) Khan, a no less energetic man than Tumen, continued his conquests. By 562 the extinction of the Jou-jan was completed, and the White Huns, once a powerful nation in Asia, had completely

disappeared from history. The authority of the Ilkhan now extended from the Aral Sea to Manchuria and from Lake Baikal to Lake Kokonor. This vast territory he shared with his cousin. From this time there were two lines of khans; one maintaining a court at Tu Kung Shan (都斤山), near the Khangai Mountain, and the other at Chien Chuan (千泉), on the bank of the Alas River. The division evidently did not weaken their strength to any considerable extent, for the Western Turkie continued to extend their territory at the expense of the Chosores, and their Eastern brethren always proved themselves costly friends of both North Ch'i and North Chou. The Sui emperors, dreading the menacing power of the Eastern Turkie, sought to work up dissensions among them, by giving one of the imperial princesses in marriage to a scion of their ruling house. With the aid of the Chinese soldiers, this scion finally secured the Eastern throne and there ensued a temporary peace. This was the Ch'i Ming Khan (啓明可汗) who figured so prominently in the annals of the Sui Dynasty. On his death, however, this happy state of affairs was ended. Shih Pi (始畢) Khan, by lending his aid to Li Yüan, had a hand in the overthrow of the dynasty of his grandfather.

On account of the material aid thus rendered, the demands of the Turkie upon the T'angs were most exacting, and their incursions became frequent when their demands were not speedily granted. It is stated that owing to their aggressions Li Yüan even contemplated at one time the removal of his court to a point further into the interior. Such is the brief survey of the previous history of the Turkie. It shows that the foe T'ai Tsung had now to contend with was by no means a weak one.

Conquest of the Turkie.—Even T'ai Tsung would not have ventured to measure strength with so formidable an enemy had there been no civil disorders. And circumstances seemed to show that these disorders were the direct result of Chinese intrigues. At any rate, by the time T'ai Tsung began to reign in his own right, there were two pretenders to the Eastern throne, and many of their northern subject tribes were on the verge of rebellion. One of these tribes was the Hsieh Yen-to (薛延陀), whose chieftain presented

himself to T'ai Tsung, received the title of Chen Chu Kun-pi (眞珠昆比) Khan, and was assured of his help and protection. The end of the Eastern Turkic was drawing near. In A.D. 630, or the 4th year of the reign of T'ai Tsung, an army of 100,000 men was sent into the north under Li Ching (李靖) and Li Chi (李勣). The Turkic soldiers were no longer invincible, and after a series of battles their khan, Chieh Li (頡利), was taken prisoner. This ended the empire of the Eastern Turkic which was henceforth governed by Chen Chu, the friend of T'ai Tsung, in the name of the Chinese emperor.

Ten years after this signal victory, the state of Kao Chang (高昌), situated between the cities of Urumtsi (烏魯木齊) and Turfan (吐魯蕃), was conquered by Hou Chün-chi (侯君集), another famous general of T'ai Tsung. This conquest again opened up the Northern Route and brought the Chinese frontier close to that of the Western Turkic.

As if to render the task of China easier, political dissensions had likewise arisen in this empire. One of the contending chieftains, Asinahun by name, appealed to China for help against his own kinsman. He was given permission to settle at Ting Chow (庭州) to the east of Urumtsi and agreed to fortify the Chinese frontier against the Western Turkic.

Relations with Tibet.—During the long period of anarchy in China, the Tibetans had consolidated themselves into a powerful nation. Under a wise ruler, the country had recently been converted to Buddhism, and its government was remodelled according to the new faith. This ruler was Srong-Btsang-Sam-Po (棄宗弄元贊), a contemporary of T'ai Tsung. Through the conquests of the Tu Ku Hun (吞谷渾) and the Tungut (黨項) tribes that lived around Kokonor, in the year A.D. 635 the Chinese territory became conterminous with that of Tibet. A war soon broke out between the two neighbors for the mastery of Kokonor, but without decisive results. In 641 the war was brought to a close by the king of Tibet marrying Princess Wen Cheng (文成公主), daughter of T'ai

Tsung. This alliance tended to open up the mountainous country to Chinese civilization and indirectly led to the capture of the capital of Central India.

Conquest of India.—This country had been consolidated under Vikramditya, King of Ujjain, Malwa, in the beginning of the sixth century. Siloditya II (戒日), a representative of this house, was a great patron of Buddhism. Having heard of the Buddhist proclivities on the part of T'ai Tsung, he began to send embassies to China and the route that lay through Tibet and Nepal was constantly used by Chinese and Indian messengers. In 648 Wang Yüan-ts'e (王元策), the representative of T'ai Tsung, arrived in India, only to find the friend of his sovereign dead and his throne seized by a usurper, named Alamashun, who expelled the envoy. Returning with Tibetan and Nepalese auxiliaries, the latter, however, invaded the country and brought Alamashun a prisoner to Chang An. After this event, India became again a land of anarchy, and Buddhism soon gave place to Hinduism, a combination of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth finally brought India's intercourse with China to an end.

The Corean Campaign.—The Corean Campaign of T'ai Tsung, however, was less glorious. In order that we may understand clearly the cause that led him to make this campaign a brief sketch of the previous history of Corea may not here be out of place.

After the conquest of Chao Hsien (朝鮮) by Han Wu Ti, a general southward migration of the Tung Hu (東胡) (Tungustic) tribes of the Sungari (松花江) valley immediately took place. One tribe, named Kao Kou Li (高勾麗) (who have since given their name to the peninsula), founded a kingdom in the northern part of Corea; another, the kingdom of Pai Çhi (百濟) to the south; while the natives (三韓), being crowded to the southeast, also began to organize and found the kingdom of Hsin Lo (新羅). In point of area, Kao Kou Li was the largest. For centuries, these states waged wars against one another with varying fortunes. Owing to her geographical

position, Hsin Lo at times poured pirates and marauders upon the coast of Japan. For this she was severely punished in the beginning of the third century by the queen of Japan, who overran the country and left a permanent Japanese garrison (任那府) there. For a century or two thereafter, Japan became an important factor in the political affairs of Corea, or more particularly, of South Corea. The sixth century, however, found Hsin Lo again in the ascendent. She successfully expelled the Japanese, and appropriated a considerable portion of the territory of her western neighbor. The northern power, now greatly alarmed at the part played by Hsin Lo, took up the cause of Pai Chi. An alliance was entered into between Kao Kou Li and Pai Chi against her. It is hardly necessary to say that Hsin Lo was in no position to resist the allies. Furthermore, the latter had the support of Japan against their common enemy. The only quarter from which the friendless Hsin Lo could look for succor, was China; and it was in response to her request for protection that Sui Yang Ti led the expedition against Kao Kou Li, and it was now the same cause that moved T'ai Tsung.

Following the route of Yang Ti, T'ai Tsung tried to force his way into Kao Kou Li from the northwest but without success. Several cities fell into the hands of the invaders, but before the walls of An Shih (安市) (in the neighborhood of the present city of Kai Ping 蓋平) they could proceed no further. The city was brilliantly defended. Hunger and cold also soon added to the difficulties of the besiegers, and T'ai Tsung found it expedient to order a hasty retreat in A.D. 645. It was the first time that the emperor had failed, and he is said to have felt the humiliation very keenly.

Death of T'ai Tsung.—Three years later the illustrious emperor passed away. The author of the "Middle Kingdom" thinks that he "compares favorably with Akbar, Marcus Aurelius, and K'ang Hsi; or with Charlemagne and Haroun Al Raschid, who came to their thrones in the next century". To the natural abilities of a true leader both in times of war and peace, T'ai Tsung added

the discipline of ages, and never tired of the company of those scholars who adorned his court. The most worthy trait of this emperor was undoubtedly his alertness and the spirit in which he received criticisms and admonitions from those far below his rank. "By using a mirror of brass," said he, "you may see to adjust your hat; by using antiquity as a mirror you may learn to foresee the rise and fall of empires; but by using men as a mirror, you may see your own merits or demerits." It was the last "mirror" of T'ai Tsung, that no Chinese emperor could afford to lose sight of. The whole reign of twenty-three years showed him to be a man whose guiding principle was integrity and whose policy of government, justice. Many of the maxims he left with his son, compare favorably with those of the wisest and best sovereigns. Out of his reign arose the gigantic figure of Chinese dominion, and to his efforts must be ascribed the greatness, the light, and learning which marked the T'ang Dynasty. In memory of this dynasty, which he, rather than his father, founded, the Chinese call themselves even to-day "the people of the T'ang."

Memorial for the Conquest of Pai Chi

Further Conquests.—If T'ai Tsung left unfinished work for his son, Kao Tsung (高宗) (650-683), he also left him men who were capable of doing it. Thus in 660, general Su Ting-fang (蘇定方) invaded Pai Chi (百濟) by sea to punish this kingdom for interfering with the tribute that was sent by Hsin Lo to China. The strength of Pai Chi was shattered and, before the Japanese could arrive, its king became a captive in the hands of the Chinese. When the Japanese did arrive (663) their fleet of one hundred vessels was annihilated at the mouth of the Pei River (白江). Deprived of her ally, the conquest of Kao Kou Li followed in 668, when her king, realizing the hopeless condition he was in, surrendered himself to Li Chi, the invading general. With the exception of Hsin Lo, which was already a vassal of China, the rest of Corea was added to the increasing Chinese Empire.

Before the final conquest of Corea was effected, however, a rebellion had broken out in Mongolia. This was promptly put down, with the result that the whole of what is now Outer Mongolia was annexed.

In 657, Su Ting-fang, the general who three years later became the hero of Pai Chi, subdued the remnant of the Western Turkic. A rebellion broke out soon after, but peace was restored before the close of Kao Tsung's reign.

Fame of the T'angs.—While the first emperors busied themselves in carrying their arms to success in the north, northeast, and northwest, their fame travelled far and wide in other directions. Chinese civilization found its way into the states in the Indo-China Peninsula as well as into the neighboring islands, such as Java and Sumatra. Embassies bearing tribute from these quarters were numerous and frequent. The name of T'ai Tsung was not unknown to the Greek Emperor Theodosius, whose ambassador reached the court at Chang An in 640. Yzdegerd, the last of the Sassanian line of Persia Kings, having been hunted by the Moslems from province to province, presented himself to T'ai Tsung and sought his

protection. His son, Firuz, was the Chinese governor of Persia* and died in the palace at Chang An. Even the early Caliphs, Omar and Othman, who were conquering a world-empire in the name of Allah and the Prophet, were no less eager to cultivate the friendship of the powerful Chinese emperor, than their fallen foe, the last king of Persia; and missions continued to arrive at Chang An from Medina (the second Capital of the Moslem Empire), with precious stones and horses. Japan, the proud Island Empire of to-day, was then but an apt student of China. Streams of Japanese students, Buddhist monks, and envoys poured into Chang An; and Chinese manners, customs, and culture soon became established facts in the Land of the Rising Sun. The epoch embraced by the reigns of T'ai Tsung and Kao Tsung was not only the brightest spot in the history of China, but also the greastest in that of Asia in general. It was about that time that the Crescent of Islam began to rise on the western horizon. Between the Chinese and the Tai Shih (大食) (Tazi, Tasit, Taits, etc.), as the Arabs were then known in China, a monopoly of the world's commerce was successfully maintained. Fleets of Chinese junks sailed proudly into the Persia Gulf, while thousands of Arab merchants settled in Hangchow (杭州), Chuan Chow (泉州), and other coast cities. (For Mohammedanism and other foreign faiths, see Chapter XXII.)

Extent of Empire.—The empire under the first emperors of the T'ang Dynasty extended from the Yellow Sea to the Aral Sea, and from Siberia to the southernmost point in Farther India. Outside of China Proper, which was then divided into ten Tao (道) (provinces), the dependencies were governed through six viceroys (都護府), stationed at Ping Hsiang (平壤) (Corea), Lang Shan Fu (狼山府) (Mongolia), Yün Chung (雲中) (on the northern border of Shansi), Urumtsi (the Great Northern Route), Karashare (焉耆府) (the Great Southern Route), and Hanoi (河內) (Tonquin-China). This empire was the largest ever under the sway of a purely Chinese dynasty.

* Under this title, Firuz set out from Chang An with a Chinese escort to recover his father's lost empire, but without success. Persia was then in the hands of the Moslems.

CHAPTER XX

THE DECLINE OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

Wu Tse-tien.—For half a century after the death of T'ai Tsung, China lay prostrate at the feet of two women. The first of these was Wu Shih (武氏), or Wu Tse-tien (武則天), "the greatest of China's Catherines."

EMPRESS WU

At the age of fourteen (637), she was admitted into the palace of T'ai Tsung as a Tsai-jen (才人) (an imperial concubine of low grade). Upon his death, she was forced to retire, as was then the custom, into a nunnery with his other concubines. This enforced retirement, however, was but temporary. By 654, she was again introduced into the palace, this time by the queen of Kao Tsung, whose motive was to counteract the influence of another palace lady

who had alienated the emperor's affections. But her scheme ended in disaster, for she only displaced one enemy with another who was more ambitious and cruel. The result was that the queen was ruthlessly put to death in order to make room for her supposed friend. Thus for her jealousy, the queen paid the penalty with her position and life. Wu Shih was now high in position, but her ambition still knew no bound. It happened then that Kao Tsung was taken sick and for a time was unable to attend to his routine business. His duties devolved upon his queen. Her temporary régime proved so satisfactory to all concerned that she was permitted to share the responsibilities of the government with her husband when the latter had completely recovered. Seated behind a screen near the throne, she was the real ruler of China. That she and the emperor were commonly spoken of as the "Two Sages" (二聖) speaks well for the esteem in which she was held by the Chinese of her day. With the exception of the first nine years of his reign, Kao Tsung was but a puppet in her hands.

After the death of her husband, both her sons, Chung Tsung (中宗) and Jui Tsung (睿宗), were put on the throne, each for a few months only; and with the queen as regent. Then the former was got rid of by being sent a prisoner to Fang Chow (房州); the latter, smarting under the fate of his brother, gladly resigned in favor of his mother, who, thereupon, began to reign in her own right as Huang Ti. During the last fifteen years of her reign, which consisted of twenty-two years (682–704), the dynastic name was changed from T'ang to Chou (周). Except a few unsuccessful attempts at rebellion, her rule was willingly submitted to by all. The people prospered and much glory was added to the arms of the T'angs. It was only when this remarkable woman was weakened by old age and chronic illness that a mutiny took place among the imperial guard and resulted in the restoration of the throne to Chung Tsung (704).

Her Character.—In spite of the verdict of subsequent ages against her, no one can deny that the deeds of Wu Tse-tien entitle her to a place among the great women of the world. Her fame has

suffered not a little at the hands of Confucian historians. But had these men lived in her day, they would probably have done as the great statesmen and scholars of her time did. Among the latter it is sufficient to mention the names of Ti Jen-chieh (狄人傑) and Chang Chien-chih (張柬之), both of whom had force of character and integrity that are recognized by Confucian scholars. These men honored her and placed their genius at her disposal. Few rulers of antiquity were able to gather about them the ablest men of the day, and exercise such complete control over them as did Wu Tse-tien. Even at the last moment, when the mutineers broke into her apartment, none of them dared lay his hand on her. They requested her to abdicate, and she gladly consented. After this event she lived another year. If she were as immoral, cruel, and despotic as she has been represented, her case was but a woman's revenge upon Chinese society. She was but a woman who had been brought up in the harem of a Chinese emperor, where polygamy was regarded as an imperial prerogative, and where law and justice received very little consideration. Inasmuch as history fails, or refuses, to record such an event, who knows the number of women that died violent deaths in the palace during the reign of each emperor? Perhaps the motive of the Chinese historians is not so much an intention to do her an injustice, as to deter women of less ability from assuming the role Wu Tse-tien so ably played before them. The usurpation of power by such a woman is always a calamity. A case in point will be presented presently.

Restoration of Chung Tsung (A.D. 705–709).—The restoration of this weak monarch simply meant the passing of the sceptre from one woman to another. During his confinement in Fang Chow, Chung Tsung, struck with the fidelity with which his wife, Wei Hou (韋后), had clung to him in his hour of misfortune, had promised her that should fortune again come to him, she should have whatever she wished to ask of him. Now that fortune had returned, she did not seem to ask very much. All she asked was that she be allowed the same privilege that had been given to her mother-in-law by Chung Tsung's father. The precedent was in her

favor, and had he so desired Chung Tsung could not very well refuse her request. The emperor kept his word. Undoubtedly, it was Wei Hou's desire to follow in the footsteps of Wu Tse-tien; but unfortunately she had inherited all the latter's vices without her greatness. She was guilty of all the crimes that have been charged against her mother-in-law, but failed to wield the power after the manner of her predecessor. In her debauchery, she was greatly assisted by her daughter, and Shang Kuan Wan-erh (上官婉兒), a famous beauty and poetess. They found it necessary to kill even the harmless Chung Tsung, who was put out of the way in 709, five years after his second accession. This event was the signal for trouble. The son of Jui Chung, afterwards Yüan Tsung (元宗), headed the movement to avenge the death of his uncle, and all three of the women and their favorites, of whom the court was full, were put to death. When matters were re-adjusted Jui Tsung again became emperor; but, after an uneventful reign of four years, he abdicated in favor of Yüan Tsung.

Reign of Yüan Tsung.—This prince reigned forty-five years, which was the longest of the T'ang Dynasty. It was also a most celebrated one, both on account of the splendours with which it began and the disasters that brought it to a close. Two names were used by the emperor during his reign. From 713 to 741 he was known as K'ai Yüan (開元); from 742 to 755, as Tien Pao (天寶). During the first period, his reign approximated that of his great-grandfather, T'ai Tsung, in prosperity and glory; but the situation was very different during his latter years. The cause was that the men to whom the fame of K'ai Yüan was due, Yao Tsung (姚崇) and Sung Ching (宋璟), were succeeded by the unworthy Li Lin-fu (李林甫) and Yang Kuo-chung (楊國忠). About this time, the emperor, tired of the daily routine of his high office, and addicted to luxury and women, also became indolent. The number of his mistresses is said to have reached forty thousand; but only one of them, the famous beauty Yang Kuei-fei (楊貴妃), was able to fascinate the aged monarch. Not only her brothers, of whom Yang Kuo-chung was one, but her sisters, too, received titles of nobility. The effect upon

the nation, as a poet of the T'ang Dynasty informs us, was that Chinese mothers of that time began to think more of their daughters than of their sons.

Rebellion by An Lu-shan.—The event that brought the reign of Yüan Tsung to an unhappy termination was the rebellion headed by a man of Tartar descent, named An Lu-shan (安祿山). This Tartar had gained the full confidence of the emperor. Tradition has it that he was the adopted so of Yang Kuei-fei. No office was too high for him, and he soon held the governorship of three frontier cities, Ping Lu (平盧), Fan Yang (范陽) and Ho Tung, (河東), along the northern borders of the present Chihli and Shansi provinces. This meant that he had the best and largest armies of the empire under his immediate command. Gradually all the Chinese officers under him were displaced by Tartars; but still the emperor refused to be alarmed. In 754, China lost 200,000 men in an attempt to reduce the barbarous state of Nan Chao (南詔) (in Yunnan) to submission. This weakened the military strength of the empire to such an extent that An Lu-shan hesitated no longer and unfurled the standard of revolt in the following year. At the head of an army numbering 150,000 men with some Tartar auxiliaries, he pressed southward carrying everything before him. After Lo Yang, the eastern metropolis, had been invested and carried by storm, An Lu-shan assumed the title of Emperor and called the territory that had come under his authority the state of Yen (燕). The next fortress against which he directed his forces was Tung Kuan (潼關), the historic pass between him and the western metropolis, Chang An. This pass was defended by Ko Chu-han (哥舒翰), a distinguished general, whose plan was to avoid an encounter with the enemy until Kuo Tzŭ-i (郭子儀) and Li Kuang-pi (李光弼), Governors of So Fang (朔方) and Ho Pei (河北), respectively, could have time to march against Ping Lu, the home of the rebel. Accordingly he stationed his soldiers behind the ramparts; but his strategem was reported to Chang An as cowardice, and a peremptory order came for him to meet the enemy in the open field. This was done but the result was an overwhelming defeat, the

general becoming a captive in the hands of the rebel. Tung Kuan fell, and there was now practically nothing to prevent the rebels from marching directly upon the capital.

Flight of the Court.—So great was the alarm of Yüan Tsung that he at once took to flight. On arrival at Ma Wei (馬嵬), the soldiers that made up the escort, mutinied, killed Yang Kuo-chung, and forced the emperor to give up his favorite concubine, Yang Kuei-fei, who was held equally responsible for the calamity that had befallen the nation. As to exactly how she met her death, authorities differ, but all accounts agree that she committed suicide by order of the emperor. Thus was a woman made the scapegoat. Satisfied that the victim of their wrath was dead, the mutineers returned to their allegiance and escorted the emperor to Chengtu. However, the heir-apparent, afterwards Su Tsung (肅宗) (756-762), took a northwestern route from Ma Wei and made his way into Ling Wu (靈武) (now Ling Chow (靈州), Kansu) where he was proclaimed emperor and was soon joined by the armies of Governors Kuo Tzŭ-i and Li Kuang-pi.

Meanwhile the rebels were in possession of Chang An. Bewildered by the splendor of the city, they gave themselves up to loot and all sorts of sexual excesses, thus permitting the emperor to flee into Szechuan and his son to set up a new government in Kansu. All their loot was transferred to Lo Yang.

End of Rebellion.—In the east, however, severe fighting had been going on; but, owing to the valor displayed by the garrisons at Ping Yüan (平原) and Ch'ang Shan (常山), the progress of the rebels in the direction of Shantung was checked. Nor were they more successful in their attempts to invade the Yangtze region. In the direction of Anhui they were confronted by the stronghold of Sui Yang (睢陽); in the direction of Hupeh their advance was blocked by the city of Nan Yang (南陽), and both of these cities were holding out stubbornly. The rich Yangtze Valley was, therefore, saved from the depredations of the rebels. Supplies from the south were forwarded by way of the Hsiang-Yang-Wen-Yang (襄陽,鄖陽) route to Feng Hsiang (鳳翔), whence they went to Ling

Wu in the northwest and Chengtu in the southwest. Thus was the court at Chengtu saved from starvation, and that at Ling Wu enabled to hire Ouigur (回紇) mercenaries who joined the two Chinese generals in marching down upon the rebels. At the same time, the rebellion was rapidly dying out. An Lu-shan, having disinherited his son Ching Hsü (慶緒), was assassinated by the latter, who in turn was murdered by his general Shih Ssü-ming (史思明). The last named murderer maintained a show of authority in Fan Yang (范陽) for a brief time; but, like his chief, An Lu-shan, met a violent death at the hands of his own son. These dissensions made the work of restoration comparatively easy, and by the end of the reign of Su Tsung most of the cities had been recaptured, although the rebellion was not crushed until 763, the first year of the reign of Tai Tsung (代宗) (763-779), son of Su Tsung. Yüan Tsung, the ex-emperor, and Su Tsung had both died in the previous year after their return to Chang An.

Successors of Su Tsung.—The rebellion of An Lu-shan, now successfully put down, was the turning point in the fortunes of the T'ang Dynasty. The dynasty remained in power until 906; but the successors of Su Tsung, thirteen in number, were with few exceptions, mere palace debauchees or puppets in the hands of their eunuchs. Trains of misfortune rolled over the dynasty, and the reigns of the few energetic rulers, notably Hsien Tsung (憲宗) (805-820) and Hsüan Tsung (宣宗) (847-859), may be likened to the sunset views on the western horizon. They are beautiful but of brief duration and soon to be rapidly buried under the darkness of night. The troubles that now came thick to hasten the downfall of the house of Li may be summarized under three headings, viz., the rise of the border tribes, the insubordination of the governors, and the power of the eunuchs.

Rise of Border Tribes

The Ouigurs.—At the head of the list of these tribes stand the Ouigurs. That they did much to restore order in China, has already been mentioned. Their name, according to some writers, signifies

"civilized Turks." At all events, they possessed some civilization, and had a writing of their own which later became the root of the Mongolian language. In their territory, they had succeeded to the original possessions of the Eastern Turkie. Once within the Great Wall, they could no longer be deceived as to the true condition in China. While they sold their services for hire, they did not forget to appropriate such land as lay within their reach. To keep their friendship, two imperial princesses* were given in marriage to their khans on different occasions, and a periodical payment of money had to be made. Wealth thus obtained without labor, however, was their own ruin. They began to build palaces and live in a luxuriant Chinese style. In course of time, they were compelled to give place to a newer stock from the Mongolian steppes,—the Kirghizes, who followed closely in their footsteps.

The Tibetans.—Scarcely had Chang An recovered from its last blow, when it was laid waste by the Tibetans, who in the days of Tai Tsung had made such strenuous efforts to adopt Chinese manners and customs. Barely escaping capture, the Tai Tsung (代宗), who had come to the throne less than a year previously, fled to Shenchow (陝州). No longer could he count on the support of the Ouigurs, for the latter had gone over to the side of the enemy. Fortunately there was one man in China, Kuo Tzŭ-i, who was held in high esteem by the Ouigurs. He promptly repaired to their camp, saw their khan, who but a few years previously had fought under the Chinese standard by his side, and concluded a secret treaty with him. On hearing of the bad faith of their ally, the Tibetans withdrew, but retained all the territory known as Ho Hsi (河西) and Lung Hsi (隴西), which they had conquered. Henceforth the Ouigurs were their enemies, on whom they inflicted so severe a defeat in 790 that the latter never recovered from its effect. During the next thirty years the warlike energy of the Tibetans gradually burned itself out, and in 822 a treaty, concluded between China and

* Princess Ning Kuo (寧國), daughter of Su Tsung, and Princess Hsien An (咸安), daughter of Te Tsung.

Tibet, was inscribed on a stone monument at Lhasa. A peculiar feature of this treaty was the fact that the Emperor of China and the King of Tibet were mentioned therein as "Uncle" and "Nephew," respectively. This, doubtless, had reference to the marriages of princess Wen Chen to Srong Tsung Gam-Po and that of the daughter of Jui Tsung to his great-grandson.

Nan Chao, or Aborigines of Yunnan.—The tribes to the south of Tibet were quite as formidable as they, and were known by the name of Nan Chao. *Chaò* was the word the aborigines of Yunnan had for king. There were at one time six kings, or *Chaos*, in Yunnan. The southernmost, being the strongest, gradually absorbed the lands of the other five, hence the name Nan Chao. These tribes allied themselves with the Tibetans and made frequent incursions into Szechuan and Kueichow, their capital being what is now Talifu (大理府), Yunnan. Towards the close of the 9th century they were at the height of their power, when most of the dependencies in the Indo-China peninsula transferred their allegiance from the T'ang emperor to the King of Tali. The modern province of Yunnan and parts of Szechuan and Kueichow were lost to the Chinese Empire for a period of nearly four hundred years.

Insubordination of the Governors

At the beginning of the reign of Tai Tsung, several of the former rebel chiefs were appointed to the governorship of cities along the Great Wall. Threatened with a foreign invasion, the government at Chang An was unable to keep its eyes on them. They entered into political as well as matrimonial alliances among themselves, fortified their cities, and even withheld what revenue was due Chang An. Their conduct acted contagiously on governors in other parts of China, and by the time Te Tsung (德宗) ascended the throne, extraordinary measures had to be resorted to in order to obtain the required revenue. Dwelling houses were accordingly taxed and a sort of consumption tax was also levied. These measures were so unpopular that one of the governors openly revolted and took Chang An, the emperor, for the sake of personal

safety, fleeing to Feng Tien (奉天), (Kien Chow (乾州), Shensi (陝西). Hsien Tsung (806-820), tired of the shameful condition of affairs he had inherited from his predecessor, singled out the governor of Huai Hsi (淮西) and had his city invested by the imperial troops. After a brief siege, Tsai Chow (蔡州) was taken, and its governor, Wu Yüan-chi (吳元濟), was brought a prisoner to Chang An. The punishment thus dealt out, brought the other governors to their senses, and caused them to transmit promptly the imperial tribute to the capital. This happy condition of things, however, lasted only as long as Hsien Tsung lived; and as soon as he was gone they returned to their old way. Their positions becoming hereditary, they were almost independent of Chang An and ready at any moment to partition the empire. The only vestige of the emperor's authority lay in confirming new governors who had already secured their positions.

Rule of Eunuchs

Hsien Tsung was the first of Li Yuan's descendants who met a violent death at the hands of a eunuch, but from this time forth they were the emperor-makers. As a matter of fact, all Hsien Tsung's successors, with the exception of the last one, were their creatures. In the year 835, a plot was on foot to get rid of their control of the government; but it only resulted in the execution of its promoters and the indiscriminate slaughter of their families. Wen Tsung (文宗) (827-840) is said to have asked for the opinion of one of his ministers as to his own worth. This minister, a trained flatterer, promptly replied that he thought his sovereign would compare favorably with Yao and Shun. But to this the emperor would not agree, and told him that he could not compare even with Han Hsien Ti (漢獻帝). To explain this, he called attention to the fact that while Han Hsien Ti was a prisoner in the hands of a powerful minister, he was one in the hands of his eunuchs. This remark serves to show the extent of the eunuch power. The emperor desired to shake off their yoke, but was helpless.

Rebellion of Wang Chao.—Hemmed in by the border tribes and undermined by the influences of the eunuchs and rebellious

governors, the house of T'ang was tottering to its fall. To add to its miseries and misfortunes, a severe famine ravaged the whole of Kuan Tung (關東) in 881. As a consequence, a rebellion broke out in what is now the province of Shantung, the rebels gathering around Wang Chih-hsien (王芝仙) as their leader. The rebellion spread throughout the country like an epidemic. When Wang Chih-hsien was slain in Hupeh his place was taken up by his able lieutenant, Huang Chao (黃巢). With incredible rapidity, he overran the territory now included in the provinces of Chekiang, Fukien, and Kuangtung. Then following the course of the Hsiang (湘) River, they captured Chang Sha (長沙) and marched to Hsiang Yang (襄陽). Checked there by imperial troops, they turned east, took Wu Chang (武昌), and floated down the Yangtze. After ravaging the region of Kiangnan, they crossed the Yangtze and the Huai (淮) into Ho Nan (河南) and captured Lo Yang. From Lo Yang they marched due west and took possession of the capital, Chang An. Hsi Tsung (僖宗), who had come to the throne a year previous, took the route of Yüan Tsung (元宗) and fled into Szechuan. He, like his predecessor, Su Tsung, looked to the tribes north of the Great Wall and the Tarim Valley for help. It was not the Uigurs but the Sha To (沙陀) that came to his rescue. Li K'o-yung (李克用), King of the Sha To and Commander of the "Black Crows," as his invincible soldiers were then called, chased the rebels from place to place like a cat after rats. On the death of Huang Chao, his lieutenant, Chu Wen (朱溫), a man destined to play an important part in history, surrendered to the emperor; and received as his reward, the governorship of Ho Nan. Hsi Tsung gave him the new name of Chu Chuan-chung (朱全忠), or Chu "the Most Loyal"; but, as we shall presently see, he was scarcely worthy of such a title.

Downfall of the T'ang.—Hsi Tsung died in 888 and his throne fell on his brother, Chao Tsung (昭宗). He was another creature of the eunuchs, but was no friend to them. No sooner was he seated upon the throne than he sent secret orders to Chu to come to Chang An with his troops to exterminate the eunuchs. Chu gladly responded. Except some thirty young ones needed for janitor service within

the palace, every eunuch was put to the sword. The emperor, however, did not survive them long. In the next year (904) he was compelled by Chu to transfer the seat of government to Lo Yang. Several governors came to the rescue of the emperor, but their action only tended to hasten his end. To thwart their purpose, Chu caused the emperor to be murdered and a young boy, Chao Hsiang Ti (昭襄帝), to be put in his stead (905). When this last representative of the T'ang was put to death two years later, Chu assumed the title of emperor and established the Liang (梁) Dynasty.

The signal for the partition of China was now given. Liu Jen-kung (劉仁恭), or king of Yen (燕), took possession of Chihli. West of this was the kingdom of Chin (晋), the present Shansi province, presided over by Li K'o-yung (李克用). Further to the west, Kuan Chung (關中) and Lung Hsi (隴西) formed the kingdom of Li Mao-chen (李茂貞) which he named Ch'i (岐). Szechuan became the kingdom of Szu (蜀), and Yangchow, the kingdom of Wu (吳), which came to embrace all the land watered by the Huai and bounded by the sea on the east, by the Yangtze on the south, and by Wu Chang on the west. In Chekiang was the kingdom of Wu Yüeh (吳越), founded by Ch'ien Liu (錢鏐). To the south, Wang Shen-chih (王審之), established his kingdom of Min (閩) in Foochow. This may be reckoned as the date when Fukien first took rank among the civilized provinces of China. The two pagodas which form the landmarks of Foochow at the present day owe their existence to one of the representatives of this house, who was a devoted Buddhist.

To go on with the list of the petty kingdoms, Ma Yin (馬殷) set up a kingdom in Hunan which he called Ch'u (楚). At the same time Hupeh and Chin-nan (荊南) were occupied by Kao Chi-hsing (高季興) and Liu Yin (劉隱) respectively, and they were the only two governors who did not assume royal style. Thus was the T'ang empire broken into fragments, which were not reunited until the latter half of the 10th century.

CHAPTER XXI

RELIGIONS, MANNERS, ETC., OF THE T'ANGS

Taoism.—Taoism may be regarded as the state religion of the T'angs. It was no longer the alchemy of the Han Dynasty, and neither was it chiefly occupied with the transmutation of other metals into gold. It was a compound of Buddhism and the earlier native element, and like the former it taught the writing of charms and the reading of prayers. It had a god of its own, called Yüan Shih Tien Tsun (元始天尊), or god of origin. With him was always associated Lao Tzŭ (老子), as the co-ruler of the universe, and under them was a set of lesser divinities, mostly their alleged disciples. Such was the Taoism of the T'ang Dynasty. It owed its position not to its own merits as a religion, but to the fact that the reigning house claimed lineage from the Lao Tzŭ (老子) of its superstition.

According to a popular story, the spirit of Lao Tzŭ was seen by a native of Chin Chow (晉州), to whom was given the following command: "Go and inform your sovereign that I am his ancestor." Upon hearing this, Kao Tsu (高祖), the first emperor of the T'ang line, caused a temple to be erected to the memory of his "first ancestor" on the spot where the spirit was said to have appeared. One of his successors honored Lao Tzŭ with an imperial title, calling him the Yüan Yüan Huang Ti (元元皇帝). Under the statutes of the dynasty, Tao Te Ching (道德經) became a household book and members of the royal family were required to acquaint themselves with its abstruse teachings. Taoist priests were exempted from taxation, and at times were appointed to high offices under the government. To house them a Kuan (觀) (Monastery) was built in each Chow (州) (department). Among the inmates of the convents there were many imperial princesses, the two daughters of Jui Tsung being the first princesses who voluntarily gave up everything they had for the sake of Taoism.

Buddhism.—In spite of the political supremacy conceded to Taoism, Buddhism continued to hold its own ground. It is true that the first emperor of the dynasty was not in favor of the foreign faith, but the restrictions he placed on its converts were immediately removed by his successor, the illustrious T'ai Tsung. During the latter's reign the celebrated Yüan Tsung (元宗) made his tours through India, leaving China by the overland route through Turkestan in A.D. 629, and reaching home in the sixteenth year after his departure, with no less than 657 new Sanskrit books. Like his predecessors, he left us a description of the places he had visited, and spent his remaining days in translation, the prefaces to several of his works being from the pens of T'ai Tsung and his son, Kao Tsung. The Empress Wu was regarded as Maitreya (彌勒佛), or the Buddha that was to come. In her reign, monasteries multiplied and monks were appointed to high offices. Su Tsung (肅宗) in 760 appointed a ceremony for his birthday in accordance with the ritual of the Buddhist religion. Buddhas and Buddhisatras (羅漢) were personated by palace ladies and others, while the courtiers performed the usual ceremony before their sovereign. His son, Tai Tsung (代宗) was more devoted than his father. The Sutra of the Benevolent King (仁王經) was brought to court in a state carriage with the same parade of attendants and finery as was usual in the case of a Chinese emperor setting out from his palace. When his territory was invaded, Te Tsung (德宗) set his monks to chanting prayers, and

YUEN TSUN

it was by him that Amogha (不空), a Saghalese priest, was honored with the title of duke. In 819 the emperor, Hsien Tsung, sent commissioners to escort a bone of Buddha from Feng Hsiang (鳳翔) to the Capital. This was the occasion that brought forth a strong protest from Han Yü (韓愈) and his "Memorial on Buddha's Bone (佛骨表)," which has been so often quoted from by Christian missionaries of the present day that they have done much to immortalize the name of its author. Although the Taoists succeeded in bringing about a severe persecution in the year 845 when 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 smaller buildings were destroyed and more than 260,000 monks and nuns were compelled by imperial order to return to common employments, the effect was but temporary. Wu Tsung, the author of the persecution, died almost immediately thereafter, and his policy was reversed by his successor, Hsüan Tsung (宣宗). It was a curious coincidence that the three emperors, in whose reigns occurred the most severe persecution of Buddhism, were all named Wu, viz., Tao Wu Ti (道武帝) of Wei (魏), Wu Ti (武帝) of North Chou (北周) and Wu Tsung (武宗) of T'ang; hence these cruel events are commonly spoken of collectively, as the "Calamity of the Three Wus (三武之禍)."

Hindoo Calendar.—About the time of the reign of Empress Wu, the Hindoo calendar was for the first time adopted in China. The Kuang Chai (光宅) Calendar (曆), adopted in 684, was the work of a Hindoo monk employed by the empress for the purpose of revising the older calendar. In the 9th year of K'ai Yüan, A.D. 721, a Chinese monk and celebrated astronomer, I Hsing (一行), was employed for the same purpose. His method of calculation was based upon that of Gaudamsiddha, a Hindoo monk. At about the same time, arithmetical knowledge had made rapid progress in China, and it is probable that the Chinese received much help from such

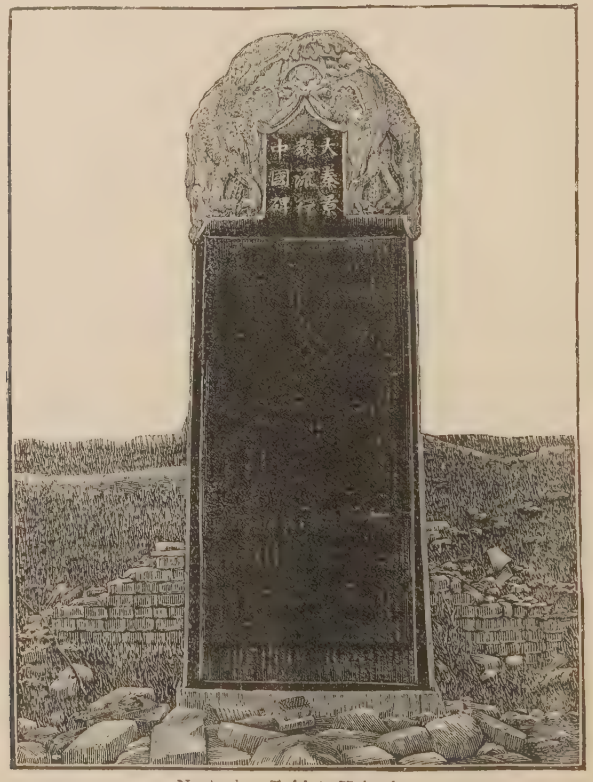
Brahmanical book on arithmetic as had been translated by the Hindoo priests. These books are now hopelessly lost, although their names remain recorded in the catalogue of the Sui Dynasty without any remark concerning them.

Other Foreign Faiths. -Buddhism, however, was not the only foreign faith that flourished under the T'ang emperors. Driven before the Sword of Islam, the so-called infidels of Persia and Central Asia were obliged to seek a land where freedom of worship was an established fact. Such a land was China. Through the two Great Routes north and south of the Tien Shan, therefore, the Zoroastrians, the Nestorians, and the Manichaeans, flocked into China and were received with open arms by T'ai Tsung and his immediate successors. Thus we find in 634, shortly before the return of Yüan Tsung from India, that Christianity was brought into the palace in Chang An by a Syrian monk, named Olopun (阿羅本), and that much favor was shown to him by T'ai Tsung and his court. The prime minister went out of the city to meet him, permission was given him to build a church in the capital, and twenty-one converts were admitted into the priesthood. Kao Tsung, the next emperor, was likewise favorably inclined towards this new faith. He conferred a high religious title on Olopun and gave him permission to erect similar churches in the provinces. The name under which the faith became known was Ching Chiao (景教). The church, however, was called the Po Ssŭ Shih (波斯寺), or Persian Church, until 745, in which year it was changed into Ta Ch'in Shih (大秦寺), or Roman Church. The celebrated Nestorian monument, unearthed in Hsianfu in 1625, gives an interesting account of the progress the Nestorians had made under the first emperors of the T'ang Dynasty.

Olopun, however, was not the first missionary that brought Christianity into China. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, eggs of the Chinese silkworm were successfully carried into Europe by two Syrian monks. We may take it for granted that these monks were not sent into China for the sole purpose of stealing

the secret of silk-making. But in the absence of other monuments similar to the one above referred to, or any other reliable records, we are unable to say anything as to the result of their missionary labors.

That the Zoroastrians formed quite a powerful sect is evidenced from the fact that under the T'ang Dynasty, a special official, called Yao Cheng (祆正), was appointed and charged with the duty of looking after their church officers and laymen. No similar officials were appointed for other religions excepting Buddhism and Taoism.



Nestorian Tablet, Hsianfu

As regards Manichaeism, its introduction into China was of a comparatively later date. It was not brought in until the Ouigurs were given leave to settle in China and to erect their own places of worship. As the followers of this faith refrained from eating

unclean food, which included all animals, wine, etc., many Chinese historians have mistaken them for Mohammedans. The proper Chinese name for this religion is Mani Chiao (摩尼教). It was to this church that the emperor Tai Tsung (代宗 763-779) presented the tablet containing the characters, Ta Yün Kuang Ming (大雲光明), the "Light that penetrates through the Clouds."

All these faiths shared the fate of Buddhism towards the end of Wu Tsung's reign. It is stated that 70 Manichaean nuns then found in the capital were ruthlessly put to death. While Buddhism revived, they (the other foreign religions) never did. Thereafter their field of labor was confined to Turkestan. Here they soon encountered Mohammedanism and gradually disappeared.

Mohammedanism.—This is the system founded by Mohammed, who was born at Mecca, Arabia, in A.D. 570, of a poor family of the tribe of the Koreishites. The sum total of Mohammedanism is that there is but one God and Mohammed is his Prophet. It is also called Islam, signifying submission, because it was a doctrine spread by the sword. After the death of Mohammed, his successors, the Caliphs, carried their arms all over Western and Central Asia, as well as over parts of Africa and Europe. Wherever they went, the inhabitants were compelled either to accept the Koran, which is the Bible of Mohammedanism, or to pay tribute. Even China, that vast empire in Eastern Asia, was an inviting field for their energies. It is stated that under Walid, the twelfth Caliph, and contemporary of Jui Tsung, the Dragon Throne was promised to the first general who should reach China. In the course of a very few years, his general, Kaitaba, conquered the whole of Bokhara, Khwarizm, and Transoxiana, as far as the frontier of China. What made him withdraw from before the city of Yorktend (于闐) is still a mystery.

But where the sword failed, commerce succeeded. Within the Arabian settlements along the southern coast of China, there soon sprang up magnificent mosques. It is even claimed that an uncle of Mohammed had himself visited Canton. It was not until

the time of the Mongol emperors, however, that large numbers of Turkish and Tartar Moslems dominated the Shen-Kan provinces. To-day, the "Hui Hui" are estimated at between twenty and thirty millions. That Islam is known under the Chinese name of Hui Hui Chiao (回回教) remains without a satisfactory explanation; but the simplest theory is that it derived its name from the Ouigurs who first embraced the faith during the T'ang Dynasty.

Governmental Supervision.—The best evidence of the absolute character of the government set up by the T'angs is the fact that its hand was felt even in the province of religion. As soon as persecution ceased, strict regulation began. The appointment of secular officers over large religious bodies has already been alluded to. No monk could be admitted into any monastery until he had received a certificate from the government. This was true of both Buddhism and Taoism. A church without an image was naturally looked upon with suspicion, and the Arabs were permitted to retain their mode of worship only by their agreeing to keep within their premises a tablet of the emperor. This custom is still in vogue with the "Hui Hui" of the present day; although, in many cases, on the back of the tablet may be found the name of the Prophet.

Age of Poetry.—We will now turn our attention to the province of literature. Of this period, Mr. Giles in his book, entitled "Chinese Literature," writes as follows:—

"The Tang Dynasty is usually associated in Chinese minds with much romance of love and war, with wealth, culture and refinement, with frivolty, extravagance, and dissipation; but most of all with poetry. China's best efforts in this direction were chiefly produced within the limits of its three hundred years' duration, and they have been carefully preserved as finished models for future poets of all generations.

"The 'Complete Collection of the poetry of the T'ang Dynasty' (全唐詩集), published in 1707, contains 48,900 poems of

all kinds, arranged in 900 books, and filling thirty good sized volumes. Some Chinese writers divide the dynasty into three poetical periods, called Early (初唐), Glorious (盛唐), and Late (晚唐); and they profess to detect in the works assigned to each the corresponding characteristics of growth, fulness and decay. For general purposes, it is only necessary to state that since the days of the Hans the meanings of words had gradually come to be more definitely fixed, and the structural arrangement more uniform and more polished. Imagination began to come more freely into play, and the language to flow more easily and more musically as though responsive to the demands of art. A Chinese poem is at best a hard nut to crack, expressed as it usually is in lines of five or seven monosyllabic root ideas, without inflection, agglutination, or grammatical indication of any kind, the connection between which has to be inferred by the reader from the logic, from the context, and least perhaps of all from the syntactical arrangement of the words. Then, again, the poet is hampered not only by rhyme but also by tone. For purposes of poetry the characters in the Chinese language are all arranged in

Tu Fu's Temple

two tones, as Flats and Sharps." These occupy fixed positions in each verse.

The list of the famous T'ang poets is a very long one. By general consent, Li Pai (李白) (705-762) and his contemporary, Tu Fu (杜甫) (712-770), are the two greatest poets, not only in the dynasty itself, but also in all Chinese history. The political condition of the empire at that time and the social life of the different branches of the Tartar family, afforded them many interesting themes on which to write.

General Literature.—The T'ang Dynasty contributes very little of value to classical scholarship. But in the domain of general literature, or prose writing, it again occupies a high position. The style of the Six Dynasties, or Chinese poem in prose, received a severe blow at the hands of Han Yü, the man already referred to as the author of the "Memorial on Buddha's Bone." By him, a new style, purer, simpler, and more natural was introduced. This new style is no longer burdened with all the unnecessary restrictions regarding the length of sentences and the tone of words. It leaves more room for original work, and permits a freer flow of thought and language. The works of Han Yü are still regarded as among the best literary models. Su Tung-po (蘇東坡) of the Sung (宋) Dynasty says of him: "By his literary efforts the decay of eight dynasties was restored to its former glory (文起八代之衰)."

No less famous was Han Yü's friend and contemporary, Liu Tsung-yüan (柳宗元), who was an advocate of the new style. The only difference between them was that the works of the former were more philosophical than satirical while the reverse was true of those of the latter. As Li Po and Tu Fu were above all others in the domain of Poetry, so Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan overshadowed others in the province of Prose.

System of Literary Examinations.—The literary glory of the T'angs was doubtless due in no small measure to the fact that literary culture constituted the only passport to officialdom. Its

systems of literary examinations, based largely on those of the previous dynasty, may be divided into three classes:—

A. Those for the Hsiu Ts'ai Degree (秀才).

B. Those for the Ming Ching Degree (明經).

C. Those for the Chin Shih Degree (進士).

All these may be called periodic examinations which were held at regular intervals at the city of Chang An. Graduates of the Government Schools (生徒) and successful candidates who had passed preliminary examinations in the provinces (貢舉) were permitted to compete at these examinations. Unlike those of subsequent times, the degrees were all of the same rank, though the Hsiu Ts'ai degree was the most difficult to get. Poems and prose specimens were chief factors of the examinations; but it was not unusual to require a candidate to show his knowledge of the ancient Classics by filling in the places purposely left blank in quotations, or to express his opinions freely on questions of state, of administration, and of social reforms. Thus the examinations were also used as the means of gathering popular opinion.

Besides the periodic examinations, Palace examinations (制舉) were held, as often as the government might see fit, for "men of exceptional abilities (非常之才)," and degrees were also conferred on law students, methematicians, etc. All examinations were held in Chang An, and Physique (身), Oratory (言), Penmanship (書), and Knowledge of Official Documents, (判), completed the necessary qualifications of a successful candidate.

Education.—Chang An was also the centre of educational activities. For the sons of officials above the third grade (國子學), there was one institution which could accommodate 300 men; one for those above the fifth grade (太學) with accommodations for 500; and four more for the sons of other officials (四門學) and for the private citizens. There were also special schools where arithmetic, law, penmanship and other special subjects were taught. Among the students from Japan, Tibet, Corea, and other places that flocked into Chang An were some nobles and princes of the blood.

Military System.—With respect to military affairs, the T'ang Dynasty may be divided into two periods, viz., the Period of the Militia, and the Period of the Standing Army. Under the militia system, every man between the ages of twenty and sixty was liable to military service. This system was in vogue only during the reign of T'ai Tsung and his immediate successors. It was the superior discipline rather than organization that made the T'ang soldiers once the terror of Eastern Asia. Yüan Tsung was the first emperor who kept a standing army of 120,000. These were scattered to the four winds in the time of the An Lu-shan Rebellion. After the restoration of peace there was virtually no uniform system; each governor organized his own army as he saw fit. So far as the capital was concerned, its defence rested with the eunuchs who were commanders of the imperial guard.

Among the weapons used mention may be made of the Battering Ram (廣雲竷) and the Scaling Bridge (雲橋), which were not known before the T'ang Dynasty, and which were handled after the manner of the Roman siege. A sort of paper armor (紙鎧) was also mentioned in its annals, but no further details are extant.

The Government.—The government of the T'angs did not differ much from that of the previous times, the emperor being the sole source of power,—the law-giver, chief magistrate, and supreme judge, all in one. He was assisted by a Chief Executive Secretary (尚書令), a Chief Councillor (侍中), and a Chief Corresponding Secretary (門下). After these came multitudes of lesser dignitaries, such as Imperial Librarian (秘書監), Chamberlain of the Household Department (殿中監), eunuchs 內侍省 (they held official rank under the T'ang Dynasty), Censors (御史臺). Directors of Education (國子監), of Arts (少府監), of Mechanics (將作監), of Armories (軍器監), of Public Works (都水監), of Sacrificial Worship (太常寺), of the Imperial Stud (太僕寺), of State Ceremonial (鴻臚寺), Judges of the Court of Revision (大理寺), and Superintendents of Agriculture and Granaries (司農寺), and

of Commerce (太府寺). The Presidents of the Six Original Boards (六部尚書), under the late Ch'ing Dynasty, were then but subordinates under the Chief Executive Secretary who was aided by two Assistants (左右僕射).

Taxation and Currency.—The system of taxation was a poll tax combined with the land tax. No one was allowed to own land, hence the land tax was collected under the name of Rent (租). In silk producing districts payments were made in kind, called Tiao (調). There was also forced labor (Yung 庸). Twenty days in a year were required or an equivalent in textiles reckoned at three feet per day. Customs dues and duties were of later date. During the days of the decline, the government was dependent upon the revenue derived from the salt monopoly and from tea, the latter now forming a staple export. At one time, gold, silver, or cash found on the person of a merchant or traveler was subject to taxation on the same basis as goods. Marts were established in all principal cities, and in each of these was stationed an officer whose duty it was to see that the standard measures and weights were used.

The copper cash was the unit of all business transactions, and the first of these minted under this dynasty is much admired for its workmanship. It bore the four characters K'ai Yüan T'ung Po (開元通寶), and ten of them weighed four ounces. It is stated that as soon as these cash were put into circulation, they were destroyed by the people in order to obtain copper for making images of Buddha. Cash famines became frequent and led to the somewhat unsuccessful experiment with paper currency (交子) towards the end of the dynasty.

Dress.—The T'angs discarded the long and loose garments of the Hans, and adopted the Tartar style. Leather boots came more and more into favor. Official rank was denoted by the colour of the costumes. After the Imperial Yellow, came the Purple (紫), the Crimson (緋), the Green (綠), and the Black (青), each color representing two grades. The ranks extended from

the Second to the Ninth, which was the lowest. The most curious feature of the official costume was probably the two so-called "Fish Caskets" (魚袋), suspended from the girdle. They contained the two halves of a "tarry," and no official could be admitted into the imperial palace without producing the "tarry" at the gate. Women had to be heavily veiled when they went into the street, the Hsia P'ei (霞帔) being the mark of distinction for a married woman. The Wu Shakuan (烏紗冠) was the popular headwear for the literary and official classes.

Social Life.—Tea became the commonest beaverage. The use of wine was also general; the "grape wine" (葡萄美酒), according to the poets, was the most favored drink. Bars with a sort of flag (酒旗) flying over the roof of the building were numerous in cities as well as rural districts. As a matter of fact, the best poets were the worst drunkards; and both Li Po and Tu Fu died from the excessive use of liquor. Music and dancing girls became prominent in all social functions, and the better classes kept their own bands of dancing girls (官妓). Commanders of armies were permitted to carry such bands with them when on the march. Dice, cards, chess, and other contests of chance and of judgment were popular amusements at home, while horse races, cock-fights, and athletic exercises were the open-air sports. Bronze mirrors were highly appreciated, and it was considered proper for the courtiers to present them to the emperor on his birthday.

Conclusion.—From the above sketch it may be seen that the China of the T'ang Dynasty became an asylum for all peoples who suffered on account of their faith. On this account the best ability of the surrounding countries was brought into Chang An. In addition to what the natural skill of the Chinese was able to produce for the necessities and comforts of their people, and in addition to the improvement they were able to make on the ancient rudiments of science and art, foreign training, skill, and influence went a long way toward creating their civil greatness. In turn China became the teacher of Asia. Through the channels

of war, commerce, and diplomacy, streams of civilization ran into the Corean and the Indo-China Peninsulas, into Japan and the Islands in the China and Japan Seas. While in some places, notably Japan, the tide of progress has risen higher than its source, what civilization there is in the Far East to-day may be directly or indirectly traced to the China of the T'ang Dynasty. Of this dynasty, Wells Williams says: "During the two hundred and eighty-seven years they held the throne, China was probably the most civilized country on earth; the darkest days of the West, when Europe was wrapped in the ignorance and degradation of the Middle Ages, formed the brightest era of the East."

CHAPTER XXII

THE FIVE DYNASTIES (A.D. 907–960)

The Period.—We have now come to a period of anarchy, or military despotism, when the Chinese throne became the prize among successful generals. It is commonly spoken of as the "Epoch of the Five Dynasties." These dynasties followed one another in rapid succession within the brief period of fifty years. None of them exercised control over the whole of China; and the so-called empires, varying in size under the different dynasties, were confined to the Yellow River Basin, hemmed in by the Khitans in the north and surrounded by a number of semi-independent states in the south. Three of the dynasties were of Turkish origin, and their destiny to a large extent was in the hands of the Khitans. China not being in a position to offer a united front to a foreign foe, the time was most favorable for the development of the Tartars, and this led ultimately to the domination of China by the Mongols, the most important of the Tartar tribes.

The Posterior Liang Dynasty (後梁) **(A.D. 907-923).**—The first of the Five Dynasties was the Posterior Liang, which was so named in order to distinguish it from Liang of the Epoch of Division between the North and the South. The Posterior Liang was founded by Chu Wên (朱溫). The territory over which his sway extended was bounded by the Yellow River on the north, the Gulf of Pechihli on the east, the Ching (涇) and Wei (渭) rivers on the west, and the Yangtze (揚子) and the Han (漢) on the south. It was his ambition to cripple the power of Li K'o-yung (李克用), Prince of Tsin (Modern Shansi). For this purpose he formed an alliance with the king of Yen (燕), now that part of Chihli province around Peking. For a time, the allies were masters of the situation. While they were besieging Lu Chow (潞州), a frontier town in Shansi, Li K'o-yung died, leaving his son, Ts'un Hsü (存勗), at the head of affairs. The

young prince not only routed the besieging army before the walls of the city; but, before many years had elapsed, he also took the offensive against his father's foes. He singled out the state of Yen, and wiped it out of existence in 913.

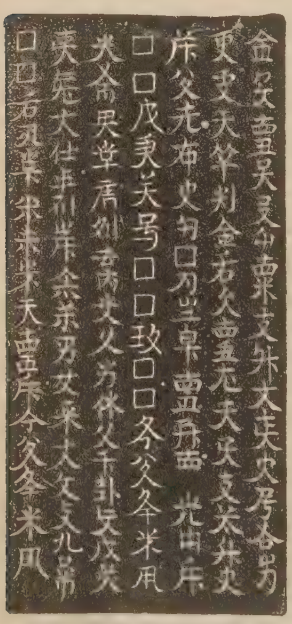
"I wish I could have a son like Li Ya-tzŭ (李亞子); I see my enemy is not dead," exclaimed Chu Wên, when he saw the ability displayed by Ts'un Hsü (生子當如李亞子克用不死矣). And the contrast between his own sons and the one he thus admired, had everything to do with the final issue between the two rivals, Li K'o-yung and Chu Wên. The latter died in 912 at the hands of one of his sons whom he had tried to disinherit. The murderer was murdered in turn by his brother, Yu Chen (友貞), who succeeded him and is known as the Mo Ti (末帝), or Last Emperor of his house. It is hardly necessary to say that Mo Ti was no match for Ts'un Hsü. When the latter appeared before Ta Liang (大梁), the capital of the Posterior Liang Dynasty, the emperor wept in despair and ordered his attendants to kill him. This order was duly carried out, and with his death, the house founded by Chu Wên came to an end after lasting seventeen years.

The Posterior T'ang Dynasty.—This was the dynasty founded by Ts'un Hsü and was of Turkish origin. The Turks were mostly without names. It had been the custom with the T'ang emperors to confer the imperial family name, Li, on those who had distinguished themselves by deeds of valor, whether they were Tartars, Turks, Turcomans, or Ouigurs. One of those who had been fortunate enough to receive the name, was Ts'un Hsü's grandfather; and, now in memory of his grandfather's benefactor, he named the dynasty T'ang, and made Lo Yang his capital. He had enlarged the boundaries of the old Liang empire by the addition of Yen and Tsin, and it was then further enlarged by the annexation of Ch'i (岐) and Szu (蜀), the former with the consent of its people and the latter by conquest. Dreading his power, the chief of Chin Nan (荊南帥) came to

render him homage; and the Kings of Ch'u (楚), Wu (吳), Wu Yüeh (吳越), and Han (漢) sent him tribute.

As regards his private character, Ts'un Hsü was more fit for the calling of an actor than anything else. He frequently blackened himself and played on the stage in order to please Liu (劉夫人), his favorite lady. Wrestling and hunting were also his favorite amusements. After a short reign of three years, he was murdered by a eunuch and was succeeded by an adopted son of his father. This was Ming Ti (明帝), the illiterate emperor to whom all state documents had to be read and explained. Still his reign of eight years was considered the best part of this dynasty. It was his custom to say his prayer to Heaven at night for the gift of an emperor more fit to rule in China than himself, "a man of Turkish descent (某胡人)." The dynasty was terminated in 936 by Shih Ching-t'ang (石敬瑭), who was the son-in-law of Ming Ti.

The Posterior Tsin Dynasty.—(A.D. 936-946).—Shih Ching-t'ang owed his throne entirely to the Khitans. To anticipate the attempt of Lu Wang (潞王), the last ruler of the preceding house, he appealed to the Khitans for help, and with their 50,000 soldiers he defeated the army that had been sent to capture him and took Lo Yang, where Lo Wang committed suicide. Out of gratitude he ceded to the Khitans sixteen districts of the territory now in Chihli and Shansi provinces, agreed to send them every year 300,000 pieces of silk, and to address their chief, whenever he had an occasion to do so, as his "Father." As a matter of fact, this ephemeral dynasty only existed at the pleasure of the Khitan Chief, or the "Father Emperor." The successor of Shih Ching-t'ang (943-946) incurred the



Khitan Writing

displeasure of his "grand father" through his own insolence, and as a consequence was sent a prisoner into the land of the Khitans.

The Posterior Han Dynasty.—The Posterior Han was one of four years' duration, and the shortest of the Five Dynasties. Liu Chih-yüan (劉知遠), its founder, was formerly a general under the Posterior Tsin Dynasty. When the Khitans overran the country he submitted; but, as soon as their main force was withdrawn, he drove out the weak garrison they had left behind them and took the vacant throne for himself. Through the inability of his son who succeeded him a year later, the empire fell into the hands of a general named Kuo Wei (郭威), the idol of the people on account of his success in an expedition against the Khitans.

The Posterior Chou Dynasty (A.D. 951-960).—The dynasty established by Kuo Wei was the Posterior Chou; but he did not come into possession of the whole empire. A member of the house of Liu, named Liu Ch'ung (劉崇), had set up a state called North Han (北漢), in the central part of what is now Shansi province. This state backed up by the Khitans remained a thorn in the emperor's side. The second emperor, Shih Tsung (世宗), was an ambitious man, who extended the boundaries of his empire at the expense of the state of Nan T'ang (南唐), with its capital at Nanking, in the south, and recovered a part of the territory ceded to the Khitans as far north as the Pass of Hu Ch'iao Kuan (瓦橋關). The general who rose to fame under him was Chao K'uang-yin (趙匡胤), afterwards the T'ai Tsu (宋太祖) of the Sung Dynasty. When Chao was leading an expedition against the Khitans, a mutiny occurred at Ch'ên Ch'iao (陳橋), a place about six miles to the northeast of the modern city of Kaifeng, and resulted in the elevation of Chao to the throne. To his credit, he spared the life of the emperor Kung Ti (恭帝), Shih Tsung's son.

Invention of Block Printing.—The only event worth recording in this dark age was the invention of the art of block

printing by Feng Tao (馮道) in the reign of Ming Ti of the Posterior T'ang Dynasty. The Nine Classics were for the first time cut in wood, but the work was not completed until 953. As an illustration of the character of the age, it is interesting to note that the inventor of this art served no less than ten emperors representing four different lines. Loyalty was then at its lowest ebb. Proud of the honors that had been heaped upon him, he gave himself the sobriquet of Chang Lo Lao (長樂老), or "Gentleman of Pleasure."

Early History of the Khitans.—The Khitans were a people of Tung Hu (東胡) descent. Their original home was in the territory watered by the Huang Ho (潢河), or the eastern part of Inner Mongolia. The decline of the Great T'ang Dynasty saw their gradual expansion towards the south. Their country was then divided into eight tribes each ruled by a chieftain. By turns the chieftains became kings for a period of three years. Apoki (阿保機), one of the periodic kings, held the scepter for the first time in 907. During his tenure of office, he made several raids into China, forced a large number of Chinese to enter his service, and taught his people to build walled cities after the Chinese pattern. When his term expired, he absolutely refused to vacate the office; but, at the end of his ninth year on the throne, he yielded to the demand of the other chieftains. He then obtained permission to live in Ku Han Ch'eng (古漢城), near Jehol (熱河), with his Chinese friends. The new territory was not only more suited to agricultural purposes, but also possessed a number of salt lakes and continued to attract more Chinese settlers.

In 916, Apoki by a *coup d'état* caused all his fellow-chieftains to be put to death, and thereupon assumed the imperial title for himself. From this time forth he began to lead a career of conquest. Both the Nü-chen (女眞) and the Shih Wei (室韋) along the Amur River (黑龍江), the Uigurs (回紇) and the Tangut (黨項) who inhabited the territory about Kokonor (青海), and the P'o Hai (渤海) who held sway in that part of modern Manchuria lying between Moukden and the Sungari River, were one by one

subdued by him. Being a sworn brother of Li K'o-yung, he caused the latter but little trouble. What his son, Te Kuang (德光), did in helping Shih Ching-t'ang to bring about the overthrow of the Posterior T'ang has been related in connection with the Posterior Tsin. By Te Kuang was the name Liao (遼) (meaning "Iron") adopted. At the end of the period of the Five Dynasties, the Khitans had become the owners of both Mongolia and Manchuria and the overlords of the Tibetans in the west and the Coreans in the east. China at that time was known in the Old World by the name they bore, and Kitai for China is still retained in the Russian language to the present day.

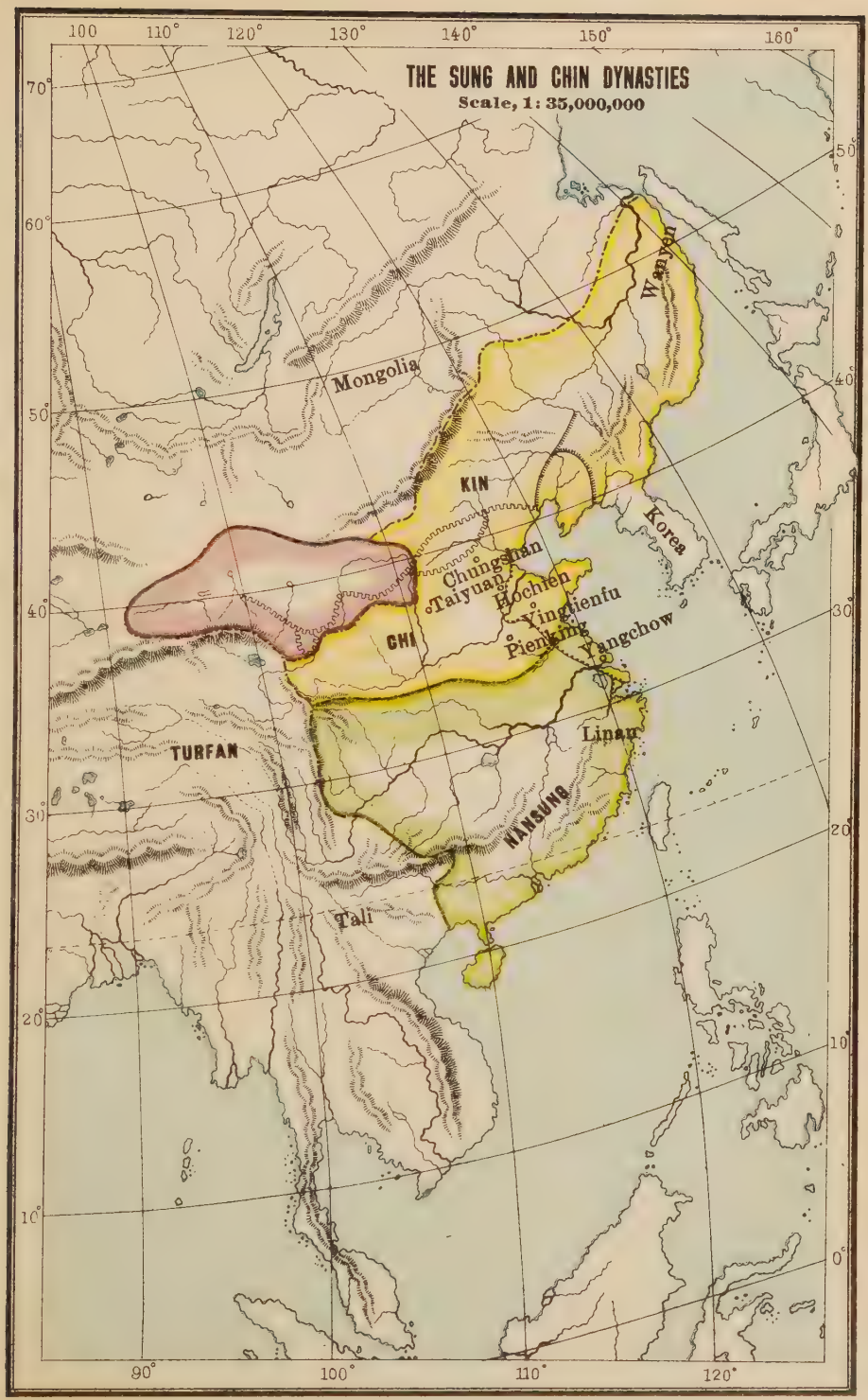
CHAPTER XXIII

THE SUNG DYNASTY PROPER (A.D. 960-1127)

The Sung Dynasty Proper.—The period usually called the Sung Dynasty, covers the second era in Chinese history when the country was completely at the mercy of barbarians. Like the Tsin (晉) Dynasty, it ruled over the whole of China for only a brief period, then it suffered the northern half to fall into the hands of barbarians; and, with great difficulty, maintained a semblance of power south of the Yangtze. The barbarians that overran North China at this time were the Khitans, the Kins and the Mongols. The dynasty conveniently divides itself into two parts, the Sung Dynasty Proper and the Southern Sung. The landmarks of the first part are the reunion of China and the capture of Ch'in Tsung (欽宗) by the Kins.

End of Military Despotism.—With the establishment of a new dynasty by Chao K'uang-yin, the military despotism was destined to come to an end. The first question that arose to tax the constructive statesmanship of the new emperor, was how the condition of affairs that had paved the way for him to the throne should be terminated. To quote his own words, he "could not sleep peacefully after his elevation to the throne" lest "the yellow Robe" might some day be placed on one of his old comrades as it had been done in his case. At a banquet, he gathered all of them around him and told them that he was going to appoint them as military governors in the provinces. At this hint, all of them resigned their command in the imperial army and gladly accepted the promised appointments. Thus Chao K'uang-yin succeeded in getting rid of the presence of military magnates, the source of his uneasiness.

The next question was how he could deprive the military governors of their traditional powers. This he brought about by the appointment of imperial agents to collect taxes and to act as civil magistrates. These were required to make their reports direct to the throne, and the military governors had to send their best soldiers to do duty by turns at the capital. In short, with the advice of Chao P'u (趙普), his prime minister, Chao K'uang-yin established a strong central government, subordinating the military to the civil power throughout the entire official system


THE SUNG AND CHIN DYNASTIES
Scale, 1: 35,000,000
100
110°
120°
130°
140°
150°
160°
70°
60°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
90°
100°
110°
120°
Mongolia
KIN
Korea
Chungchan
Taiyuan
Hochien
Yingtienfu
Pienking
Yangchow
CHI
TURFAN
Linan
HANSUNG
Tali

which he introduced. Chao now ruled as an absolute monarch, and no one was privileged to sit in his presence. Even the prime minister could not retain his seat, as had previously been the case while discussing questions with the sovereign; and, in place of personal discussion, everything had to be submitted to the emperor in writing. With little modification, the form of government that he set up came down to modern times with the result that the position of a soldier is far from being an enviable one.

CHAO K'UANG-YIN

Reunion of China.—Having established his authority within his domain, Chao K'uang-yin began to extend the boundaries in all directions. Of the older states, Kin, Wu and Szu were among the first to be annexed. Nan Han followed in 971 and Nan T'ang, the amalgamation of Min, Ch'u and Wu, four years later. By the time of his death, he had wiped out every state with the exception of North Han, the ally of the Khitans.

The following table will show the names of the states in question and the dates of their rise and fall.

Name.	When set up.	When and by whom annexed.
Tsin	907	United with Later T'ang in 923
Ch'i	907	Conquered by Later T'ang 924
Szu	907	,, ,, ,, ,, 925
Later Szu	935	,, ,, Sung 963
Wu	910	,, ,, Nan T'ang 937
Ch'u	907	,, ,, ,, ,, 951
Min	907	,, ,, ,, ,, 945
Nan T'ang	937	,, ,, Sung 975
Wu Yüeh	907	,, ,, ,, 978
Chin Nan	907	,, ,, ,, 963
Nan Han	915	,, ,, ,, 971

Accession of T'ai Tsung.—T'ai Tsung who succeeded Chao K'uang-yin in 976 was his younger brother. Their mother on her deathbed had exacted a promise from Chao K'uang-yin to the effect that he would make his brother, T'ai Tsung, heir, provided the latter in turn would give the throne to the third brother, K'uang-mei. It was in accordance with this arrangement that T'ai Tsung now came to the throne. He, however, did not carry out his part of the agreement, the throne after his death going to his son.

The most important events that took place in the reign of the second emperor of the dynasty were the secession of Tonquin in Indo-China from the Chinese Empire and the commencement of hostilities with the Khitans.

Secession of Tonquin.—Tonquin had been a part of the Protectorate of Annam, and hence it was called Annam in Chinese. During the period of Five Dynasties, it was a part of Nan T'ang, until its annexation in 971. In 980 a revolt took place in Annam, and it became the duty of T'ai Tsung to send soldiers there with a view to restoring order. The army that he sent entered Tonquin by way of Nan Ning and Lien Chow; but the tropical heat was such that the Chinese soldiers were obliged to return in the following year without having accomplished anything more than the leaving of a great number of sick behind them. From this time forth, Annam ceased to be an integral part of China, although it continued to pay tribute to the Chinese emperor until it became a French possession in 1884.

Beginning of the War with the Khitans.—Operations to subdue the state of North Han had been commenced by Chao K'uang-yin; but, owing to his death, the final conquest did not take place until 979. In the year previous T'ai Tsung had the good fortune to rout a Khitan regiment which had been sent to the assistance of their ally. Encouraged by the success thus achieved, he thought the time had come for him to recover the sixteen districts that had been ceded to them by Shih Ching-t'ang. Accordingly he gave his men no rest after the fall of T'ai

Yüan, the capital of North Han; but led them immediately to invest Yu Chow (幽州), one of the sixteen districts mentioned. On the Ko Liang River, severe fighting took place between the Chinese and the Khitans, and the latter were so completely victorious that T'ai Tsung, abandoning everything he had to the enemy, had to fly for his life.

Six years later, he made a second attempt to invade the land of the Khitans. It was on a much larger scale, but the emperor did not accompany it himself. The expedition consisted of four armies under the command of Ts'ao Pin (曹彬), a general who had made a name for himself in connection with the Kiang Nan campaign. For a time, the prospect was very hopeful, and several frontier cities were recovered. At Ch'i Kou Kuan (岐溝關), however, the Khitans made a stand and Ts'ao Pin received a crushing defeat, which was followed by the loss of two additional districts, Cho (涿) and I (易), in the years 988 and 989 respectively, and by the subjugation of the Nü-chên country and Corea by the Khitans. With their eyes once opened to the weakness of the great empire lying to the south of their territory, the Khitans no longer remained on the defensive, but began to make periodic inroads into the Chinese territory. During the remainder of the reign of T'ai Tsung they gave him but little peace.

Peace of T'an Chow.—In 1004, the Khitans again came into China in great numbers, accompanied by their chief and his mother. City after city fell into their hands, and before long they had penetrated as far south as the city of T'an Chow (澶州) on the Yellow River. Pien Liang (汴梁), the capital of the Sung Empire, was seized with consternation. One party advocated the removal of the court to Nanking, while another suggested the city of Chengtu as being more favorably situated. At length the more sagacious counsel of K'ou Chun (寇準) prevailed and a considerable force was sent to the rescue of T'an Chow. At the head of the rescuing army, marched the young emperor, Chên Tsung (眞宗), son of T'ai Tsung, who had died six years previous. The sight of the emperor gave the garrison new spirit, and loud cheers

greeted him from the city walls as he drew near. But the emperor, who was too timid to risk a battle, sued for peace. The terms were so far from being favorable to China that she was required to pay 100,000 ounces of silver and 200,000 pieces of Chinese silk every year to the Khitans. As regards the mode of correspondence, it was provided that the Chinese Emperor was to be addressed as "Elder Brother," and the Khitan Chief as "Younger Brother."

After the peace was made, the Khitans continued to grow in power, extending the limits of their country to the Kerulon River on the north, the city of T'an Chow on the south, the Sea on the east, and the Tien Shan Ranges on the west. They had five capitals within their territory, viz., Shan Ching at Ling Huang, Tung Ching at Liao Yang, Chung Chin, at Ta Ching, Nan Ching at Peking and Hsi Chin at Tai Tung.

A Tangut horseman, painted by Chao Tung
13th Century, A.D. ("Chinese Art")

Early History of Hsi Hsia.—The reign of Jen Tsung (仁宗), the next emperor, 1023-63, saw the Sung empire further impoverished by its wars with a new power in the northwest, —Hsi Hsia (西夏), as it was called in Chinese. This was a nation

of Tangut descent, and its early history dates as far back as the glorious days of the great T'ang Dynasty. Persecuted by the Tibetans, the Tanguts appealed to T'ai Tsung (of the T'ang Dynasty) and received permission to settle in the northeastern part of Shansi, and retain their tribal form of Government under a chieftain chosen from amongst them. When the formidable rebellion of Wang Ch'ao broke out, the Tanguts were on the side of the T'angs. In return for their services, Toba Ssŭ Kung (拓拔思恭), their chieftain, was not only given the title of Duke of Hsia, but also the imperial family name of Li.

When the Sungs came into power, they made the Duke of Hsia change his name from Li to Chao. The new name, however, did not make him more friendly to the Chinese; and besides, the chief of the Khitans was just as anxious to cultivate his friendship as the Sung emperor. So long as the nation remained weak, the Duke found it to his interest always to keep on the side of the stronger of the two rivals, and so he paid tribute now to the one and then to the other.

Hsi Hsia at the Height of her Power.— It was under the leadership of Yüan Hao (元昊), that Hsi Hsia attained to the zenith of her power. He was a contemporary of Jên Tsung, and came to the Tangut throne in 1032, or the 10th year of the latter's reign. He not only give his people a system* of writing of their own, but also raised Hsi Hsia to the rank of a first class Asiatic state, after driving the Ouigurs out of their home in Ho Hsi, the territory west of the Yellow River. With a standing army of 500,000 and with considerably extended boundaries, Yüan Hao assumed an imperial title, calling himself

Tangut script

* One of the languages of the famous inscription of Chu Yang Kuan is the Tangut, the system introduced by Yüan Hao. The other languages are Chinese, Mongol, Nü-chên, Ouigen, and Sanskrit.

Emperor of Great Hsia, and began to make incursions into the Sung empire. In spite of a strong Chinese garrison at Yen Chow (延州), now Yen An, Shansi, the Tanguts continued to ravage the surrounding country to such an extent that it was found cheaper to purchase immunity from them than to prolong the war. Therefore, when peace was made in 1043, it was provided that the Sung emperor should give to the Tanguts each year, 250,000 ounces of silver, 250,000 pieces of silk, and 250,000 catties of Chinese tea. Thus in the year 1044, the emperor had to send silver, silk, etc., not only to the Khitans, but also to the Tanguts. Everything that went to the former was recorded in the Chinese annals as a "present," and everything that went to the latter, as a "gift." The difference in name was due entirely to the different relationships in which the recipients stood to the Chinese emperor, for the latter was the "father" of the emperor of Hsia, and "Elder Brother" of the Khitan chief. Since the peace of T'an Chow the "present" had been doubled by a subsequent treaty.

Reforms of Wang An-shih.—When Shen Tsung (神宗) (1068-1085), the second emperor after Jên Tsung (仁宗), came to the throne, he found his empire was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was well-nigh impossible to raise her to the rank of a military power without first of all freeing her finances from the multitude of courtiers about the emperor. There was but one man who was able to understand his object. This man was the famous Wang An-shih (王安石). By his advice, the following reforms were introduced by Shen Tsung.

WANG AN-SHIH

1. The system of State Advances to Farmers (青苗法). Under this system any farmer in need of money for purposes of

cultivation could obtain a loan from the government at 2 per cent. interest per month, repayable at the time of harvest.

2. The Income Tax. This tax was levied on all classes of society and it was to take the place of the forced manual labor under the older laws.

3. The Nationalization of Commerce. By this law, depots for bartering and hypothecating goods on property were established throughout the empire.

In addition to these reforms in financial measures, Wang An-shih was also the author of two schemes which were calculated to give the nation better soldiers. They were as follows:

A. The Militia Act, or a system of tithing for military, purposes. Under this plan, the population of each district was divided into units of ten families, called Po, with a headman over each of them, one of higher rank over every fifty, and one of still higher rank over every five hundred families. Each family where there were more than two males was required to supply one to act as soldier in time of war and a policeman in time for peace.

B. A system of guaranteeing a Supply of Cavalry-horses in case of need. Every family was compelled to keep a horse which was supplied by the government.

Of all the reforms mentioned, the System of State Advance was the most unpopular. Nevertheless, Wang An-shih enjoyed the full confidence of the emperor, and it was enforced with an iron hand in face of stout opposition, which meant nothing less than dismissal from office. Although the mother of the emperor went against the reformer, it was of no effect. At last, a comet was observed by the imperial astronomer, and Wang An-shih was accused by the conservative party of having been its cause. The superstition of the age was such that the emperor was obliged to retire him; but, in less than a year, the reformer was reinstated. The comet having disappeared in the meantime.

Foreign Policy of Shên Tsung.—To regain Tonquin, to cripple the power of Hsi Hsia, and to expel the Khitans from

China,—all these were evidently included in the plan of Shen Tsung; but the end of his reign brought him no nearer the realization of his ambition.

Since the Annamese had faithfully paid the tribute due the Chinese emperor, there was no excuse for war. Shên Tsung, however, forbade his subjects to carry on trade with the Annamese. Enraged by the conduct of the emperor, they broke into China in 1075 in great numbers on the pretext that they had come to relieve their neighbor of the unjust laws introduced by Wang An-shih. While the invaders were forced to retreat before overwhelming numbers, the loss on the Chinese side was by no means slight. It was estimated that from sickness alone, the Chinese lost more than 40,000 men. It is hardly necessary to say that the Annamese refused to pay any further tribute.

As regards Hsi Hsia, Shên Tsung was again to blame for the outbreak of fresh hostilities. Without any justification, he ordered one general to take Chu Chow and another to march into the territory between the Yellow River and the Nieh, then in the hands of the Tibetans. His object was to prevent the Tibetans from coming to the aid of the Tanguts, and in so doing he not only terminated the treaty of 1043, but also aroused the hatred of a new enemy no less formidable than the Tanguts themselves.

While troubles were brewing in the west, the Khitans came forward with a demand for further extension of their territory. They knew the Sung empire was then in no position to declare war. This Wang An-shih also realized, and he advised the emperor to accede to their request. As the latter was completely under his influence, the land was ceded as demanded. "Since we are going to take more from them," added Wang An-shih, "it can do no harm to give them a little now." But what was ceded then was for ever lost to the Sung empire and the reforms of Wan An-shih only left the country poorer and weaker than it had been.

Defeat of the Conservative Party.—The death of Shên Tsung left the throne to his son, Chê Tsung (A.D. 1086-1100), then a boy of ten. During his minority, his grandmother was the regent; and it was a period of political reaction when the reforms of Wang An-shih were one by one superseded by better laws and his followers dismissed from the government. At the head of the opposition party stood Ssŭ Ma Kuang, the famous Chinese historian, whose return to power was an occasion of national rejoicing. The triumph of the party, however, was of brief duration. With the assumption of power by Chê Tsung in 1094, the reform party again secured the upper hand in the government. The tablet of Wang An-shih, who had died in the meantime, was by imperial order placed by the side of that of Confucius; and a stone pillar, on which was engraved the names of the "clique of traitors," was erected in front of the palace. This "Traitor Pillar," as it was called, contained the names of Ssŭ Ma Kuang and 308 of his friends.

Development of Chinese Pictorial Art.—The next reign, that of Hui Tsung (A.D. 1101-1126), formed an important epoch in the history of Chinese pictorial art, the emperor himself being a painter of no mean ability. He is famous for his pictures of white falcons and other birds; and the Hsüan Ho Hua Pu, or Collection of Painting of the Hsüan Ho Palace (one of the palaces of Hui Tsung), published in tweenty volumes in the second year of the reign of Hsüan Ho, is the most important work of its kind that has been handed down to us. It is stated that this emperor spared no effort to collect antiquities and

PAINTING BY SUNG HUI TSUNG

objects of art; but most of his collections were either destroyed or lost in 1126, when he was carried a prisoner into Manchuria where he died.

According to Chinese authorities, it was under the early emperors of the Sung Dynasty that Chinese pictorial art attained the highest point of development, at least so far as the painting of landscapes was concerned. Painting was not a profession, but the means by which a cultured writer was able to express his thought and to illustrate his genius. Many poets of the time, notably So Tung-po, were excellent painters. They wrote their verses with the same brush that later drew pictures of the inspiring scenery.

The most important event of Hui Tsung's reign was undoubtedly the alliance he formed with the Chins and its consequence. An account of this will be found in the next chapter in connection with the rise of the Chins.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF THE CHINS AND THE SOUTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

Early History of the Chins.—East of the territory of the Liao, in the part of Kirin province which is watered by the Sungari River, was the home of a branch of the Tartar family whom the Chinese called the "Nü-chên Tribes" (女眞). This name dates as far back as the year 923 when a powerful nation known as P'o Hai (渤海) was annexed by the Khitans. Before that time we find the people spoken of as the I-lo (挹婁) in the Han Dynasty, the Wu-chi (勿吉) in the Wei, and the Mo-ho (靺鞨), in the T'ang. Of the different Mo-ho tribes was P'o Hai made up. When they ceased to exist as an independent nation, those living south and west of the Sungari were called Shu (civilized) Nü-chêns (熟女眞); and their brethren living east of the river, Sheng (uncivilized) Nü-chêns (生女眞), the latter being permitted by the Khitans to retain a form of tribal government. It was the Uncivilized Nü-chêns that were destined to have their revenge upon the Khitans.

Nothing of note was recorded about the Nü-chêns until Akutta (阿骨打) (A.D. 1069-1123), a man of great daring and ability, succeeded to the chieftainship. In 1114 he threw off his allegiance, captured Nin-kan-chow, and defeated a superior force that the Liao emperor sent against him. This success enboldened Akutta to such an extent that he took the title of emperor in the following year, and became the founder of the "Golden Enclosure," or Aisin Kurun (愛新覺羅), which was translated into "Chin Kuo" in Chinese. From this time forth, the conflict between the houses of Iron (Liao) and Gold (Chin) was fierce and incessant. Upon the fall of the stronghold of Huang Lung Fu (黃龍府), T'ien Tsu (天祚), the last emperor of the Khitans, decided to meet the rising foe in person. Gathering an army of 700,000 men he crossed the river, but only to meet with defeat. Akutta now came into possession of Tung Ching (東京), one of their Five Capitals with all its outlaying districts, as

well as the whole of the country inhabited by the Civilized Nü-chêns. The Liao emperor promptly sued for peace, but Akutta was not ready to grant it.

Alliance between the Chins and the Chinese.—The birth of a new nation in the north was not at all unwelcome to Hui Tsung, especially since the new nation had proved themselves to be a powerful enemy of the Khitans. Your enemy's enemy is always your friend. If an understanding could be arrived at between the new nation in the north and the Sung empire in the south, the Liao kingdom could simply be ground to pieces. And Hui Tsung was not slow to realize the situation. Between the two future allies, an exchange of embassies soon took place. By the treaty of 1120, it was provided that the parties to it were to undertake operations simultaneously, one attacking the Khitans from the northeast and the other from the south. In case of success, it was stipulated that the sixteen districts which had been ceded by China to the Khitans, should be restored to her, provided that she gave to the Chins the amount of silver and silk paid annually to the Khitans.

Since the overthrow of the Khitans was necessary to the carrying out of the terms of this treaty, Akutta again took the field against them. The army of the latter, which had been a terror in North China, had lost its fighting power. Furthermore dissatisfaction was rife among the ranks, and many of the Khitan generals deserted to Akutta. Both the western and central districts were taken in 1123. On hearing of this disaster, T'ien Tsu, the Liao emperor, who was then on a hunting trip, fled to Chia Shan (夾山). While Akutta led soldiers from victory to victory, his allies, the Chinese, suffered a crushing defeat in the region of Yen Ching (Peking), which city they were to capture under the agreement. It was not until the victorious army appeared before its walls, that Yen Ching fell; and this gave Akutta an excuse for refusing to restore the sixteen districts as agreed. After much parleying, he consented to give China six of the districts in question, but took care to exact from her an additional sum each year of 1,000,000 strings of cash of 1,000 copper coins each. However, when the date came for China to take

possession of these cities the Chinese commissioners found, to their dismay, that these were but six empty cities, the Chins having removed every thing of value out of them.

The death of Akutta in the following year did not interrupt the campaign. Wuchumai, who succeeded to the throne, proved no less a conqueror than his elder brother. Fortune continued to favor the Chins, and every one of the Five Capitals was now lost to the Khitans. T'ien Tsu fled to the court of the king of Hsia, but the latter dared not harbour him. Acceding to the demand of the conqueror, he surrendered the unfortunate representative of the house of Liao to his fate in exchange for a tract of land adjoining his territory in the modern Shansi province.

Warship of the Sung Dynasty

The Western Liao, or Kara Khitans.—Thus fell the house of Liao. Yeh-lu-ta-shih, one of its generals, however, managed to escape to the west. At Bashbalig he was received with enthusiasm by the chiefs of the states in the Nan Lu. With what forces he could collect there he advanced upon Balasaghun, drove out its king, styled himself Gur Khan, or Khan of the Camp, and made Huszeoludo capital of his khanate, which is known in Chinese history as the Western Liao. The khanate he thus founded existed until it was wiped out by Jenghis Khan, of whom we will learn more in the next chapter.

Hostilities Break out Between the Chinese and the Chins.—The destruction of the Khitans was now complete, but there was no peace to the Sung empire. The Emperor had been of but little use to the Chins, who had desired his friendship solely on account of the wealth that had been so readily promised. They now began to see that all this wealth might be theirs without regard to the wishes of the Chinese. As if to hasten the coming of the storm which had been fast gathering, the Chinese gave asylum to some of the Chin deserters. Nothing pleased these Tartars better than an excuse to declare war upon their ally, and this China had herself furnished. Two armies under the veteran generals, Kanlipu and Niehmusa, were soon on their march towards the Chinese capital, Pien, the former passing through the modern province of Chihli and the latter through Shansi.

To the surprise of Kanlipu himself, no material resistance was met with on the way. Hui Tsung, instead of facing manfully the dangers he had brought upon the nation, evaded them by abdicating in favor of his son, Ch'in Tsung (欽宗), and fleeing to Chinkiang. The capital was besieged. The spirit of the Chinese was low, and, with the exception of Li Kang, the young emperor and his court were ready to accept peace at any price. Negotiations were opened and all the terms, dictated by Kanlipu, accepted. The terms exacted by the invaders were five million ounces of gold, fifty million ounces of silver, ten thousand oxen, an equal number of horses, and one million pieces of silk. It was further stipulated that the Sung

empire should cede to the Chins the three Prefectures of Chung Shan (中山), T'ai Yüan (太原), and Ho Chien (河間) (all in modern Chihli province), that the Chin emperor was henceforth to be addressed as "Uncle" in all documents addressed to him from China, and that a prince of the blood and a prime minister should be held by the Chins as hostages. Prince K'ang and Chang Pan-ch'ang were accordingly sent to the camp of Kanlipu. They were, however, returned with the statement that they would accept no one as a hostage except Li Kang, but after much parleying prince Su, another brother of Ch'in Tsung, was sent in his stead. For some reason, Kanlipu did not wait for the full amount promised but returned with only 2,000,000 ounces of gold and five million ounces of silver. It is stated that his provisions were getting low.

As soon as the enemy was out of sight, the Chinese began to regret the bargain they had made. Secret instructions were given to the authorities of the territory to be ceded to hold out against the Chins, and agents were dispatched to persuade the Khitans to revolt. For this duplicity and lack of faith, Pien was besieged a second time in the winter of the same year (1126). This time it was invested by the united armies under the two Chin generals. Resistance in the face of such an overwhelming force was out of the question. The siege lasted forty days, at the end of which Ch'in Tsung repaired to the camp of the Chins and formally gave in his submission. No ransom for the city being paid, it was given up to pillage. In the following year (1127) the invaders returned to their home, not only with large booty but also with a long procession of prisoners, including Hui Tsung, who had returned to Pien after the first departure of the Chins, Ch'in Tsung, their wives, and ladies of the harem, many of whom never returned.

Founding of the Southern Sung Dynasty.—Prince K'ang, whom the Chins had refused to accept as a hostage, was in the city of Hsiang Chow (相州) at the time of the fall of Pien. Hearing of the capture of his father and brother, he declared himself Emperor in the modern city of Nanking, and invited Li Kang to become his prime minister. The first question the newly made emperor was called upon

to decide was whether or not he should return to Pien, the city, which, within a year had twice experienced the horror of a foreign invasion. With an empty treasury and an inefficient army, he had certainly reasons for desiring to live as far away from the enemy as possible. He favored the transfer of the capital to Yangchow on the bank of the Yangtze. This scheme was strongly opposed by Li Kang, who regarded the move in the light of a public confession of weakness. Thus unable to agree with his new master on this vital point, the prime minister soon fell a victim of court intrigues. Kao Tsung, the emperor, and his court then set out for the new capital at Yangchow.

General Tsung Tsé.—At the same time general Tsung Tsé was sent in the direction of the old capital to occupy all territory abandoned by the Chins. He made a historic stand against the returning enemy, and his loyalty and gallantry soon won for him friends even among the bandits who joined his standard. Twenty times he wrote to Kao Tsung to return to the old capital, assuring him that there was no danger, but it was all to no avail. Disappointed and filled with indignation, he was shortly afterwards taken with a fatal illness. His last words were, "Let us cross the River," which he repeated three times before he expired.

When his death became known to the Chins, three armies were poured into the south by as many different routes. City after city fell. The Huai Valley was reached and occupied. Consternation reigned in Yangchow. In less than two years, Kao Tsung transferred his capital first to Chinkiang, then to Lin-an, then to Ningpo, and finally, crossing an arm of the sea, to an island on the coast of Tai-Chow.

The Battle of Huang T'ien Tang.—However fierce the Tartars were on land, they were poor sailors. Having burned Lin-an and laden themselves with loot, they forced their way through Ping Kiang and Chang Chow, and were ready to return home. At Chin Shan, an islet in the Yangtze near Chinkiang, they found the river was guarded by a fleet under General Han Shih-tsung. A

bloody battle, in which the Tartars fared badly, was fought at Huang T'ien Tang (黃天蕩). For forty-eight days the passage was contested, and at the end of the time, the Chins still found themselves on the south side of the broad river. At length they gave up the fight and retreated to a point near Nanking, where they effected the crossing without opposition.

Yo Fei

While in Shansi, the Chins gradually drove the Chinese general, Chang Chung, into Szechuan, their advance in the direction of Hupei was checked by General Yo Fei (岳飛) and his Lieutenant, Niu Kao (牛皐). The Chinese were evidently destined to hold out in the southeastern corner for some time to come, and this, the Chin commander, Wu Shu (兀朮), was obliged to recognize.

The Kingdom of Ch'i.—Either through lack of experience or through dissensions among their commanders, the Chins did not attempt to govern Honan which they had overrun. They appointed Liu Yü (劉豫), a Chinese general who had deserted to them, to rule over it in his own name as "Emperor of Ch'i." He kept the insurgents in the Yangtze Valley supplied with provisions and weapons and in this way was able to prevent Yo Fei from attacking his "Empire." But Yo Fei rooted out every rebellion in Hupei, and at length he was in a position to give the kingdom of Ch'i more attention. By this time, the Tartars, too, had been recalled on account of the illness of the Chin emperor. Liu Yü, deprived of their support, found it impossible for him to cope with Yo Fei. He

was on the point of deserting his new friends, when Wu Shu appeared before Pien, the place where Liu Yü lived, and sent him a prisoner into Tartary. The year 1137 saw the last of the kingdom of Ch'i.

Peace Negotiations.—Satisfied that no immediate advantage could be gained by continuing the war, the dignitaries at the court of the Tartars were now more inclined to peace. They accordingly allowed one of the Chinese prisoners to return home with an under-

Yo Fei's Tomb, near West Lake, Hangchow

standing that he was to serve their interests in the coming negotiations, should he succeed in obtaining an appointment under the new government. This man was the notorious Ch'in Kuei (秦檜). As he came from the quarters where Kao Tsung's parents were imprisoned, he was ushered at once into the presence of the emperor, and by his eloquence he convinced him of the hopelessness of war. More than once had this weak emperor sued for peace and offered to hold the remnant of an empire as a fief of the enemy; but his entreaties had been rejected and his envoys had been thrown into prison by the Chins. He therefore was only too pleased to know that

the prospect for peace was now brighter. The knowledge that Ch'in Kuei had gained during his year of captivity, he thought, would certainly enable him to accomplish the desired end and he did not hesitate to appoint him prime minister. With a spy by the side of the emperor, Chinese policy towards the Chins underwent a noticeable change. All the generals at the front were ordered to desist from further active operations, and in this way many of them were prevented from following up their victories. At one time Yo Fei advanced as far north as Chu Hsien Chên (朱仙鎮) driving the Tartars before him; but received as many as twelve messages (十二金牌) from the emperor in one day ordering him to withdraw. These orders he obeyed, but still it was too late for him to save his own life. His success over the enemy and his popularity with the people were all stumbling stones in the path of peace negotiations. Either he must die or there would be no peace. A false charge was lodged against him, and both the gallant general and his son, Yo Yün (岳雲), who had distinguished himself under his father's standard, were thrown into prison and in that dark place where so many foul deeds have been perpetrated were made away with by the orders of Ch'in Kuei.

The treaty as finally concluded in 1142 provided as follows:—

1. The cession of the prefectures of T'ang (唐) and Têng (鄧) west of the Huai in Ching Hsi (京西) and one half of the prefectures of Shang (商) and Ch'in (秦) in Shensi, with the Huai river and Ta San Kuan (大散關) to be the respective dividing lines in the two provinces.

2. The payment by China of an annual tribute of 250,000 taels of silver and 250,000 pieces of silk.

3. The Sung emperor to receive his royal titles from the Chins.

4. The return by the Chins of the remains of Hui Tsung, who died in 1135, and the dowager empress Wei, Kao Tsung's mother. In this treaty no mention was made as to Ch'in Tsung who was still living. This was because Kao Tsung did not wish his brother to return, for in that case according to Chinese custom it

would be necessary for him to resign the throne in favor of his brother, a thing he was not willing to do. Ch'in Tsung died a prisoner in Tartary in 1156.

Ch'in Kuei now received credit for having restored peace to the frontier, and was accordingly loaded with honors, being given the first order of Chinese nobility. The verdict of later ages, however, is an entirely different one. No name is regarded by the Chinese with more disgust and abhorrence than his.

Subsequent Treaties.—The treaty of 1141 secured peace to the contracting parties for a period of twenty years. During this time the history of the Chins was a continuous record of internal troubles. The second emperor after Akutta died at the hands of his cousin whose Chinese name was Liang. This monarch made Peking his capital instead of Shan Ching as had hitherto been the case. In 1161 he removed the capital further south to the city of Pien, where he began preparations for invading the Sung empire. At Kuachow he was assassinated in his camp, whereupon the invading army returned to the north. Thus were the Chinese enabled to recover some of their lost territory. On the election of a new khan in Liao Yang, however, he demanded that the cities recently taken by the Chinese should be returned. War broke out afresh, and the result was again unfavorable to the Chinese. The treaty of 1165 that ended the war confirmed the boundaries as defined in the earlier treaty, and reduced the amount of silver and silk to be paid annually by twenty per cent. The payment was no longer made under the name of "Annual Tribute," but was changed to "Annual Present." Nor was it necessary for the Sung emperor to receive his appointment from the Chin emperor; they were to correspond on terms of equality except that the former was to stand in the same relation to the latter that a nephew does to his uncle. While the formality of "decrees" and "memorials" was done away with, their place being taken by "state letters," the ceremony in connection with the reception of an ambassador from the Chin emperor remained unchanged. The "nephew" was to stand up when he inquired after the health of the "uncle," and to come down from his throne when he received his "state letter" from the

"uncle's" ambassador. It is hardly necessary to say that these marks of honor were not accorded the representative of the "nephew."

The last treaty between the two nations was made in 1208. The Chins were still strong then and in vain had the Chinese General, Han Kuei-cho, tried to get the better of them. This treaty increased the amount of the "annual present" to 300,000 taels of silver and 300,000 pieces of silk, in addition to a war indemnity of 3,000,000 taels. In other respects it confirmed the earlier agreements.

While the "annual present" required by the succeeding treaties was a continuous drain upon the Sung empire, its demoralizing effect upon the Chins was great. By the time of the rise of the Mongols, the Chins were no longer the people they had been in the days of Akutta. Although a law had been passed by one of his successors forbidding the adoption of Chinese dress, manners and names, and ordering the study of the Chinese Classics in the Nü-chên language, yet the once warlike Tartars were rapidly becoming Chinese in thought and in habits. The "annual present" was paid up to the year 1214; but harassed by the Mongols in their rear, the Chins were no longer able to enforce their demand. In 1222, they sent envoys for the first time to the court of the Southern Sungs to sue for peace. Twelve years later Li Tsung (理宗), falling into the same mistake that Hui Tsung had made, allied himself with the Mongols to bring an end to the Chins. The result was his own house did not survive it long. This part of the narrative will be found in connection with the rise of the Mongols.

Confucianism under the Sungs.—The Sung philosophers were separated about fifteen hundred years from Confucius, and during this long period many differences arose. In reverence for antiquity and the inculcation of the Five Constant Virtues (五常), in teaching the principles of perpetual and universal morality, and in drawing their countrymen to the ancient models of wisdom and virtue, they agreed with Confucius. In their cosmogony, their philosophy of nature, their attitude in regard to the ancient practice of divination, they, however, differed widely from the Great Sage.

Confucianism had before their time been contaminated by the thoughts and works of the Han Ju (漢儒), the editors of the classics of the Han Dynasties, and those who expounded their views. They maintained the teaching of Confucius but the tone of their speculation was Taoist. Now under the Sungs, we find it contaminated by Buddhist elements. The philosophers of this period were all thorough Buddhists. They knew that Buddhism in China had reached the lowest stage of decay, and that Confucianism, pure and simple, was not acceptable to the minds of the contemporary Chinese. Hence they reconstructed Confucianism. They added the map of the Great Change (太極圖); and, advancing Buddhist theories to complete the thoughts of the ancients, they touched upon subjects on which even Confucius would not venture an opinion. Their theory of Tao Tung (道統), or Confucian papacy, is equally baseless. According to them, Confucius was the first Sage who was not at the same time an occupant of the Chinese throne, and after Mencius, the line of succession was broken for centuries. Their idea, of course, was that the place of honor in the Confucian world rightly belonged to them. Oftentimes they compared their dynasty to the Chow, famous for its philosophers. To say the least, this religious element is foreign to Confucianism.

In their commentaries on the classics, they again were largely influenced by the products of the Indo-European mind. They say, "T'ien (Heaven or the Supreme Being) is nothing but *li*" (天卽理也) (reason), thus virtually denying the existence of God. Space will not permit of a fuller discussion of their faults which are many. Suffice it to say that their philosophy leads man away from God, that it retards the progress of mankind, that it encourages the telling of lies, and that it is very largely responsible for the weakness in Chinese character of the present day. No other philosophy is better suited to the ends of a despotic government, and this explains why the succeeding ages have paid to it the reverence which is in nowise its due.

THE MONGOLIAN EMPIRE
(Showing its greatest extent)
Scale, 1: 35,000,000
Chipchak Khanate
Orgatchy Khanate
Kora Karon
Black Sea
Yenking
Khorassan
Chahandai Khanate
Turfan
Lupanchau
Pienking
Loyang
Liaoje
Tailiao
Liuan
Ill Khanate
Tali
Burmah
Taiyueh
Chienchen

PART III

MODERN HISTORY

Section I.—From the Rise of the Mongols to the Manchu Conquest of China

CHAPTER XXV

THE RISE OF THE MONGOLS

The Mongols Before Jenghis Khan.—Little is known of the early history of the Mongols. Even the name "Mongol" is a disputed point; but if we may believe the Chinese historians, it means "brave." The first notice we have of this brave people is in the history of the T'ang Dynasty. At that remote period, they were spoken of as a branch of the Hsi Wei, a term vaguely applied by ancient writers to the descendants of the Hsiung-nu. Their first camping ground, they inform us, was at the foot of the Burkhan Mountains between the Onon and Kerulan rivers, where they lived under the yoke, first of the Khitans, and later of the Chin Tartars. Under the leadership of Kabul, grandfather of the famous Jenghis Khan, the Mongols espoused the cause of Talan, a prince of the house of Chin, and succeeded in throwing off their yoke. For years he kept at bay a superior force led by Uchu, the Chin general, who had seen so many wars in China, and in the end the Chins were obliged to recognize him as "King of Méngfu Kuo" (蒙輔國王). Instead of Méngfu, Kabul later adopted the name of Méngku (蒙古), and thus was "the Great Mongol Nation" (大蒙古國) born into the world. Yessugai, his grandson, further extended the domain. On his return from a campaign against one of the neigboring tribes, Yessugai found his wife, Ogelon, had given birth to a son. This baby, the future conqueror Jenghis Khan, he named Temujine, after his rival whom he had just slain in battle.

Jenghis Khan.—As is often the case with great men, life was hard with Jenghis Khan. At the age of thirteen, he had the

misfortune to mourn the death of his father, who, it is said, lost his life in battle with the Tatars, an eastern tribe of the Mongols. The death of the old chieftain was the signal for desertion among the tribes whom Yessugai had brought together with an iron hand. "The deepest wells are sometimes dry, and the hardest stone is sometimes broken," said the deserters to Temujine, "and why should we cling to thee." The mourning had hardly finished before fully one-half of Yessugai's friends and comrades cast off their allegiance. Indeed, the very foundation upon which a world-empire was to be built would have fallen to pieces had it not been for the widow, Temujine's mother. Seizing the national standard, she led those who still remained faithful, gave chase to the deserters, and succeeded in bringing one-half of them back to their allegiance. Many times thereafter the boy was made to drink the cup of defeat at the hands of enemies of whom there were not a few; but, as he grew up, he gradually proved his worth, and won the respect of both friends and foes.

JENGHIS KHAN

As a mercenary of the Chins, Jenghis Khan received the title of "Commander of Rebels" (Tarri Kuri), and at the age of twenty-seven he was made Khakhan of the Arlids. From 1187 to 1193 he slowly gained strength until he established his authority over all the tribes situated between the Kerulan and the Selenga, as far as the desert towards the south and as far as the Ingoda towards the Shores. Of his old enemies there remained then the Merkits on the shores of Lake Baikal. With the aid of Toghural, the Chief of the Keraits with whom his father had sworn friendship, he won an easy victory over them. But his success made the Keraits envious of him; and ere long the allies became belligerents. When it came to battle (1203), Toghural was among the slain and his son, Sengun, fled into Tibet, where he subsequently died after many years of wandering. This victory was followed in the next year by another one over the Naimais, the most powerful of the nomadic tribes in the western part of Mongolia at that time. Having thus subjected the whole of Mongolia to his authority, in 1206 he called an assembly (Kuriltai) of the Mongol khans on the bank of the Onon; and, with their consent, assumed the title of Jenghis Khan, that is the Greatest Khan.

His Conquests in China.—The state of Hsia was then weakened by civil disorders, and was an inviting field for the energies of the Mongols. In the year of his coronation, Temujine, now fifty-two years of age, for the first time ventured on a foreign campaign. Having captured several strongholds in Ho Hsi and having accepted the daughter of its king as ransom, he retired in the summer of 1208 to Lung-ting to escape the heat of the plains. Here news reached him that Kushluh, Chief of the Naimans, and Tukhtul, chief of the Merkits, were preparing for war on the Irtish. He at once marched against them and, in a pitched battle in the neighborhood of the Irtish, overthrew them both, Tukhtul being killed on the field and Kushluh turned into a fugitive seeking refuge in the court of the Kara Khitans.

Satisfied with this victory, he again directed his forces against Hsia. Good fortune attended him wherever he went. From Hsia

he invaded the Chin empire. Once within the Great Wall, he divided his army into three divisions: the right wing under his sons was to move due south; the left wing under his brothers, in the direction of the sea; while the central or main body under his personal command, in a south-easterly direction. The three divisions all met with success everywhere. The Western Capital of the Chins was stormed and carried, and this was followed by the fall of many cities north and east of the Yellow River, Jenghis Khan advancing as far as Wei Hai Wei in the modern province of Shantung. Hsüan Tsung, the Chin emperor, paralyzed with fear, eagerly sued for peace. He presented Jenghis Khan with a daughter of the late emperor, 500 youths and maidens, 3,000 horses, and agreed to pay tribute. As soon as the Mongols were out of China, he removed his court from Yen King to Pien. For this he was accused of bad faith by Jenghis Khan. Once more the Mongols were pushed with unceasing vigor into the doomed empire, and Yen King and the country around it were forever lost to the Chins. The invaders did not cease to advance until their scouts were within twenty *li* of the new capital.

His Conquests in Western Asia.—While Jenghis was taking city after city and province after province in China, Kushluh, the fugitive Naiman Khan was not idle. With characteristic treachery, he sought permission of the king of the Hsi Liao (Kara Khitans) to collect the fragments of his Naiman army. Having succeeded in raising a force sufficiently large for his purpose, he leagued himself with the Shah of Khwarezm against the friend who had received him with open arms in his hour of need. After a decisive battle, the allies remained masters of the situation, and the confiding king of the Khitans was forced to abdicate in favor of a man who, until recently, was a fugitive and guest of his nation. Now the ruler of a vast territory, Kushluh thought his time had come to measure strength with the Mongol chief. Taking advantage of Jenghis' absence in China, he began to make inroads into the domain of the Uigurs who were then a dependent tribe of the Mongols. This was the event that finally led to the conquering of Central Asia and a part of Europe. Appointing Mukhuli military

governor in China, Jenghis led his hosts towards the west. Kushluh, it must be remarked, was a Christian and no friend to the Kara Khitans, who were for the most part Moslems. On the approach of the Mongols, he was virtually deserted and imprisoned. His newly acquired territory was then added to the growing empire of the Mongols.

Jenghis now owned land to the frontier of the Khwarezm empire; but for the time being he had no desire to advance any further. He therefore sought to make such a treaty with Muhammed, the Shah, as would secure the commercial route to Europe to his people. His request was readily granted by Muhammed, for the Shah was eager to gain time in order to make war upon Bagdad, the headquarters of the Caliph. He had lately come into possession of certain letters which convinced him that the Caliph had been in league with his enemies. After the signing of the treaty with Jenghis, he led an expedition over the snows to Bagdad; but it was far from being successful. Moreover the declaration of war upon the head of the Moslem world, meant the alienation of his Moslem subjects, who were forbidden by the Caliph to offer prayers for their king. Of all this, Jenghis was minutely informed; he only waited for an excuse to terminate his friendly relations with Muhammed. He did not have to wait long. A party of Mongol merchants, availing themselves of the right of way secured to them by the recent treaty, arrived at the city of Otrar. Ignoring their treaty rights the governor had every one of them put to the sword and their goods confiscated. When Jenghis demanded reparation, his envoy, too, was barbarously put to death by Muhammed. War was now inevitable.

Military tally of Mongols

In the spring of 1218, Jenghis, accompanied by his four sons, Djiuchi, Jargatai, Ogdai and Tule, and Generals Chepe and Subtai, set out from Kara Koram on the greatest campaign ever made in his life. Through Almalid and across the Jaxartes, the Mongols marched, and to resist the tide of invasion was well-nigh impossible. Of the 400,000 men that Muhammed sent to meet the invaders, 160,000, it is said, were left dead on the field. The path of the Mongols was marked with fearful atrocities. Otrar, the offending city, was stormed, given up to pillage and massacre,

Warships of Mongols

and razed to the ground. Many others suffered a similar fate, and even Bokhara and Samarkand did not escape. While Muhammed was shut up in the latter city, his son, Jalaleddin, made a heroic stand near Ghanzni, where he dispersed a Mongol detachment under Kukuklu. But on the arrival of reinforcements the Mongol defeat was turned into a final victory. From the Indus one flying column was sent under Bela to pursue Jalaleddin, who fled to Dehli; another flying column under Subtai and Chepe was sent from Samarkand to follow Muhammed. Bela went as far as Multan in India, but returned without the fugitive. Subtai and

Chepe, finding that the object of their pursuit had been buried on an island in the Caspian, advanced into Georgia in 1222, and drove the Kipchacks out of their home. The Russian princes, for taking into their protection the Kipchacks, were taught a lesson on the Kaleza. Here the two generals received word that Jenghis had started on his return journey to Mongolia, and after ravaging Greater Bulgar they also retired into their native land. In less than twenty years the Mongol horses had borne their masters from the China Sea to the banks of the Dneiper.

His Death.—On his return from the West, Jenghis found Hsia further weakened by its wars with the Chins. In 1225-6 the region of Ho Hsi was fearfully devastated; or, according to the Chinese historians, was strewn with corpses. The state that had successfully maintained its existence against the Liao, the Chins and the Sungs for nearly two centuries came to an end in 1227, when its last king was sent a prisoner into Mongolia. Amid preparations for invading China, Jenghis was taken sick on a tour of inspection and died in the fall of the same year near the Liu-P'an Mountain (六盤山) in the present Kansu province. From this place his remains were conveyed into Mongolia and were laid at rest in the valley of Ke Keeng.

Division of Jenghis' Empire.—The vast empire he had conquered was now divided among his sons as follows:—

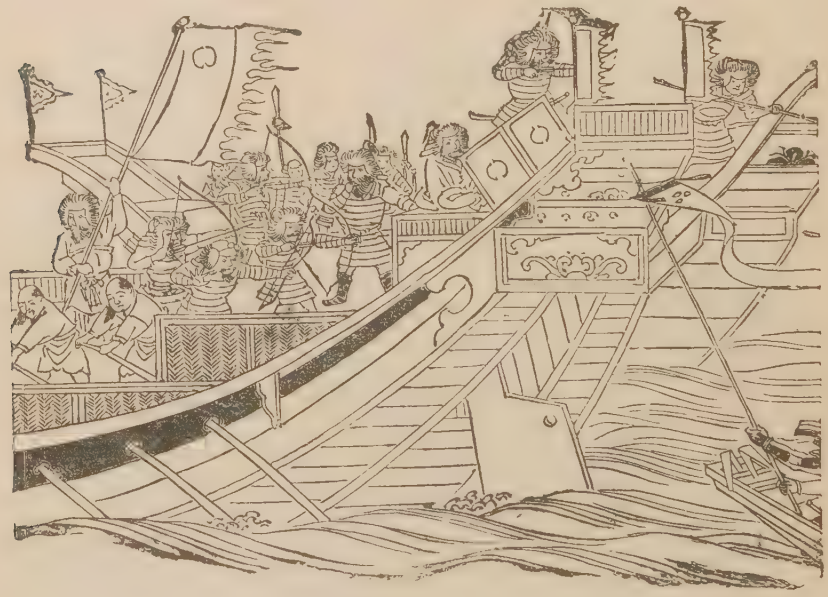
To the family of his deceased eldest son, was given the country from Kanyalik and Kharezm to the borders of Bulgar and Saksim;

To Jargatai' his eldest surviving son, the territory from the border of the Uigurs' country to Bokhara;

To Ogdai his second surviving son, the country of the Naimans; and to Tule, the youngest, the home country.

Conquests by Ogdai.—Ogdai, according to the will of Jenghis, was also to succeed him as Khakhan. He not only inherited his father's throne, but also his wars. His first care was to extend the empire in the direction of the Chin territory. In

area the latter was but one-third of what it had been; it extended to Ching Ting in the north, the Yangtze in the south, the Yellow River in the east and the Tung Kuan Pass in the west. At Tung Kuan was stationed the flower of the Chin army, but the plan of the Mongols was to reach Pien without storming this Pass. To carry out this scheme successfully necessitated the passing of an army through Chinese territory. In order to arrange for this passage, Ogdai sent his envoy to the emperor; but the



Mongols invading Japan

latter refused to treat with him and beheaded the man he sent. This at once brought an army under Tule through Shensi to the border of the Chinese empire, while Ogdai marched through Honan. Tule having penetrated the Chinese territory the two armies effected a junction east of the Pass and laid siege to Pien. From the capital of the Chins, Ai Tsung (哀宗) fled to Chai-chow, whither the Mongols quickly followed. After sustaining a siege for some weeks and enduring all the horrors of starvation, the garrison surrendered, and the unfortunate emperor committed

suicide by hanging himself. Thus fell in 1234 the Chin dynasty which had ruled over the northern portion of China for a little over a century.

The annexation of North China by no means satisfied the ambition of Ogdai. In 1236 he despatched three armies in as many directions, one against Corea, one against the Sungs, and the third into Eastern Europe. This last force was commanded by Batu, the eldest son of Djiuchi, Ogdai's deceased brother, with

Mongols invading Japan

Subtai as his chief adviser. Kuyuck, Ogdai's own son, Mengku, son of Tule, Bardar, son of Jargatai, and other princes all accompanied the expedition. With irresistible vigor and astonishing rapidity, the Mongols forced their way into Russia. Riazan, Moscow, Kieff, and other cities were utterly destroyed. Having desolated a part of Russia they moved on in two directions; one section under Batu going into Hungary, and the other, under Bardar and Haidu, into Poland. In vain did the peoples of those countries try to prevent their inroads and keep the Mongols from

carrying fire and sword into the heart of Europe. While laying waste the country in Silesia, the news arrived that Ogdai had drunk himself to death in his palace in Kara Karom. Most of the princes, feeling that their interests were at stake, naturally desired to be present at the Kuriltai. Evacuation at once began and Europe was thus saved from further depredations of the Mongols.

Ogdai was succeeded by Kuyuck, who reigned only three years; but during this short time we hear of an advance against the Sultan of Rum, a fresh campaign against Corea, and another attack on the Sung empire.

With the death of Kuyuck, the lordship of the Mongols was lost to the line of Ogdai for ever. Mengku, who was elected on July 1, 1251, put to death his cousin's widow and the several princes of his house. In this way was sown the seed of hatred which in the course of time caused the break-up of the powerful empire that Jenghis had established.

The Founding of the Ilkhans.—On Mengku's accession, complaint reached Kara Karom that dissensions had broken out in Persia. Huluga, his younger brother who was sent to restore order having marched through Samarkand and Kesh, crossed the Oxus and advanced by way of Balkh into the province of Khohistan. Its inhabitants were indiscriminately slaughtered, the number killed, so it is stated, reaching the enormous total of 800,000. From Khohistan, he marched over the snowy mountains to Bagdad, where the Caliph gave in his submission; but it did not save him from death, or his city from pillage. Aleppo was stormed and sacked, and Damascus surrendered. Huluga was meditating on the capture of Jerusalem when he heard of the death of Mengku, and as in duty bound he returned. As his reward, he was given the land of his conquest and established there the empire of the Ilkhans.

The Mongol Army.—Having traced the conquests of the Mongols, one naturally desires to know something of their

invincible army. Unfortunately we have practically no information on this subject, beyond a meagre sketch, before the time of Kublai Khan. It seems that before Kublai's time there were two army corps; one made up of Mongols, and the other of all Non-Mongols. Every Mongol between the ages of 15 and 70 was a soldier, princes of the blood not being excepted. Each soldier was supplied with at least four horses, which not only carried him to battle, but, at times, also gave him food. It was not an uncommon thing for a Mongol to suck the blood of one of his horses when food was not otherwise obtainable. This fact accounts for the rapidity with which the Mongols moved from one place to another. No city was strong enough to stand before their ballistae, or war-engines, which were capable of throwing stones of great weight. These, it is said, were the inventions of Persians. While the Mongols were always bent on plunder and massacre, they would not put artisans to death. Samarkand alone, on the occasion of its fall before the soldiers of Jenghis Khan, furnished them with thirty thousand men of arts and crafts, who were forced into the service of their captors. Each expedition was accompanied by a sort of engineering corps (匠軍). Birth alone was not sufficient to make a man a khakhan; he had to prove his worth as a leader in battle. As a rule, their khakhan was the most popular man and the best general.

The Effect of the Mongol Conquest of Western Asia.— The continued ravages of the Mongols in Western Asia were solely responsible for the decay of Mohammedanism in that quarter, forcing as they did the incoming tide to flow in the direction of Europe. Under Jenghis Khan and his immediate successors, Catholicism made considerable progress in Mongolia and North China. Huluga, the founder of the empire of the Ilkhans, was himself a Christian, and by him the caliphate of Bagdad was brought to an end. He was most liberal in his gifts to the Christian church. Europe was then busy with its crusades. Both Innocent IV of Rome and Louis IX of France sought alliances with the Mongol chief. Plani Carpini, the legate of

the Pope, left Lyons in 1245, and reached Sari on the Volga in the following year. Here he was received by Batu and forwarded to Kara Karom, where he witnessed the coronation of Kuyuck. To William Rubruquis, the representative of the King of France, we are indebted for a description af Mengku's palace which he says was "surrounded by brick walls.—Its southern side had three doors. Its central hall was like a church and consisted of a nave and two aisles, separated by columns. Here the court sat on great occasions. In front of the throne was placed a silver tree having at its base four lions, from whose mouths there spouted into four silver basins, wine, kumiss, hydromel and terasine. At the top of the tree a silver angel sounded a trumpet when the reserviors that supplied the four fountains wanted replenishing."

The Mongolian Language.—The Mongolian characters are written perpendicularly from top to bottom and the lines follow from left to right. They were derived from the original Ouigurian forms which were themselves derived from the Syriac that was brought to the Ouigurs by Nestorian missionaries. Indian and Tibetan influences may also be noted, while the arrangement of characters in perpendicular lines is common to the Chinese. The writing was brought into the present shape by learned Lamas in the thirteenth century. Phags-pa, a Tibetan Lama, is credited with the introduction of a special alphabet called Galik. The new alphabet was employed to express the frequently occurring letters borrowed from Sanskrit and Tibetan because they were wanting in the Mongolian alphabet. One of the many difficulties encountered by students of this language comes from the fact that the same sign is pronounced differently according to its position in the words. In a slightly altered form their script was later adopted by the Manchus.

CHAPTER XXVI

KUBLAI KHAN

Who Kublai Was.—Kublai (忽必烈) was the second son of Tule (拖雷). He was probably the greatest of Jenghis' (成吉) descendants with whom Chinese history has had to deal. From a lieutentant in the army of the Mengku (蒙哥) khan, his elder brother, he rose to be the Grand Khan, and emperor of united China. The last was an honor that had been denied not only to the Khitans and the Chin Tartars, but also to Kublai's predecessors. Since the days of Jenghis, the wave of Mongol expansion had extended in many directions and over many lands; but it remained for Kublai to subjugate the whole of that part of China south of the Yangtze, an empire under the representative of the house of Sung at Lin An (臨安), now the city of Hangchow (杭州), in Chekiang (浙江) province. This, the last appanage, however, was only added to the vast Mongol empire by allowing its western half to become more independent. The reign of Kublai, therefore, was the most important period in Mongol history in that, while the Mongols under him ruled the largest empire known in history, it was he who sowed the seeds of dissension which in course of time led to its final break-up.

Alliance between the Mongols and the Chinese.—The cause of the war between the Mongols and the Chinese arose out of the alliance that they had entered into against the Chins. This event necessarily takes us back to a time prior to the days of Kublai. The alliance in question had been of material advantage to the Mongols in two respects. In the first place, it had given them the right to march armies through Chinese territory to attack the weakest points in the line of defence held by the Chins; and in the second place, it had deprived their enemy of any possible aid that they might have received from the large region lying to the south of the Yangtze.

As regards the Chinese, the alliance had not terminated so happily. Though the Chinese had so far enjoyed comparative immunity from the Mongols, yet it was a fact due solely to the existence of a third state between them. The annexation by the Mongols of this third state, the outcome of their alliance with the Sung empire, now deprived the Chinese of what benefit they had derived therefrom, and brought the boundaries of the Mongol empire to the Chinese frontier. At this juncture, Li Tsung, the Sung emperor, had the audacity to insist on sharing the spoils of war with his ally by occupying the city of Pien (汴) and its surrounding country. Such action, of course, made war inevitable. Thus we see in the year 1235 the beginning of a war which was destined to make the Mongol the sole master of China.

Conquest of Kublai.—Owing to other wars, the Mongols could not give the problem in South China such attention as they wished until Kublai was made Viceroy of Mo-nan (漠南) (South of the Desert). No better man could have been appointed to this important office. A friend of Chinese civilization, Kublai was the man to conquer China and in turn be conquered by her. The approach to the Sung empire was then guarded by strong fortresses at Hsiang Yang (襄陽) and its sister city, Fan Ch'êng (樊城), both on the Han (漢) River. Kublai's plan was to evade both of these cities. Instead of directing his force against China herself, he led his army in 1253 into the modern province of Yünnan (雲南), then the territory of a separate kingdom, called Ta Li (大理). In this campaign he was entirely successful; and from Yünnan he advanced into the eastern part of Tibet (吐蕃). Here he met Mati Dhivaja (扮底達和), a lama of considerable influence, and concluded a peace with him; while his lieutenant, Vriangatai (兀良哈台), penetrated as far south as Tonquin (交趾), whose king was made to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mongols. Having accomplished his purpose, Kublai, leaving the campaign in the south in the hands of his trusted general, returned north to complete preparations for the invasion of South China. By 1257 everything was ready. At the head of an army consisting of

40,000 men, Mengku Khan set out himself from Kara Karom (喀喇和林) and advanced by way of Szechuan, while Kublai directed the detachment that marched through Honan, and Vriangatai lead his command into Hunan by way of Ta Li. Death, however, overtook Mengku before Hochow (合州), now Chungking (重慶), Szechuan (四川). It was this event that gave the Sung empire a further lease of life.

Peace of Wuchang.—The news of the death of Mengku was not received by Kublai until he had laid siege to the city of Wuchang (武昌), whose garrison had been reduced by 13,000 in killed and wounded. As his presence was now required elsewhere, Kublai granted the request of Chia Ssŭ-tao (賈似道), the Chinese generalissimo, who had been sent with a large force to the relief of the city, to open negotiations for peace. The terms as they were finally agreed upon in 1259, provided for the cession by China of all territory north of the Yangtze, the acknowledgment of the Mongol khan as overlord, and the payment of an annual tribute of 200,000 taels of silver and 200,000 pieces of silk. This treaty concluded, the Mongols withdrew. But it was a treaty concluded by Chia Ssŭ-tao, on his own authority. He never reported its contents to his sovereign; but on the contrary he tried to give himself the credit of "having driven out the Mongols." It was solely because Kublai was engaged at home that hostilities were not resumed immediately upon the discovery that the Sung emperor had repudiated the treaty.

Accession of Kublai.—Upon the conclusion of peace, Kublai withdrew his forces into Mongolia and ordered Vriangatai to evacuate Hunan and join him. The fact was that he wanted to take the throne made vacant by the death of his brother, but he was not the only claimant. Arihbuga (阿里不哥), the youngest of his brothers, having been appointed regent before the departure of Mengku from Kara Karom, had the advantage over him in that he was on the spot and had been exercising the functions of the high office. Moreover Arihbuga had taken steps to convene

a *kuriltai*. Kublai knew that further delay would be fatal to his own cause, as there was no doubt that the *kuriltai* convened by his brother would declare in favor of the latter. Accordingly as soon as he reached Kaiping (開平) in Mongolia, he declared himself Grand Khan and marched to Kara Karom with a view to forcing his brother to vacate the throne. In 1261, the two brothers met in battle, and such was the defeat received by Arihbuga that he gave up all his claims to the throne; and, three years later, along with the sons of Mengku, formally acknowledged the authority of Kublai. This, nevertheless, did not alter the fact that Kublai had assumed the succession in a manner inconsistent with the established custom of his predecessors, a fact which had the unhappy effect of weakening his position with many of the Mongol princes.

Removal of Capital to Peking.—Kublai never forgot the unfinished work in South China. Kara Karom answered well the requirements of a capital, so long as the Western Empire was concerned. Since it was in the south and not in the west, that he now desired to extend his power, he needed a city within the Great Wall. For this purpose, he selected Peking, or Cambulic as the place was then called, meaning the city of the Grand Khan. The improvements of the city were not completed until 1271. When he transferred the seat of government to this new city, he adopted the Chinese name Yüan (元) for his dynasty. At about the same time he also made Kaiping the secondary capital, or Shang Tu (上都), Peking being his Great Capital, or Ta Tu (大都). During the remainder of his life he divided his time between Peking and Kaiping, spending three months in one and the next three in the

KUBLAI

other, and this custom was kept up by his successors to the last day of the dynasty. The transfer of the capital from Kara Karom to Peking tended to make Kublai more a Chinese emperor than a Mongol khan. It also took him farther away from the affairs of the West with the result that greater freedom through force of circumstances was allowed his clansmen whose domains were scattered through western Asia and eastern Europe.

Downfall of the Sung Dynasty.—Having established himself on the Mongol throne, operations to subdue the Sung empire were resumed by Kublai with renewed vigor. By the use of war engines of Persian origin, which were capable of throwing stones of great weight, the walls of Hsiang Yang and Fan Ch'êng were breached, and both of the cities, after having sustained a siege of five years, surrendered (1273). From Hsiang Yang,

Ammunition Wagon for Artillery, Yüan Dynasty

the invading army commanded by Bayan (伯顏), a general of no mean ability, marched down the river and captured many cities. After the fall of Wuchang, the Mongols met with but little resistance. At Nanking (南京), then known under the name of Chien K'ang (建康), they divided their forces into three divisions, and each took a different route to the city of Lin An, the capital of the Southern Sung Empire.

Tu Tsung (度宗), son of Li Tsung (理宗), having died in 1274, the Sung Dynasty was represented by a young emperor, Kung Ti (恭帝), with the Empress Hsieh (謝), his grandmother, acting as

regent. At this time, the valley of the Huai (兩淮) and the city of Yangchow (揚州), as well as the provinces of Chekiang and Fukien and the two Kuangs still remained faithful to the cause

Chü Kuan Archway. Yüan Dynasty

of the Sungs. The situation, therefore, was not so hopeless as it had been represented to the young monarch. But bad counsel prevailed and Kung Ti surrendered himself to Bayan on the approach of the Mongols; and, along with his mother and wife, was sent a prisoner to Cambulic. Thus ended the Sung Dynasty that had reigned in China for 316 years. It had taken Kublai no less than seventeen years to complete its overthrow.

Last Efforts of the Sungs.—Two of Kung Ti's brothers had escaped from Ling An. Tuan Tsung (端宗), the elder of the two, was proclaimed at Foochow as the successor of Kung Ti while the latter was being conveyed into exile. Despite the desperate efforts of many brilliant men, such as Wen Tien-hsiang (文天祥) and his colleagues, the Chinese were not able to stem the tide of invasion. On the contrary, the Mongols carried everything before them. Even Foochow, in the modern province of Fukien, was no longer a place of safety, and from there the Sungs fled to Kuangtung closely pursued by the Mongols. After the death of Tuan Tsung, which took place on an island on the Kuangtung coast, the Chinese hope centered in his brother, Ti Ping (帝昺). Him, the Chinese placed on the throne, although what had remained of their empire was now but a small island called Ai Shan (厓山). In less than a year, this island was blockaded by a Mongol fleet. With all means of supply and communication cut off, Lu Hsiu-fu (陸秀夫), the commanding Chinese general, took his master upon his shoulders, and jumped into the sea, thus burying the Chinese cause with its last representative in a watery grave.

Mirror with Sanskrit inscription. Yüan Dynasty ("Chinese Art")

Extent of Kublai's Empire.—We now find Kublai the ruler of the largest empire we have any record of in Chinese history. It stretched from the Yellow Sea in the East to the Black Sea in the West, and from Northern Mongolia in the North to Tonquin in the South. We also find him adopting Chinese customs, patronizing their literature, and supporting their institutions. Ere long there occurred in the West an event which threatened to deprive him of the greater half of this empire.

Revolt of Kaidu Khan.—This was the revolt of a prince of the house of Ogedai (窩濶台). The election of Mangku, the first of Jenghis' successors who was not the chosen from the house of Ogedai, had been an event most distasteful to the descendants of the latter. In other words, the loss of the house of Ogedai had been the gain of the house of Tule. Kublai not only belonged to the house of Tule but had seized the throne without the consent of a *kuriltai*. During the struggle between him and his brother, Arihbuga, Kaidu (海都), Ogedai's grandson, took sides with the latter; but, upon his defeat, retired into Emil (也迷里) to recuperate. As soon as Kublai went to Peking, Kaidu again became active.

Before proceeding to relate the progress of this rebellion, it is necessary to say a word or two as to the condition of affairs that existed at this time in Western Asia and Eastern Europe. There were no less than four independent monarchies, or khanates, in this part of Jenghis' empire, ruled by descendants of his four sons. They were as follows:

(1) The Empire of the Ilkhans (伊兒汗國), or the Ulus of Haluga (旭烈兀), whose sway extended over Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armania;

(2) The country of Kipchack (欽察汗國), or the Ulus of Batu (拔都), which had been established on the steppes of the Volga (窩瓦河);

(3) The Chagatai Khanate (察合台汗國), which included the pastures of Ili (伊黎) and the Valley of the Jaxartes;

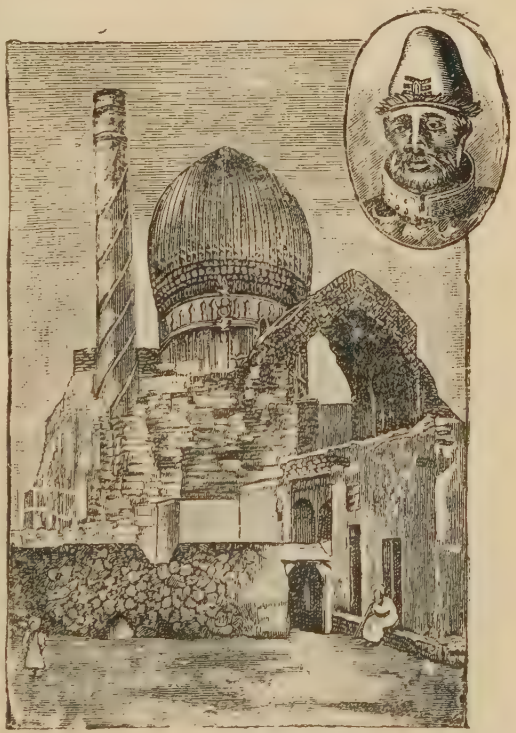
(4) The Ogedai Khanate at the base of the Altai (阿爾泰) Mountains.

Between the first and the second, a religious war had been brewing, for Barkar (別兒哥), Batu's younger brother and successor, had been the first of Jenghis' descendants to turn Mohammedan, and as such had been no friend to his uncle, Haluga, a Christian by faith, and the conqueror of a Mohammedan nation. When Kaidu unfurled his standard of revolt in 1265,

TEMUR

the year in which Haluga died, his cause was espoused by both Barak, the Chagatai khan, and Mangku Temur (忙哥鐵木兒), the Kipchack khan; but not by Abaka (阿八哈), Haluga's son, Khan of Persia. Four years later the first three khans called a *kuriltai* and elected Kaidu Grand Khan; and, because Abaka had refused to join them, they invaded his country. At first the allies fared badly; but, on the death of Abaka, there arose in Persia civil troubles which greatly reduced the stength of the Ilk'ans, thus giving Kaidu time to turn his attention to the East, and to embarrass the rear of Kublai, who was now engaged in the subjugation of South China.

The first army sent by Kublai against Kaidu was commanded by one of his sons and Sheriki (昔里吉), his nephew. The latter turned traitor and Kublai's son, Namugan (那木罕), and another general, named Antumn (安童), were among the prisoners taken by Kaidu. This necessitated the despatch



TOMB OF TEMUR

of a second army under Bayan, the best general Kublai had. Although Bayan routed the force of Kaidu on the banks of the Orkhon (鄂爾坤), he was not able to punish him severely.

In 1283, the rebellion assumed a serious aspect. What is now Manchuria was then the domain of Nayan (乃顏), a descendant of Uchegin, Jenghis' younger brother. This khan, too, had been dissatisfied with the conduct of Kublai and at the instance of Kaidu was on the point of rebellion when Kublai, fresh from his conquest of South China, marched into his territory. Kublai's plan was to deal Nayan a severe blow before he could have time to join Kaidu, and it was carried out most successfully. Having put Nayan to death, Kublai went to Kara Karom to give Kaidu battle; but the latter refused to meet him and retired as soon as he approached.

During the remainder of his life, Kublai never re-established his authority over the western half of his empire. The revolt of Kaidu was allowed to die a natural death in the 9th year after Kublai died, or 1303, when Chabar (察八兒), Kaidu's son, and Tua (都哇), Barak's son, gave up the struggle by submitting to Kublai's grandson who was then emperor in Peking. This rebellion served to interrupt the communication between the western and eastern halves of the Mongol Empire. Excepting occasional embassies sent by the Mongol princes in the West to verify the accounts of their lands in China, the West was practically independent of the Mongols in Peking during the rest of the Yüan Dynasty.

Foreign Expeditions of Kublai.—Almost all Kublai's foreign expeditions were disastrous. His predecessors had left him very little to accomplish in the line of new conquests except in places beyond the seas and those bordering upon the tropics. The Mongols were no sailors; nor were they born for a tropical climate; and these things explain the defeats of which we are about to give a brief account. The principal foreign expeditions undertaken by Kublai were his wars with Japan and the expedition against Champa.

Wars With Japan.—The cause of these wars was Kublai's mad desire to receive tribute from Japan. The king of Corea was his son-in-law, and through him Kublai demanded that the Islanders should acknowledge him as overlord. To his dismay he found them as stubborn as he himself was haughty, for they notified him of their unwillingness to comply by the murder of his envoys. In 1274 an expedition consisting of Corean and Chinese soldiers was defeated at Tsushima (對馬), but this failure only served to stimulate Kublai to greater efforts some seven years later. At the latter date he was in possession of South China, and at the ports of Fukien, a province in South China, rich in timber, ship-building was pushed on with great energy, while recruiting agencies were established throughout the empire. In 1281 a fleet of 4,500 ships, manned by Mongols, Chinese, and Coreans, sailed proudly in the direction of Hakata (博多). The resistance offered by the Japanese was such that for two months every attempt at landing was frustrated. While cruising fruitlessly in the vicinity of Hichiku (肥前鷹島), the fleet encountered a severe storm which sent the majority of the ships to the bottom of the sea, leaving a few of the survivors to go home and tell the sad story. Further attempts at revenge were given up because of the unpopularity of the enterprise.

Expedition Against Champa.—This also came about through Kublai's demand for tribute. Champa (占城) was in that part of the peninsula now called Cochin-China. To invade it necessitated the passage of a Mongol army through Annam, nominally a vassal state of China; but this plan was fiercely contested. While the Mongols under Toghan (脫歡), Kublai's son, captured cities, they could hold none of them, for the tropical heat proved more deadly than any weapons of the enemy. Stricken down by sickness, they soon found it necessary to retire, and it was at this juncture that they were fallen upon by the hidden foe with great slaughter.

The Great Commercial Routes.—In spite of these disasters, the Mongols reached the sea. They had three routes

by which they communicated with Europe; the two land routes through Nan Lu and Pei Lu, and the maritime route. The last had been the route of the Chinese and the Arabs and lay along the vast coast line extending from ports in Chekiang and Fukien to Genoa and Florence. Trade was either carried on through the land routes to Kara Karom and Peking, or by sea through the ports of Amoy, Canton, Foochow and Hangchow. While the accidents of war, diplomacy, and other circumstances brought men in all walks of life from the outside world into China through these routes, the Chinese also found their way into lands far from home. It is stated that about this time Chinese engineers were employed on the banks of the Tigris, and Chinese astrologers and physicians could be consulted at Tabriz.

MARCO POLO

Of the Europeans who visited China during the reign of Kublai, Marco Polo has left us a minute description of what he saw of the land and its people. This was the Pu Lo (暹羅), at one time the vice-president of Kublai's war council (樞密副使).

Lamaism, the State Religion of the Mongols.—The state religion of the Mongols was Lamaism, or the faith of Tibet. After the death of Srong Tsan Gampo, the Han Ming Ti of Tibet, Buddhism in that country began to decline. Between A.D. 740 and 781, a subsequent king of Tibet sent again to India for priests and literature. In response to his request a number of Indian priests came; and this is commonly believed to have been the beginning of Lamaism in Tibet. By the time Kublai invaded Tibet, the priests, or Lamas as they were called, occupied a position in the state similar to that of the Catholic Church in the Europe of the Middle Ages. In other words, their functions were both temporal and spiritual. The conversion of Kublai to this faith is said to have followed closely his expedition into Tibet.

When Emperor of China he appointed a young lama king of Tibet, thereby laying the foundation of a custom that makes the head of the church also the head of the state, and the ruler of China at the same time the overlord of the country. He appointed the same lama State Teacher to China, and adopted Lamaism as the state religion for his people, although he himself was still Confucian in his state ceremonies. The decrees of the state teacher had the same effect in the eyes of his subjects as if they had come direct from him.

Even to-day Lamaism has great influence in Mongolia, the Lama priesthood being the most honorable calling in life.

The Coming of the Franciscans.—It was towards the close of the reign of Kublai (1292) that Jean de Montcorvin (若望高未諧), bearing credentials from Pope Clement V, reached China and was given permission by the Grand Khan to build a church at Cambulic. The success of Montcorvin among the Chinese was so great that he was later made Archbishop of Cambulic and other missionaries were sent out from home to assist him. The cause of Christianity continued to prosper in China until the end of the Yüan Dynasty. According to Marco Polo, Kublai had, during the earlier part of his reign, sent a letter to the Pope asking him to send 100 missionaries to educate the Chinese. The Pope, however, only sent two, and these never reached China. It would seem that after this failure to introduce Christianity into China, Kublai looked to Lamaism for an influence that would civilize a warlike people.

CHAPTER XXVII

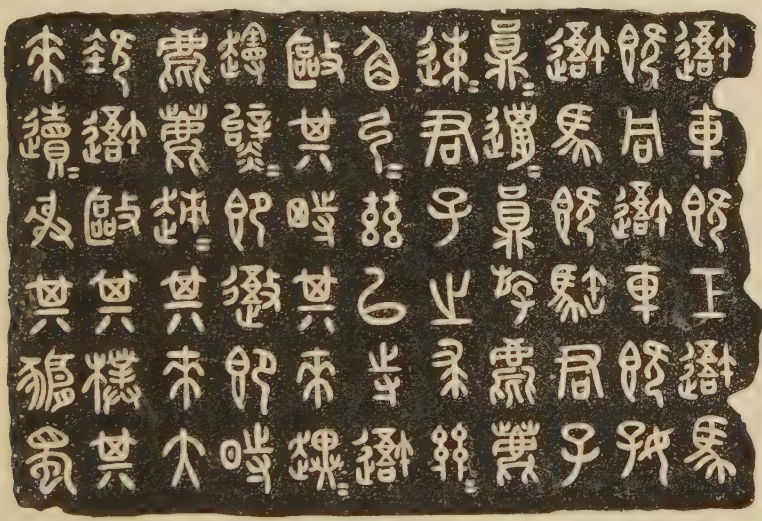
THE DECLINE OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY

Introductory.—With the exception of Kublai, the Yüan Dynasty could boast of no great emperors. The dynasty was never firmly established in China; and it very soon began to decline. From the steppes in the north, the Mongols were called upon not only to make a new home in the milder climate of the south, but also to govern an empire "founded on horseback." Having little civilization of their own, they inevitably adopted that of the conquered. Amidst luxuries and flatteries, they soon became enervated and effeminate; and, in addition to the vices common to their race, acquired the vices of those with whom they had come into contact.

In the work they were required to perform, they were utterly devoid of the experience that makes success certain. By withholding positions of trust from the Chinese, the Mongols kept constantly before the eyes of the people the fact that they were being governed by foreigners; while the men they employed, being foreigners, naturally had little sympathy with the Chinese and were ever ready to abuse their political powers in order to further their own interests. A case in point was that of Ahamed, the first finance minister under Kublai. He was a Persian by birth, and through his tyrannies and exactions he perished at the hands of an assassin. In 1303, 18,473 officials were found guilty of having accepted bribes; and that investigation, as is often the case in China, was perhaps not very thorough. Ten years later it was found necessary to enact a law providing for the branding of officials found guilty of embezzlement. From these facts we may form an idea as to the extent to which corruption had crept into the ranks of the Mongol statesmen of those days. The Mongols needed money very badly, and in their eagerness to secure it they were often blind as to the means their agents employed. They

knew that they had found a gold mine in China; but they tried to work it without the aid of an engineer. Ere long it caved in and swallowed up every one at work in it.

The Successors of Kublai.—After Kublai the history of the dynasty was a record of civil disorders and of usurpations of regal power by ministers who made and unmade kings at will. The custom of electing the *khakhan* was no longer in vogue after the transfer of the capital to Peking, and yet the Mongols did not adopt the Chinese custom of succession. The consequence was that at the death of each emperor there were always rival claimants



Inscription on Stone Drum

to the vacant throne, and, with one or two exceptions, no one mounted it without court intrigues and bloodshed. In the space of seventy-two years there were no less than ten emperors, most of whom were mere lads when they came to the throne and died after a few years of debauchery. Kublai died in 1294 and was succeeded by his grandson, Temur Khan, or as he was otherwise called, Ulcheitu Khan. The reign of this monarch (1295-1307) was chiefly remarkable for another expedition into Burmah which met with a most disastrous result. This was the last of its kind

in the history of the Yüan Dynasty. Kaisun, who ruled from 1308 to 1311, appointed his brother, Ayuli Palpata, his heir-apparent, and the latter succeeded him at his death. This ruler, canonized as Jen Tsung (仁宗), was a man of considerable culture and a substantial patron of Chinese literature. Among the things he did, he re-instated the literary examination of the Sungs; but an act of far greater benefit to the world of letters was his restoration of the celebrated inscribed "stone-drums" (石鼓), commonly said to be of the Chou period (B.C. 1122-255). These he rescued from the decay and ruin to which they had been left by the last of the Kin rulers, and placed them in the gateway of the Confucian Temple in Peking, where they now stand. The next sovereign, Gegen, was the first ruling descendant of Jenghis who met his death by the knife of an assassin.

The Lawlessness of the Lamas.—Since Lamaism was the state religion of the Mongols the influence of the lamas as officers of the state church was very great during the time of the Yüan Dynasty. One of them, who was the chief priest of Kiang Nan, opened the tombs of the Sung Dynasty and after robbing them of all the valuables that had been buried in them, "scattered the bones to the dogs." Another seized the wife of an imperial prince in the street in Peking and stabbed her because she refused to let his carriage pass hers. Both of these escaped punishment. No real estate of value was safe; its owner either surrendered it to the lamas on demand, or suffered it to be forcibly taken away from him. Nor was the family of a pretty girl happy, for the lamas of those days were permitted to marry and they simply took wives as they pleased and without any ceremony whatever. Men made complaints to the local authorities of having their property, or their wives and daughters seized by the lamas; but the culprits were above the law. To assault a lama was a crime punishable by the chopping off of the hands; to curse him meant the cutting out of the tongue.

While committing crimes themselves in broad daylight, the lamas also assisted others to break the law. Any criminal sen-

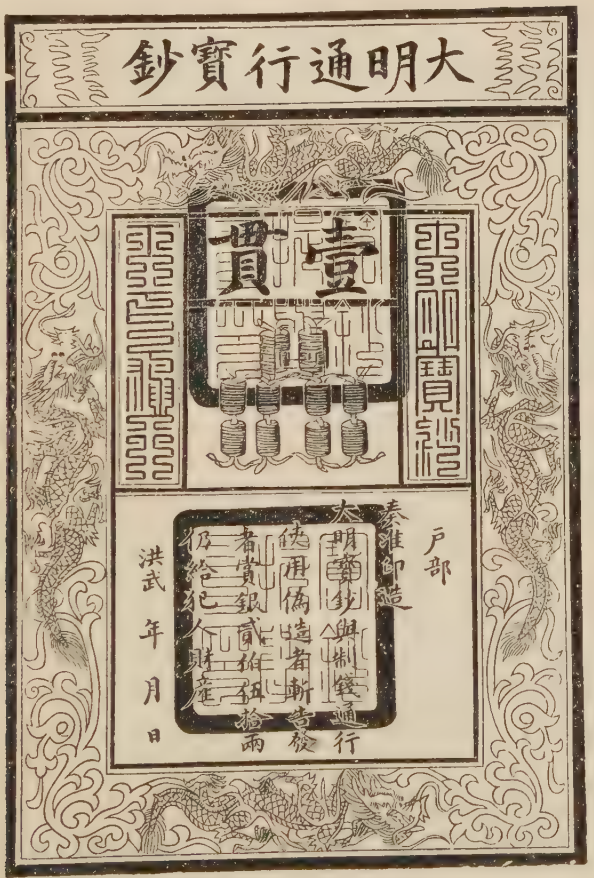
tenced to death could obtain his pardon by paying enough money to a lama, and only those who were too poor to buy their lives were led to the execution ground. Special days were set apart each year for worship on which prayers were offered for the khan and other members of the reigning house. On these occasions, the chief priest often requested the government to set free a number of criminals, who had been condemned to die, on the ground that nothing could assist the prayer for the khan more effectively than this proof of the readiness on his part to forgive. If any subject of the khan felt the burden of the taxation all he needed to do was to go and see a lama who was by law exempted from taxation. He might have objection to becoming a lama himself, but his end was served quite as well by paying a small fee to this privileged character and having his property registered in the latter's name. In this way the church was constantly growing in wealth at the expense of the state, and was also a constant drain on the treasury. According to the statistics for the year 1317 the cost of the maintenance of a single church in Peking, exclusive of other items, was 439,500 catties of flour, 27,300 catties of honey, 79,000 catties of oil, and 21,870 catties of butter and cheese.

The Reign of Tohan Temur.—Tohan Temur was the last of the Mongol khans that sat on the Chinese throne in Peking. He was not in line of succession but the empress of the preceding emperor made him heir by setting aside her own son. He was a weak man, and as soon as he secured the imperial power he bestowed it on his prime minister. The thirty-five years of his reign were noted for great natural disturbances. Floods, earthquakes, landslips, comets, the falling of meteors, the raining of "blood"—all crowded into this reign. The Chinese historians, it should be remembered, were especially fond of recording those events at that period because they thought that through them God made known His displeasure. While science does not sustain these views, the events had close connection with the general uprisings which took place in more than one part of the empire. When floods and earthquakes made cities desolate for miles, the people

found it easy to plunder and kill. The appearance of a comet or other unusual things often caused them to think that the day had come for them to break away from the foreign rule and at length encouraged them to take up arms against the state. When the emperor ordered the levy of 70,000 men to excavate a new channel for the Yellow River and imposed a heavy tax to meet the expense, he merely added fuel to the fire. Under various leaders the insurgents captured a number of cities in Kiang Nan and Honan and most of the southern provinces. While these combined disorders were disturbing the peace of the empire, Tohan Temur, under the guidance of two Tibetan lamas, gave himself up to sexual enjoyments, or as the lamas called them "the secret pleasures of entrancement" (禪定).

The Rise of Chu Yüan-chang.—Chu Yüan-chang was the rebel leader that finally restored the Chinese empire to the Chinese. The early life of this man, a native of Hochow, now Fengyangfu, Anhui province, was by no means happy. He entered the Buddhist priesthood at the Huang Chueh Monastery at an early age, not because of his faith but because he had no means of livelihood, having lost both parents and all his nearest relatives. When Kuo Tzu-hsing (郭子興), a rebel leader, took Hochow, Chu Yüan-chang put off his priestly robe and joined his standard. Chu did good work, winning victories over the well-trained Mongols with his rural recruits; and after death of the Generalissimo, as Kuo Tzŭ-hsing was then called, he became the chief in 1355. The next few years found him actively engaged in operations against his rival, Ch'ên Yu-liang (陳友諒), in the Liang Hu and Kiangsi. Having subjugated the two provinces, he turned eastward and conquered Chekiang and Kiangsu in which another rebel chief, Chang Shih-ch'eng (張士誠), had intrenched himself. From Kiangsi one detachment entered Fukien and sailing along the coast captured Kuangtung. Meanwhile another detachment entered Kuangsi by way of Hunan. During all this time, the Mongols wasted their energies and treasure by continuing a civil war between the heir-apparent and the prime minister, and left Chu

Yüan-chang in the south to march wherever he pleased. Having conquered the southern provinces, Chu Yüan-chang began to make inroads north of the Yangtze, where his arms were quite as successful as they had been in the south. In 1367 Tohan Temur, seeing that everything in China was gone, fled from Peking and sought safety on the banks of the Dolonor. He died the following year in Kara Koram, and China was again in the hands of the Chinese! The Mongols after an interval of eighty-eight years were made to hand back the land to its rightful owners, leaving no contribution of a permanent character behind them. It is a curious coincidence that while the Chinese emperor from whom



Paper Currency, Ming Dynasty

the Mongols took the empire was forced to become a Buddhist priest, it was a Buddhist priest that wrested the empire from them. In the first case, we have the first instance where an ex-emperor of China became a Buddhist priest; in the second case, the first instance of an ex-priest's becoming the Emperor of China and the founder of a new dynasty. This new dynasty, Chu Yüan-chang named the Ming, or the "Bright"; and he made Nanking his capital.

The Paper Currency of the Mongols.—Paper currency had been known in China long before the Mongols came into power, but it was under them that its circulation became general. The first attempt to introduce anything in the shape of a bank note was made in the latter part of the T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 806, when bills of exchange, called "Flying Money" (飛錢), were issued in place of copper cash. The Sung Dynasty in 1023 issued what was called Hui Tzŭ (會子) but its circulation was confined to the province of Szechuan, where the iron cash was in use. The Golden Tartars adopted a paper currency called Chiao Tzŭ (交子), because they found copper scarce. Copper, silver and gold have always been found for the most part in South China. When the Mongols came into China they simply continued the system of their predecessors. The notes in circulation under them were of three different kinds issued at three different periods. Those issued during the first period were based upon silk; those of the

Paper Currency, Ming Dynasty

second period, upon silver; and those of the third period, upon copper. Any one could have a spoilt bank note replaced by paying three per cent of its value at the mint. It has been estimated that the total output of notes during Kublai's reign of thirty-five years was equal to $624,135,500. All efforts of the government did not keep the value of its notes at par. On the contrary they depreciated to an extreme degree. The cause is readily seen. Trade with the West flourished and silver and gold, which were very much needed, reached China in large quantities. But instead of keeping them as the necessary reserve, they were ignorantly scattered with a free hand. They were lavishly distributed in gifts to members of the imperial family, to successful soldiers, and to civil officers for great services. On one occasion in the year 1334, after a victory, a guardsman received 400 taels of gold and 900 taels of silver. His followers each received 200 taels of gold and 700 taels of silver. Ninety-six men received in gold 2,400 taels, in silver 5,600 taels; in addition to 91 gold waist bands and 1,300 pieces of silk. The princes engaged each received 100 taels of gold, 500 taels of silver, one gold sash, and eighteen pieces of gold embroidery. This system continued for nearly a century. No copper cash were minted by the Mongols. Towards the close of the dynasty the notes had practically lost all their value and this financial blunder on the part of the Mongols was in no small measure responsible for their expulsion from China.

Some Court Ceremonies of the Mongols.—It seems to have been the Mongol custom after an election for four of the princes of the blood to raise the new khakhan aloft on a piece of white felt and for two others to support him while a third offered him the cup. Meanwhile prayers were offered by the lama and carts full of pieces of gold and rich tissues were brought out and distributed. So many pearls were brought out on the ground that it resembled the sky. The feast lasted a week during each day of which 40 oxen and 4,000 sheep were consumed. Libations of milk from 700 cows and 7,000 ewes were sprinkled on the ground.

"When the khakhan sat on the throne, the queen was on his left hand, and a step lower, two others of his women, while at the bottom of the steps, the other ladies of his family. All those who were married wore upon their heads the foot of a man, as it were, a cubic and a half in length, and at the top of the foot there were certain cranes' feathers, the whole foot being set with great pearls, so that if there were in the whole world any fine and large pearls they were to be found in the decoration of those ladies."

The Age of Novels and Dramas.—If the Mongol Dynasty contributed little of value in the realm of literature, it will be remembered in connection with the two important departures in the literary history of the nation—the drama and the novel. We are unable to say positively when these arose; but we know that it was within the century covered by the Mongol rule that they came into existence.

It would appear that the actor's art was known among the Tartars at a somewhat earlier date. In 1031, Kung Tao-fu (孔道甫), a descendant of Confucius, was sent as an envoy to the Khitans by whom he was received with a theatrical entertainment. In one of the pieces played Confucius was introduced as a low-comedy man. This so disgusted him that he got up and withdrew and the Khitans were forced to apologize. It is probable that the drama was introduced from Tartar sources during the thirteenth century. Even to-day the Tartars are especially fond of this mode of entertainment, and the best troupes of actors are to be found in Peking. The novel also probably came from Tartar sources. Its demand was possibly created by the story-tellers of Central Asia who came to China in the wake of the Mongol conquest. Perhaps the drama and the novel were born at the same time.

Of the plays of the Mongol Dynasty, the Hsi-hsiang-chi (西廂記), or the Story of the Western Pavilion, a story of love and intrigue is by general consent given the first place. It is by Wang Shih-fu (王實甫), of whom little is known except that he flourished in the thirteenth century and wrote thirteen pieces, all of which were included in the collection mentioned.

As to the novel, the best production of the period was the Shui Hu-chuan (水滸傳), said to have been written by Shih Nai-an (施耐庵). This story is based upon the doings of an historical band of brigands who actually terrorized a couple of provinces under the Sung Dynasty. The book is admired for the insight given into Chinese manners and customs. Although approaching the colloquial in style, it maintains a literary dignity and beauty unparalleled among novels.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE MING DYNASTY

The Reign of Hung Wu.—Chu Yüan-chang, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, was canonized as T'ai Tsu (太祖); but is better known by the name of Hung Wu (洪武) under which he reigned. We must not suppose that his sway extended over the whole of China, when he ascended the throne at Nanking. On the contrary, the western provinces, notably Szechuan and Yünnan, still held out against him, while the Mongols beyond the Great Wall continued to menace China. Tohan Temur (元順帝) was succeeded in the khakhanate by his son, Biliktu Khan, who in turn was succeeded by Ussakhul Khan in 1379. Under these new khans sporadic attempts were made by the Mongols to regain their lost empire. The renewal of conflict, however, only resulted in a still greater triumph for the first emperor of the Mings. The war was soon carried into Mongolia. Even on their own ground the disheartened Mongols were not able to resist the attacks of the Chinese. After a series of battles, they were driven back to their original home along the course of the Kerulun, abandoning the whole of Manchuria and that part of Mongolia south of the desert to the Chinese. The battle of 1388 fought in the neighborhood of Lake Buyur was a decisive one; and besides the slain, 2,994 officers and 77,000 soldiers were said to have been taken prisoners by the Chinese. The glory of the Mongolian campaign belonged to Hsü Ta (徐達) and Feng Sheng (馮勝), two of the ablest generals Hung Wu had.

HUNG WU

THE MING DYNASTY AND TIMOUR'S TERRITORIES
Scale, 1: 35,000,000
90° 100 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160°
70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° 10° 0°
TARTARY
Shangtu
Kirin
Peking
TURFAN
Sian
SZECHUEN
Chengtu
Nanking
FUKIEN
Amoy
Formosa
OUSU (TIBET)
YUNNAN
KUANGSI

As regards Szechuan and Yunnan, the former was conquered in 1371, and the latter several years later. Towards the close of the reign of Hung Wu the King of Corea accepted the suzerainty of the Chinese emperor and Burmah was forced to pay tribute. In two years (1391–93) the population rose from fifty-six million to sixty million.

Meanwhile Hung Wu had shown his statesmanship by establishing a civil government for the empire on the model of the T'ang Dynasty. He patronized literature and encouraged education. Schools were established and the administration of justice was improved.

The Chinese Essay.—In spite of the many good things that may be said to the credit of Hung Wu, he will ever be remembered in connection with a form of evil which has eaten into the very heart of the nation. This was the system of triennial examinations, or rather the form of Chinese composition, called the "Essay (制藝)," or the "Eight Legs (八股)," which, for the first time in the history of Chinese literature, was made the basis of all literary contests. It was so-named, because after the introduction of the theme the writer was required to treat it in four paragraphs, each consisting of two members, made up of an equal number of sentences and words. The theme was always chosen from either the Four Books (四子書), or the Five Classics (五經). The writer could not express any opinion of his own, or any views at variance with those expressed by Chu Hsi (朱熹) and his school. All he was required to do was to put the few words of Confucius, or whomsoever it might be, into an essay in conformity with the prescribed rules. Degrees, which were to serve as passports to government positions, were awarded the best writers. To say that the training afforded by the time required to make a man efficient in the art of such writing, would at the same time qualify him to hold the various offices under the government, was absurd. But absurd as the whole system was, it was handed down to recent times from the third year of the reign of Hung Wu, and was not abolished until a few years ago. No system was more

Painting. Ming Dynasty

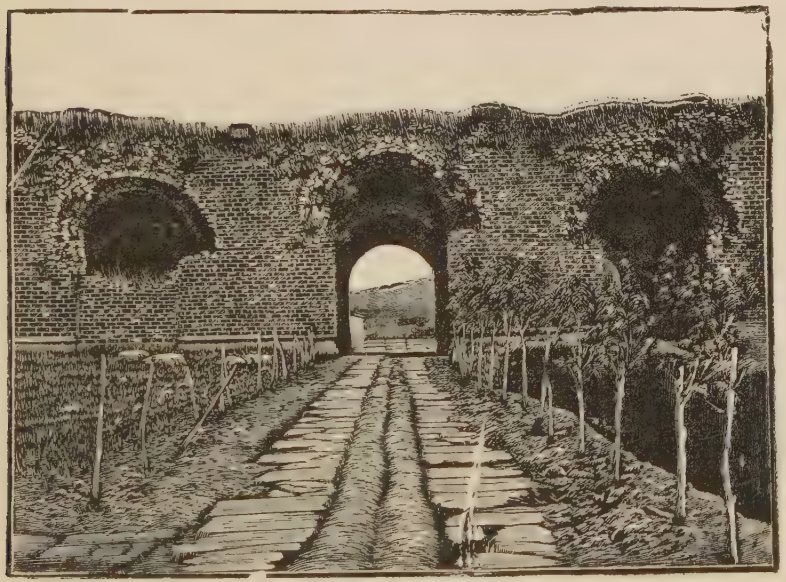
perfect or effective in retarding the intellectual and literary development of a nation. With her "Eight Legs," China long ago reached the lowest point on her down-hill journey. It is largely on account of the long lease of life that was granted to this rotten system that the teachings of the Sung philosophers have been so long venerated.

The Political Divisions of the Empire.—The China of the Ming Dynasty was divided into thirteen provinces, viz., Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hukuang, Szechuan, Fukien, Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Yunnan, and Kueichow; the present province of Chihli being known as the north metropolitan province while the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhui, the south metropolitan province. With the exception of Hukuang, which is now divided into two provinces, the names of the other provinces remain unchanged to the present day. In fact the Chinese character 省, meaning "province," owes its significance to the Mings. Besides the provinces, there were nine frontier cities (九邊) where strong garrisons were maintained. These were Liaotung (遼東), Chi Chou (薊州), Hsüan Fu (宣府), T'ai T'ung (太同), Yuling (榆林), Ning Hsia (寧夏), Kansu (甘肅), T'ai Yüan (太原), and K'u Yüan (固原). The Treasurer (布政使) was the highest authority in a province; the offices of governor (巡撫) and viceroy (總督) were not created until the dynasty drew towards its close;

and these existed only at places near the northern frontier, or where there were military operations.

The Ming empire stretched from the China Sea to the famous Pass of Chia yü Kuan (嘉峪關), and from Yün Chung (雲中) to Ch'iung Ai (瓊崖). During the reign of Yung Lê (永樂), the third sovereign of this line (1403-24), Annam was added as the fourteenth province, but was abandoned after his death.

The Rebellion of Prince Yen.—At the death of Hung Wu (1398) the throne was left to his grandson, Hui Ti (惠帝), to the disappointment of his surviving sons. All of them held fiefs in



Ruins, Entrance Gate, Ming Palace

different parts of the empire under the old feudal system which had been re-established by the first emperor of the Mings. The Prince of Yen, afterwards Ch'êng Tsu, the fourth son, was by far the ablest general and possessed the greatest army both in numbers and strength. To complicate the situation further, the young emperor set himself to work to deprive his uncles of their domains. He succeeded in putting several of them to death; but, before he could lay his hand on the Prince of Yen, the latter

unfurled the standard of revolt. The valor of the Yen soldiers bore down everything before them. Having overrun Shantung and the valley of the Huai, they captured Yangchow (揚州). The commander of the fleet at Kua Chow (瓜州), whose business was to prevent the rebels from crossing the Yangtze, surrendered. His example was followed by the commandant of the city of Chinkiang (鎮江). Nanking was the next city besieged. Hui Ti acted bravely, but was not supported by his generals, one of whom opened the gates to Prince Yen. Upon entering the city, the Prince found the imperial palaces in flames. A search was made for the emperor but no one seemed to know his whereabouts. According to one account, the emperor, having set fire to his palaces, shaved his head and, in the guise of a Buddhist priest, made good his escape and spent the remainder of his unhappy days in the western provinces. Verses said to have been composed by him during his period of exile are still extant. At any rate, he resigned his throne to his uncle without further struggle.

The accession of Ch'éng Tsu was marked with fearful atrocities. For days the wholesale slaughter of ministers went on; and these men were butchered for no other crime than that of having been faithful to his unfortunate nephew if, indeed, it may be viewed in the light of a crime. The families of several of them perished also. But at length, tired of the place which was the scene of his crimes, Ch'éng Tsu moved his capital in 1421 to Peking, which, from that time forth, has continued to be the capital of China.

The Last of the Jenghis Khanates.—In one of the previous chapters we have seen how after the death of Jenghis Khan, his vast empire in the West was parcelled out among his relatives, and how they secured their independence. These continued to wage wars against one another till they were united again under Temur the Lame, a descendant of Jenghis Khan. With his wild Mongol hordes, he traversed almost every land into which the arms of his predecessors had carried destruction. After his successful campaign in India, he was on the point of invading China, when death over-

took him in 1405 at the city of Otra. This was the third year of the reign of Ch'êng Tsu.

The Annexation of Annam.—In spite of the manner in which Ch'êng Tsu seized the throne, he was a worthy successor of his great father. In the twenty-two years that made up his reign, we see Annam annexed and the tribes of Mongolia subdued.

While the civil war above mentioned was going on in China, the throne in Annam was seized by a usurper, named Li Chi-li (黎季犛). He made representations to the Chinese emperor, his overlord, that the old reigning house was extinct. The whole truth, however, came to light when, shortly afterwards, the rightful heir made his appearance before the Chinese court and requested aid to regain his throne. Under a Chinese escort the youthful Annamese prince set out on his journey home, but only to be murdered by the agents of Li Chi-li. This so enraged Ch'êng Tsu that he (1406) despatched two armies to invade Annam, one by way of Kuangsi and the other by way of Yünnan. On the Red River, the Annamese were completely routed. Their capital was taken, the usurper was made prisoner, and their country (in 1407) became a Chinese province, divided into fifteen prefectures, forty-one departments, and two hundred and eighty districts. The Chinese rule in Annam, however, was not a success; and in 1428 its government was restored to the natives upon their agreeing to pay a yearly tribute.

Meanwhile a large fleet of sixty-two vessels sailed (1405) from Soochow into the South China Sea, along the old route of the Mongols, for the ostensible purpose of finding out the whereabouts of Hui Ti. The expedition failed in this; but it succeeded in exacting tribute from the Loochoos, Cambel, Bengal, Burmah, Malacca, Borneo, Sumatra and Java. The principal feature of interest was that this expedition was commanded by Chêng Ho, a eunuch. He made several trips after this, the outcome of which was that for a century or so Chinese trade flourished in the South China Sea to the exclusion of other nations.

Chinese Invasions of Mongolia.—Gun Temur, the seventh khan after Tohan Temur, was murdered by one Kulichi, who in turn met his death at the hands of Oroktai, a descendant of one of the brothers of Jenghis Khan. The Mongol nation was then broken up into many tribes, the real power being the Oirats. When Oroktai killed Kulichi, he invited a younger brother of Gun Temur from Samarkand to take the throne. This was Buyashili. Having heard of the change that had taken place in Mongolia, Ch'êng Tsu sent an ambassador to Buyashili demanding submission. Instead of complying with this demand, Buyashili caused his representative to be put to death, an event which led to the renewal of the war between the Mongols and the Chinese.

In 1409, Ch'iu Fu (邱福), a Ming general, invaded Mongolia but was defeated. His defeat by no means discouraged Ch'êng Tsu. On the contrary, he took the field himself, in the following year, at the head of 500,000 men and dispersed the Mongols on the banks of the Onon, thus forcing Buyashili to flee to the court of Mahmud, the khan of the Oirats. Here the fugitive having been barbarously put to death, Mahmud appointed his own son, Delbeck, to the Tatar throne. This appointment offended Oroktai, who, joining the banner of Ch'êng Tsu, led the victorious Chinese into the land of the Oirats. The latter made no better resistance than the Tatars, who fought under Buyashili. Driven out of his home to seek safety on the banks of the Tola, Mahmud could do nothing but submit (1414). This completed the subjugation of Mongolia. The last expedition of this kind was that of 1422 when Ch'êng Tsu was called upon to put down the rebellion headed by Oroktai. On the approach of the Chinese army, Oroktai fled but Ch'êng Tsu did not return until he had overrun the country of the Uliangliai. The followers of Oroktai were the ancestors of the Khor Chiu of the present day.

Inroads of the Mongols.—After Ch'êng Tsu's death (1424), his successors were never able to maintain their authority in Mongolia. Toghan, the successor of Mahmud, taking advantage of the state of confusion prevailing in Mongolia and the weakness

of China, created quite an empire for himself. On his death (1443) his throne fell to Essen, his son, who was no degenerate successor. Having extended his sway to Hami in the west and Ulianghai in the east, he was ready to measure strength with the Emperor of China, hitherto his overlord. The emperor at this time was Ying Tsung (英宗), a mere puppet in the hands of a powerful eunuch, named Wang Chên (王振). Because of the ill-treatment accorded to the tribute-bearing envoys from Essen, the Mongols began to make inroads into China. In the beginning of 1449, the fourteenth year of Ying Tsung's reign, they were before the city of Ta Tung. An army of half a million men was raised and despatched under Wang Chên to the rescue of the city. Against the wishes of his council, Ying Tsung was induced to accompany the expedition. On arriving at Yang Ho, it was discovered that the army was in no condition to fight; and at the entreaties of the generals, a retreat was at once ordered. But at Tu Mu (土木), the imperial army was attacked by the Mongols; and, being taken by surprise, the Chinese were easily routed with great slaughter. Wang Chên was among the slain and Ying Tsung was made prisoner. A large ransom was sent to the Mongol camp by the Dowager Empress; but, finding Essen unwilling to give up the person of the emperor, the Chinese made the regent, Ying Tsung's brother, Prince of Chen and afterwards Ching Ti, emperor. When Essen appeared with the royal prisoner before the city of Peking, he found the Chinese had completed its defenses. At the approach of the forces gathered from all parts of the empire, he found it expedient to retire.

Yü Ch'ien (于謙), a man of no mean ability, was now raised to the position of the President of the Board of War. Under the new management, a turn in the tide was noticeable. Several fresh attempts were made by Essen to capture Ta Tung and Suan Fu, but without success. Finding that no benefit could be gained by holding the person of an ex-emperor, Essen desired peace and offered to return Ying Tsung to China. The Chinese preferred to leave him in the hands of the Mongols, for they had found a better emperor in Ching Ti (景帝). At length the counsel of Yü Ch'ien

prevailed, and envoys were despatched to welcome the ex-emperor home. But as Ching Ti was unwilling to abdicate the throne, Ying Tsung was forced to retire. Through a *coup d'état*, which took place in 1457 when Ching Ti was seriously ill, Ying Tsung regained his throne. Ching Ti died almost immediately thereafter, leaving his surviving brother to rule for another eight years. That Ying Tsung was not a bit wiser from his unhappy experience, is manifest from the fact that no sooner had he regained his authority than he put to death Yü Ch'ien, the man who had saved China, and heaped posthumous honors on Wang Chén, the cause of his own captivity. It was the murder of Essen by Ala that at length secured a temporary peace to the Chinese frontier.

Bronze Incense Burner. Hsüan Tê Period. ("Chinese Art")

The Period of Bronze and Lacquer Work.—The reign of the emperor Hsüan Tê (宣德) (1426-35) is famous for the bronze work that was then done in China. The incense burners, commonly called Hsüan Lu (Hsüan being the first name of the reign, and Lu, an incense burner) are still highly valued at the present day. No similar work of subsequent dates can compare favorably with them. The story goes that a great fire in the palace provided an inimitable blend of metals for the handicraft of the period.

Lacquer panel

At about the same time, much progress was also made in lacquer work. According to ancient authorities, this art originated in the days of the great Shun, although no reliable records exist as to the kinds of work done in that remote period. In fact, we cannot trace any of the branches of lacquer work now carried on in China further back than the Sung Dynasty. It was under the Mings that lacquer ware made in China began to compare favorably with that of Japanese make. The Japanese, undoubtedly, owed the art of making lacquer to China; but they had improved the Chinese method to such an extent since the days of the introduction of Chinese arts and literature into Japan in the third century, that during the reign of Hsüan Tê a mission was sent to Japan to study the industry. Thus we find that even in the fifteenth century China was obliged to learn something from her apt student. Yang Hsüan (楊塤), who flourished during the period of Ying Tsung's restoration (1457-64), was an expert in this art, hence his nickname "Japanese Lacquer" (楊倭漆).

The following (being a rough translation) is taken from a learned Chinese work bearing upon this point, published in 1595:—

"In our own Ming Dynasty, the carved lacquer made in the reign of Yung Lê (1403-24) and that of Hsüan Tê, not only excelled in the cinnabar colouring and in the finished technique of the body, but also in the literary style of the inscriptions that were etched under the pieces. The inscription of Yung Lê was etched with a needle and filled in with black lac; that of Hsüan Tê engraved with a knife and filled in with gold. The lacquer ware of thin body flecked with powder gold, the lacquer work

incrusted with mother-of-pearl, and the lacquer inlaid with the plaques of beaten gold and silver, these three kinds are especially admired, even by the Japanese."

Lacquer Painting

The chief centre of manufacture under the Sungs was the city of Chia Hsing Fu (嘉興府), about half way between Hangchow and Soochow; during the Ming Dynasty it shifted to Foochow and Canton.

Buddhism Under The Mings.—Hung Wu, being an ex-Buddhist priest, naturally inclined more favorably to that faith than any other. To each of his 23 sons on the day of his receiving a feudal appointment, he assigned a monk as his guardian. The immediate successors of the founder were also pro-Buddhist. In the early part of the reign of Yung Lê a Hindu monk of high degree, named Pandita, came to Peking and was given an audience by the emperor, to whom he presented golden images of the five Buddhas and a model in stone of the temple erected over the spot where Sakyamuni attained his Buddhahood, or the Diamond Throne, as it is commonly called. The emperor not only appointed Pandita state hierarch, but also promised to build him a reproduction in stone

of the model he had brought to him. This new temple, Wu T'a Ssŭ (五塔寺) (Five Towered Temple), was not finished and dedicated until the year 1473, the 9th year of the reign of Ch'êng Hua. According to the inscriptions on the marble stele set up by the side of it, the structure in question is an exact reproduction of the celebrated shrine in India, in dimensions as well as in every detail. This temple, which is situated some two miles west of Peking, the Ming Tomb at Nanking—the tomb of Hung Wu,—and the Thirteen Mausoleums at Peking, speak well for the architectural skill of the Chinese of that period.

In this connection, mention should be made of an important event in the history of Lamaism which took place at this time. A great reformer had appeared in Tibet in the person of Tsong Khaba (宗喀巴). Among the reforms he introduced, he insisted on the observance by the lamas of the rule of celibacy. As he and his followers wore yellowish garments, they were called "Orange Hoods" (黃教) to distinguish them from the "Red Hoods" (紅教), the followers of the older sect, who all wore red garments. Tsong Khaba died in the seventeeth year of Yung Lê (1419), but his system has gradually displaced the older sect. Both the Dalai Lama and the Pancheon Lama are the representatives of the new sect. Their succession is based upon the theory of incarnation.

TSONG KHABA

On the death of either of them, it is the duty of the surviving one to ascertain in whose body the deceased has been pleased to incarnate himself. To this end the names of all male children born after his demise are laid before his survivor, who chooses three of them and puts them into a golden casket provided for that purpose. After a week of prayer, the lots are drawn out in the presence of the surviving great Lama and all the dignitaries of the church for that purpose assembled, and also in the presence of the representative of the Chinese emperor. The child whose name is first drawn becomes the rightful successor.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE MING DYNASTY *(Continued)*

Introductory.—We have now to follow the declining fortunes of the "Brilliant" Dynasty. The period that is embraced in this chapter runs from 1456 to 1627, a space of a little more than a century and a half, which is covered by the reigns of nine rulers. Most of them were men of immoral life, and in no way fit to occupy the throne. Under them, eunuchs became an important factor in politics. Never before had they secured more complete control of the government, or committed more atrocious crimes, or acquired such a long lease of power. While the government was called upon to put down civil disorders, in most cases, the direct outcome of the work of eunuchs, the country was further impoverished by foreign wars. With an empty treasury and with loyalty at a low ebb, it is no wonder that bands of hungry people, as we shall see in the following chapter, succeeded in overthrowing the government and paved the way for the Manchus.

Early History of the Eunuchs.—In this connection, it will be necessary to trace the early history of the eunuchs under the Mings. Hung Wu, the founder of the dynasty, was certainly no friend to eunuchs, when he issued a decree to the effect that no eunuch should under any circumstance be permitted to meddle in state affairs under pain of summary decapitation. This decree he caused to be engraved on the iron door of his palace, but it was not long before it was completely ignored. During the struggle for the throne which took place after his death, many eunuchs managed to escape from Nanking with important information for the then Prince of Yen, who was coming down upon the capital. Out of gratitude, he appointed them to high official positions when he seized the throne, thus establishing a precedent which was destined to have a most disastrous effect upon his house. Of the part played by Wang Chên under Ying Tsung, mention has already been made. During the eight years of Ying Tsung's second reign, he was com-

pletely under the sway of another eunuch. This was Ts'ao Chi-hsiang (曹吉祥) who played an important part in the *coup d'état* that resulted in the restoration of the throne to Ying Tsung. Hsien Tsung (憲宗), Ying Tsung's son (1465–87), during the latter part of his reign became a mere tool of his favorite concubine Wang Kuei-fei (黃貴妃) and the ambitious eunuch, Wang Chih (汪直). In 1499, or the twelfth year of the reign of Hsiao Tsung (孝宗) (1488-1505), a chief eunuch was ordered to commit suicide. On his death a paper was found which gave the names of the men who had presented him with "yellow and white grain" together with the amount presented by each of them. The emperor was surprised to find the quantity of grain that had passed into the hands of his eunuch. To his further amazement, he was informed that the "yellow and white grain" were not grain at all, but gold and silver respectively. As so many men were implicated, many of them being men of high official standing, it was considered best to go no further into the matter.

The Reign of Wu Tsung (A.D. 1506–1521).—The first period when the power of the eunuchs reached its highest point was in the reign of Wu Tsung (武宗), or Chêng Tê (正德), as he was better known by the name of his reign than his posthumous title. Of the Ming rulers he is the most interesting figure. Being linguistic, he could read Sanskrit, Mongolian, and Arabian, and gave himself a name in each language, besides conferring upon himself a long title as the Living Buddha. He was active and refused to submit to the fate of Chinese emperors in so far as his imprisonment in the palace was concerned. Many times he travelled through parts of his empire in disguise. If a Chinese emperor was the Commander-in-Chief of the army in theory, he was one in practice. He made himself Field-Marshal (威武大將軍). In this capacity, he led many expeditions against the Mongols and the rebels. Once after a slight victory over the Mongols, he decreed that the Field Marshal should be raised to a Duke. He was said to be one of the strongest and most domineering men of his day. Nothing pleased him so much as to appear in his military uniform.

Under the guidance of upright men, he would doubtless have made an ideal ruler; but unfortunately he fell under the sway of eunuchs and their unworthy creatures. The principal object of his travels was his own pleasure, for he was immoral in his private life. While fishing in a small boat in the pond which formed a part of his eunuch's private ground in Kiang Nan, he fell into the water and contracted a disease which finally proved fatal. He died childless in 1521, in the "Leopard Room" (as his pleasure palace was then called), which was the scene of all forms of vice.

Liu Chin.—Liu Chin (劉瑾), the eunuch, who rose to be the virtual head of the government under Wu Tsung, needs special mention. He had been a favorite of the emperor even before his accession. He and seven of his colleagues were so much dreaded that they were known as the "Eight Tigers (八虎)." To get rid of the "Tigers" was the object of the ministers, when Wu Tsung came to the throne; but their impeachment, instead of landing them in prison, resulted in raising Liu Chin to the highest position, that is the Ssŭ Li Chien (司禮監), or eunuch in charge of state ceremonies. This office was one peculiar to the Mings. The duty of its incumbent, as he was often called upon to frame decrees issued in the name of the emperor, was no less important than that of a Grand Councillor of later days. In this connection, mention should be made of the fact that the eunuchs of the Ming Dynasty were mostly well educated men, a special school having been founded for them in the palace by one of the early emperors. In his new office, Liu Chin continued to prey upon the people, and to persecute men who had the welfare of their nation at heart. He and his colleagues judged and condemned without the least semblance of right, and many innocent men were put to cruel and ignominous deaths. All state documents were submitted to him first; and, without reference to the emperor, he decided every question that came up for decision. It was only through one of the Seven Eunuchs that his true character was made known to Wu Tsung when sentence of death was issued against him. In point of power and wickedness, he was surpassed by no one except Wei Chung-hsien, the

eunuch who lived in the reign of Hsi Tsung and of whom we shall learn more in the proper place.

Reign of Shih Tsung (A.D. 1532-1566).—On the death of Wu Tsung, the Chinese throne was left to Shih Tsung (世宗), a grandson of Hsien Tsung (憲宗). This was the first Ming emperor who was a devoted Taoist and who therefore looked with aversion upon Buddhism, the faith of his fathers. By his order, many of the Buddhist temples in Peking were pulled down and the gold and silver images in them melted in order to realize money to erect a fine palace for his mother. His father being dead, the question at once rose as to what title, the son on his accession, should confer on him. In other countries such a question is hardly one of national interest; but in China, the land of Confucianism, it proved of the greatest concern to the court and to the people at large. Shih Tsung wished to do honor to the memory of his father with imperial titles, but the majority of his ministers objected. They held that as the emperor came to the throne rather as an adopted son to Hsiao Tsung (孝宗), than as a son of the Prince of Hsing Hsien (興獻), he really stood to the latter, his own father, in the relationship of a nephew to an uncle, hence the proposal of the emperor was not in accord with the Confucian laws. For years the court was engrossed in this question to the negligence of others of far greater importance. When the emperor triumphed a great number of men prominent in official and literary circles were dismissed. Under the Ming Dynasty every scholar was allowed the privilege of addressing the throne direct, and those who were able to quote classical authority in support of the contention of the emperor rose rapidly in power.

Further Inroads of the Mongols.—The reign of this monarch was not a peaceful one, owing to the fact that the Mongols raided the frontier in the north while the Japanese pirates harassed the coast in the south.

About 1470 Mongolia was again consolidated under a chief by the name of Dayan Khan (達延可汗). After him

Mongolia was parcelled out among his sons and grandsons, his youngest son receiving the territory north of the Desert, his second son that part south of it, one of his grandsons the Ordos (河套) country, while another, Yeta (俺答), the Ying Shan (陰山) territory. Thus we find the beginnings of the Kalkas (喀爾喀), Chihar (插漢), Ordos (鄂爾多斯), and Tumud (土默特) tribes. These Mongols kept up an incessant raiding on the frontier of China. In 1542 they began to assemble in more formidable numbers under the banner of Yeta, who led them up to Tatung in Shansi. After having made many prisoners and laden themselves with plunder they returned to their own country in safety. From year to year the raids were repeated with more or less success. The Viceroy of Shensi, Tsêng Hsien (曾銑), wished to take the offensive; but his plan was opposed by Yen Sung (嚴嵩), who had risen to be the real power under Shih Tsung, the emperor, who had become too busy with his religious matters (齋醮) to attend to anything else. In 1548, Tsêng Hsien fell a victim to court intrigue and was beheaded without mercy. Two years later, Yeta again appeared at the head of an immense horde and penetrated as far as Tung Chow (通州), where the graves of the relatives of the emperor were desecrated. For eight days the Mongols plundered the surrounding country to their hearts' content and returned home in perfect security. The horse fairs (馬市) which China subsequently permitted to be held at Hsüan Fu (宣府) and Tatung (大同) did not stop these periodic incursions. Yeta continued to terrify the Chinese down to the close of the reign of Mu Tsung (穆宗) (1567-73); but his conversion to Lamaism, the direct result of his successful campaigns in Tibet and Kokonor (青海), at length saved China. In 1571 a treaty of peace was concluded between Yeta and Mu Tsung, when the former was made a Chinese prince and acknowledged as the head of all the Mongol Tribes. Yeta soon died but the peace lasted as long as his widow, whose Chinese name was San Niang Tzŭ (三娘子), lived. According to Chinese annals, this woman married successively several of Yeta's successors and was the real ruler of Mongolia.

The Japanese Piratical Expeditions.—Since the days of Kublai Khan, there had been very little intercourse between China and Japan. Trade had been confined to a certain class of seafaring people in both countries, who in course of time became more pirates than traders. The Japanese, in fact, began to harass the coast of China as early as the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, when Hung Wu found it necessary to station garrisons along the coast. After the year 1419, the 17th year of the reign of Yung Lê, in which a Japanese marauding party was severely defeated in the Liaotung Peninsula, intercourse was renewed by the two governments. Trade was no longer forbidden although it was confined to the ports in Chekiang. It was the suspension of this trade in the reign of Shih Tsung that gave rise to the trouble we are now about to record.

In spite of the suspension of trade, the Japanese still flooded the Chinese market with goods. Owing to the difficulty of making collections, they began to plunder places near Ningpo. The state of affairs in Chekiang was such that the government became awakened to the gravity of the situation. In 1554 Chang Ching (張經), President of the Board of War at Nanking (南京兵部尚書), was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces sent against the Japanese. He wisely refused to give battle until his forces had gathered. This precaution on his part was, however, reported to Peking by the Inspector (監軍), Ch'ao Wên-hua (趙文華), a satellite of Yen Sung (嚴嵩), as evidence of his cowardice. Although he gained an important victory over the Japanese afterwards when his reinforcements arrived, he was put to death and Ch'ao Wên-hua appointed in his stead. Ch'ao was not equal to the situation. Without trouble, the Japanese penetrated as far north as Nanking, and returned with immense booty to their ships, which were anchored at Chu Shan (舟山). At times the Japanese suffered reverses, but they were only driven out of one place to appear in another along the extensive coast line between Shanghai and Canton. Their last attempts were concentrated in Fukien, where they captured Amoy and Hsing Hwa (興化), or P'ing Hai Wei (平海衛), as the place was then called. It was not until 1563 that the Chinese succeeded in

re-capturing these cities. Unable to gain a foothold on the mainland, the pirates sought shelter in Formosa (台灣). They appeared off the coast of Kuangtung as late as the reign of Wan Li (萬歷) (1573-1619). They were less formidable than they had been, their number having been reduced to a great extent.

Conflict with the Japanese in Corea.—When the Japanese pirates ceased to be a menace to China, Corea experienced the horrors of a Japanese invasion. Fashiba, a Japanese general or lord, who was known as Hideyoshi in Japanese, and as P'ing Hsiu-chi (平秀吉) in Chinese, was bent on gaining a foothold on the

HIDEYOSHI

mainland. With this end in view, he proposed to enter into an alliance with Li Yen (李昭), King of Corea. This, the latter refused. In 1592 a Japanese force of 130,000 men was landed at Fushan (釜山), and a large fleet despatched to the Corean waters. The country was not prepared for this invasion; and from Fushan, the Japanese marched to Seoul (漢陽), the capital, which they took after a month's siege. The king's two sons were made prisoners; but he himself escaped to a city situated at the mouth of the Ya Lu River (鴨綠江), whence he sent urgent messages to Wan Li imploring his

assistance. China could not well evade this request of the unfortunate king, for she too was in danger of a Japanese invasion. Accordingly an army was sent into Corea. It met the Japanese before the walls of P'ing Jang (平壤), where it was annihilated and its commander, Tsu Ch'êng-hsun, (祖承訓), barely escaped with his life. The next Chinese army under the command of Li Ju-sung (李如松), fresh from a successful campaign against a Mongol rebel in Ning Hsia (寧夏), gained a victory over the Japanese in P'ing Jang; but, elated by this success, the Chinese general allowed himself to be led into an ambuscade near Seoul and overthrown (1593). After a year's parleying, peace was concluded with the stipulation that Corea was to cede to Japan three of her eight provinces. In 1595, the Japanese began to evacuate; but, finding that the Coreans never intended to carry out the stipulation, hostilities were resumed. No decisive battle took place, although fighting continued till 1596, when the death of Fashiba put an end to the war and caused the withdrawal of the Japanese.

This war, extending over seven years, cost China heavily both in life and money. After its close, it was found necessary to

Porcelain making

resort to extraordinary measures to raise revenue, including attempts to open up mines in certain parts of the empire. Owing to lack of expert knowledge and bad management on the part of the eunuchs, who were the commissioners of mining, these enterprises were not only failures from a financial standpoint; but in many cases were the cause of local outbreaks.

Chinese Porcelain.—The reign of Wan Li forms an important period in the annals of Chinese ceramic art. The native writers say that at this time there was almost nothing that could not be made of porcelain. The extravagance of the court undoubtedly gave an impulse to the development of the art. Many censors of the time indited a series of protests against the expenditure by the emperor on mere articles of luxury. Indents preserved among the archives of Ching Tê Chên (景德鎮), show

Porcelain Bowl

that 26,350 bowls with 30,500 saucers to match, 6,000 ewers with 6,500 wine cups, and 680 garden fish-bowls to cost fifty taels each, were requisitioned among a number of other things in 1554. Ching Tê Chên became the principal porcelain centre under the Mings so far as artistic work was concerned. Here all the older glazes of repute were constantly reproduced and many newer methods, including the "Wan Li Five Color" (萬曆五彩), were invented, to be distributed to all parts of China as well as to many other countries. The only factory of note then was that of Tê Hua (德化) in Fukien. The potteries established there early in the Ming Dynasty are still working to-day, and are famous for their production of white porcelain images of Buddha. The ceramic art, according to Chinese authorities, originated in the days of the great Han Dynasty; but the long interval between that dynasty and the Ming is generally spoken of by them as the primitive period, the productions of the Sung Dynasty being mostly monochrome glazes. During the troubles attending the fall of the Ming Dynasty the art was entirely neglected, and it did not revive until the latter part of the seventeenth century, or the reign of K'ang Hsi (康熙) of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644–1722).

1661

Arrival of European Traders.—"The year A.D. 1516 is a memorable one, from the fact that during it the first vessel that we have any record of flying a European flag arrived at Canton. It was commanded by a Portuguese of the name of Rafael Perestrello. Next year Ferdinand Andrade came with four ships, accompanied by a special envoy sent by the governor of Goa, who was received with due honor by the high authorities at Canton. In time others of the Portuguese followed, who traded on the coast and established themselves at Ningpo and Amoy. In A.D. 1537 there were no fewer than three portuguese settlements at Canton."* Macao, one of these settlements, it is interesting to

*Macgowan's "Imperial History of China."

Porcelain Drum

note, was first occupied under the pretext of drying goods alleged to have been damaged in a storm. In 1573 the Chinese government built a barrier wall across the isthmus joining Macao to Hsiang Shan (香山). Owing to their ill conduct, the Portuguese were later driven out of Ningpo and Amoy but they have held Macao to the present day.

After the Portuguese came the Spaniards, who, instead of settling on the mainland, took the Philippine Islands (1543).* The official mission that they sent to China reached Canton in 1575, but no great result came of it. Meanwhile trade had been carried on to some extent between Fukien and Manila, though the Chinese were cruelly treated by the Spaniards and many hindrances were placed in the way of their immigration.

The coming of the Dutch was of still later date. According to Chinese account, they made a settlement in Formosa during the last year of Wan Li's reign, and then took possession of the Pescadores. In 1622 they landed a hostile party at Amoy, and advanced as far as Changchow before they were finally worsted on the mainland and made to retreat to Formosa.

The landing of the Dutch on the Pescadores

Introduction of Tobacco.—The result of the trade between Fukien and Manila was the introduction of tobacco into that part of China, or more particularly into the prefectures of Ch'üanchow (泉州) and Changchow (漳州). The earliest name under which it was known in China was 淡白果, or Tam Bâc Co, as the characters

*These islands remained a Spanish possession till the close of the Spanish-American war in 1898. They were ceded to America on the payment of $20,000,000 gold.

are pronounced in the Amoy dialect. It was an Amoy Chinese of the name of Ma (馬) who first taught his countrymen how to prepare and use tobacco. "In a short time it found its way to all the Nine Frontier Cities." The fact that a decree was issued by the last emperor of the Mings forbidding its use shows to what extent the evil habit had seized upon the Chinese.

Reign of Hsi Tsung (1621–27).—This weak monarch was a skilful mechanic. During his reign, a eunuch by the name of Wei Chung-hsien (魏忠賢), and his wet-nurse (乳母), K'o Shih (客氏), gained his affection to an extraordinary degree. This eunuch, an ignorant brute, took care to present memorials and other state papers to the emperor when he was engrossed in his carpentry. The latter would pretend to know everything, and bid his unworthy eunuch deal with the questions presented. It was thus that Wei rose to be the real ruler. Aided by censors who were his creatures, he found no difficulty in depriving the government of loyal men, who were either summarily dismissed, or put to cruel deaths. In 1626 temples were erected to his memory in all parts of the empire excepting Fukien; and the emperor, who never got tired of heaping honors on the eunuch, decreed that he should be worshipped with Confucius, because in his opinion he was as much a sage as China's Great Teacher. Wei and K'o Shih did more to bring about the downfall of the tottering dynasty than all the other causes combined. It was commonly believed that Wei intended to seize the throne himself; but the unexpected death of the infatuated emperor frustrated his plans. The punishment that was meted out to him and K'o Shih by Hsi Tsung's (熹宗) successor, will be related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXX

THE DOWNFALL OF THE MING DYNASTY

Accession of Ch'ung Chêng.—The death of Hsi Tsung left the throne to his brother, Ch'ung Chêng (崇禎), hitherto known as Prince of Hsin (信王). The new monarch was the reverse of his brother. The most important event connected with his accession was the punishment that was meted out to the favorites of the deceased emperor. Wei Chung-hsien was banished to Fêng Yang (鳳陽). Knowing that banishment was not all that was due him, he committed suicide; but this did not prevent his corpse from being disfigured and his head from being chopped off and exhibited at the usual market place. K'o Shih (客氏) received no less severe punishment. She and all members of her family were condemned to death; many of the infants, it is stated, being still asleep when put to the executioner's ax. At about the same time more than two hundred high officials were executed, banished, or dismissed, to the great joy of the people at large.

It looked as if better days were about to dawn upon the tottering empire, but they never came. Although the new monarch succeeded in getting rid of the authors of misdeeds, yet he could do nothing to ward off the danger they had brought upon the nation. The corruption of ages could not be done away with by one stroke. Nor would the circumstances allow him, energetic and ambitious as he was, time to devise an effective remedy. Deserted by the court and by the army, he lived to see his empire wrested from him, amidst the clamorings of a foreign foe who had for years threatened to break into China through the backdoor, and amidst the wrath of his own people whom hunger and poverty had driven to take up arms against the government.

Relations with the Manchus.—The rise of the Manchus, the conquests of Nurhachu, and his immediate successor, T'ai Tsung, and their numerous wars with the Mings, are all matters of Manchu

history. Suffice it to say here that the growth of the Manchus since the days of Nurhachu (1559-1626) had been marvelous. By the time the reign of Ch'ung Chêng drew to its close, the Manchus had taken possession of the whole of Liaotung beyond the famous Pass of Shanhaikuan, with the exception of the fortress of Ning Yüan (寧遠), the entire Corean Peninsula, and parts of Mongolia. From their new capital at Mukden, they kept up an incessant warfare with the Mings. Although Ning Yüan remained in the hands of the Chinese, yet it was due in no small degree to the firearms borrowed from the Portuguese and to those manufactured under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries, that the Manchus at times would take a roundabout route through Mongolia and march to the rear of Peking and cause great consternation in the capital. This war alone cost the imperial treasury an annual outlay of no less than 16,000,000 taels. This was too much for a government on the verge of bankruptcy, and the result was that by keeping up this conflict, she was soon at the mercy of her rebels.

Beginning of the Rebellion.—The terrible rebellion that was destined to bring the Ming Dynasty to an unhappy end originated in the province of Shensi. This province for years had been the scene of misgovernment and of famine. With starvation staring them in the face, men began to gather around various leaders for the purpose of plundering. The disbandment of the frontier carrier service at once swelled their numbers to an alarming extent, for the large number of men who were thrown out of employment were mostly natives of Shensi. Riots were of frequent occurrence; but as the brigands had no higher aim than plunder, there was no well organized attempt at rebellion. This accounts for the fact that while villages and cities fell into the hands of the brigands, no attempt was made to hold them. Had a more vigorous policy been adhered to, the whole trouble might have been nipped in the bud; but unfortunately Yang Hao (楊鎬), the Viceroy of the province, was a weak man. He resorted to the compromise policy, that is, he sought to end the trouble by inviting the brigands

to give up their arms and submit. For a short time he was not without success; but, as soon as the vigilance on the part of the authorities was relaxed, the brigands returned to their plundering with renewed vigor and in increased numbers.

Further Progress of the Rebellion.—By the time the viceroy was removed (1631), the rebellion had gradually extended into the provinces of Shansi, Honan, Szechuan and Hukuang. The most remarkable thing in connection with their desultory warfare was the fact that at times the leaders would be at the head of their immense armies; and shortly thereafter they would be flying before the imperial troops with but a few scattered remnants of their forces. The year 1633 was an important one in the history of the rebellion. After a series of battles, the brigands were inclosed in the hills at Hsing An Chow (興安州), Shensi, where no retreat was possible. At this critical moment, they offered to surrender on condition that they should be sent home in safety. Having bribed those who had the most influence with the commanding general, Ch'ên Chi-yü (陳奇瑜), the brigands had no trouble in gaining his ear. Their request was readily granted and guards were appointed to accompany them home. To his great surprise, as soon as the brigands felt themselves secure, they butchered the guards and laid waste the seven districts through which they passed.

The next year it was found necessary to despatch two armies against the brigands, one to operate in places east of the famous Tung Kuan Pass and another in places west of it. Both of them were doing good work, and were on the point of crushing the rebellion, when they were withdrawn to Peking in consequence of a Manchu invasion, which thus gave the brigands time to regain their strength.

Capture of Kaifeng.—Of all the brigand leaders, the most notorious was Li Tzŭ-ch'eng (李自成), a native of Shensi. He did not begin to lead the rebellion in his own name until 1640. He had gained several important cities in Hunan; but, in his attempt to storm Kaifeng towards the close of the year, he lost one eye. This made him retire. When he appeared again before its walls in the

beginning of the next year he was determined that the place should be taken at any cost. After a siege lasting nine months the place still held out proudly. As a last resort, Li Tsŭ-ch'eng opened a passage from the Yellow River, and the city was flooded. The distruction of life was terrible. According to the Chinese historians, the fall of this important city awakened the slumbering ambition in the man, for Li had had no thoughts of an empire until he came into possession of Honan and saw how willingly the other brigand chiefs accepted his leadership. With his new ambition, he turned westward and had the further good fortune to capture Tung Kuan, which gave the key to the province of Shensi, his native home.

Fall of Peking.—Having proclaimed himself as the first emperor of the Great Shun (大順) Dynasty, and having made Hsi An (西安) his headquarters, his next move was in the direction of Peking. No resistance was met till he reached the city of Ning Wu (甯武), defended by general Chou Yü-chi (周遇吉). Ten thousand rebels perished in one engagement. When the city was stormed, none of its garrison surrendered. Moved by the heroism of the garrison and being deeply concerned over his great loss of men, Li called a council of his generals. "We are still separated," said he, "from Peking by the fortresses of Hsüan Fu (宣府), Ta T'ung (大同), and Chü Yung (居庸), at each of which there is a strong garrison; and if they only fight as Ning Wu has done, the result will be serious." While he was considering the advisability of withdrawing his forces into Shensi, there came, to his great joy, letters of submission from the commandants of the two places that he dreaded the most, viz., Ta T'ung and Hsüan Fu. At Chü Yung, a eunuch opened the gate to him.

Peking had had no warning until the scouts of the rebels were before its walls; and no provision had been made to meet this emergency. Ch'ung Cheng wanted to take the field in person, but his army existed only on paper. On the approach of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng the city was virtually abandoned, its garrison consisting of only a few hundred eunuchs. The same evening one of them opened the gates to Li Tzŭ-ch'êng and the capital was given up to pillage.

Death of Ch'ung Chêng.—From the top of the Coal Hill Ch'ung Chêng could see the city in flames, an unmistakable sign that it was in the hands of the rebels. In great distress he returned to his palace which witnessed that evening one of the most pathetic events that history has recorded. Desiring that those dear to him should die before him rather than fall into the hands of the rebels, he ordered the empress to hang herself and killed a number of his concubines. He wanted to kill his own daughter also, but after the severing of her arm she was unconscious on the ground, where she was left for dead. The next morning he mounted the Coal Hill again. With his own blood he wrote a letter to the rebel chief, telling him to disfigure his (the emperor's) remains, but not to molest the people.

This finished, he hanged himself with his girdle. By his side, hung Wang Ch'êng-ên (王承恩), the only faithful eunuch he had. The emperor and the empress were buried with imperial honors when the Manchus took possession of the empire.

Character of Ch'ung Chêng.—No ruler that suffered his empire to be wrested from him affords more interesting study than Ch'ung Chêng. Coming to the throne after two of the worst of the Ming rulers, he knew that the dynasty was falling and hoped by his own exertions to save it; but failing in this, he perished with it. During the seventeen years of his eventful reign, he never enjoyed his high office for a moment. On the contrary, he devoted his whole time and energy to the welfare of the state. In him we find none of the vices that had characterized the majority of the Ming rulers.

If any blame can with justice be laid at his door, it was his inability to place the right man at the right place,—a quality that makes success certain. In seventeen years he had as many as forty-seven prime ministers, and yet none of them gave him satisfaction. Towards the close of his reign, as the last resort, he reluctantly turned for help to the eunuchs, the class whom he had hated so much only a short time before. That many of his eunuchs turned traitors needs no repetition here.

Perhaps even in this respect, he was not so much to blame as the character of the age. As a matter of fact, the Mings, having

been under the degenerating influence of the Sung philosophers so long, had lost their conscience. Honor and loyality were conspicuous only through their absence. Divided into political parties bent on the destruction of one another, the chief aim of most men in politics was their own enrichment regardless of the interests of the state. Many of Ch'ung Chêng's generals, instead of leading their men to meet the Manchus or the rebels, as the case might be, hid themselves in quiet places, and continued to send in reports of alleged victories until they could no longer keep the truth from their sovereign. Under such circumstances, what could the emperor do? After all, it is but just to grant the truth of the emperor's own statement when he said:

"Inasmuch as I am far from being a ruler base enough to be the cause of the fall of my empire, every one of you, my ministers, is enough to cause it to fall to pieces!"

Alliance with the Manchus.—Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was now the emperor in Peking, but his days of glory were few. General Wu San-kuei (吳三桂), who had been stationed at Ning Yüan with the flower of the Ming army to keep back the Manchus, had in the meantime gone over to the enemy with a view of forming an alliance with the latter against Li. No proposition was more welcome to the Manchus than that made by Wu. Durgun (多爾袞), the Manchu regent (T'ai Tsung had died leaving his throne to a nine-year old son, who afterwards became Shun Chih of the Ch'ing Dynasty), putting himself at the head of a small but efficient force, came to the aid of the distressed general. Near Shanhaikuan, a pitched battle was fought between the allies and the rebels, Li himself taking the field. The battle was a very fierce one, and continued from morning until sunset. Finally a great storm came and at once turned the scale against the rebels, who left the greater portion of their men dead on the field. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, their leader, beat a hasty retreat to Peking, but even there he did not venture to rest. Laden with loot, consisting principally of the treasures he had succeeded in exacting from the Ming officials by means of the most

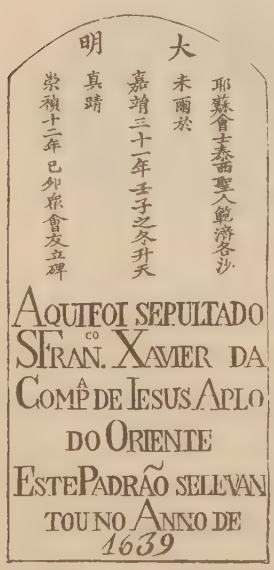
cruel tortures known to history, he set fire to the gate-towers of the city and resumed his retreat into Shensi. The unworthy ministers of Ch'ung Chêng, who had hoped to make their wealth secure by declaring allegiance to the rebel, not only lost all they had unscrupulously made, but were also forced to accompany him on foot. Many of them died of hardship on the way.

Final Defeat of Li.—Fortune had now entirely deserted Li Tzŭ-chêng. He was defeated at every encounter he had with the allies. In two years after his retreat from Peking, he was driven out of Shensi, his home, to wander in the Hukuang province with but few followers. The manner of his death is a disputed point. One account says that he was killed by the militia of T'ung Ch'êng (通城), a place in Hupeh, while another has it that he committed suicide by hanging. Still another says that he ended his days in the Buddhist priesthood. At any rate, he never rose again to trouble the Manchus; and though he had overthrown the Ming empire, yet he only did the work for others.

SHIH K'O-FA

Last Efforts of the Mings.—Having fulfilled their part of the contract, the Manchus refused absolutely to evacuate China. "China," they declared, "we have taken from the hand of a rebel and not from her people." And there was no moral obligation why they should hand it back to the degenerate people whom experience had shown unfit to govern. All the Mings could hope to do was to establish an empire south of the Yangtze after the manner of the Sungs, and this was exactly what they tried to do. During all the troublous years, the Yangtze region had remained intact except certain parts then in the hands of Chang Hsien-chung. With a

good ruler, aided by upright statesmen and loyal citizens, the moment was not wholly unfavorable to the Chinese cause. But Fuh Wang (福王), Ch'ung Chêng's brother, whom Shih K'o-fa (史可法) and a number of military magnates set up at Nanking as his successor, was not the man. Shih K'o-fa, the head of the new empire, had his hands tied by the ambition of his generals who were quarrelling among themselves most of the time. Soldiers and generals were numerous, but they simply melted away on the approach of the Manchus. After the Nanking undertaking, the Mings made similar efforts in Foochow and Kuangsi; but these amounted to even less than the former. The place that they held the longest was Formosa, the headquarters of Koxinga (鄭成功), a former Ming general. All these matters belong to Manchu history and will be more fully treated in the following chapters.



Epitaph of St. Francis Xavier, an early Jesuit Missionary

Spread of Christianity.—As stated elsewhere certain firearms of the Mings were manufactured under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries, who had reached China as early as the latter part of the reign of Wan Li. From this time forth they continued to live and labor among the Chinese. At the end of the reign of Ch'ung Chêng, they numbered among their converts in Peking 114 members of the royal family, 40 eunuchs, and 14 high officials. Among the last was Hsü Kuang-ch'i (徐光啓), one of the forty-seven prime ministers, who owed their appointments to Ch'ung Chêng. To foreigners he was perhaps better known as Paul Hsü, for this was his Christian name. The missionaries were also engaged in translating books, and by the year 1636 they had published no fewer than three hundred and forty treatises; some were religious, but the larger number were on natural philosophy and mathematics. The translation of Euclid into Chinese is commonly believed to be the work of Hsü Kuang-ch'i.

As a matter of fact, the Jesuit missionaries owed their success partly to their scientific knowledge, and partly to their shrewdness. Unlike the missionaries of the present day, they made no attempt to interfere with Chinese customs, such as ancestor worship, idol worship, etc. In this respect they encountered less hostility from the educated class than missionaries of later periods.

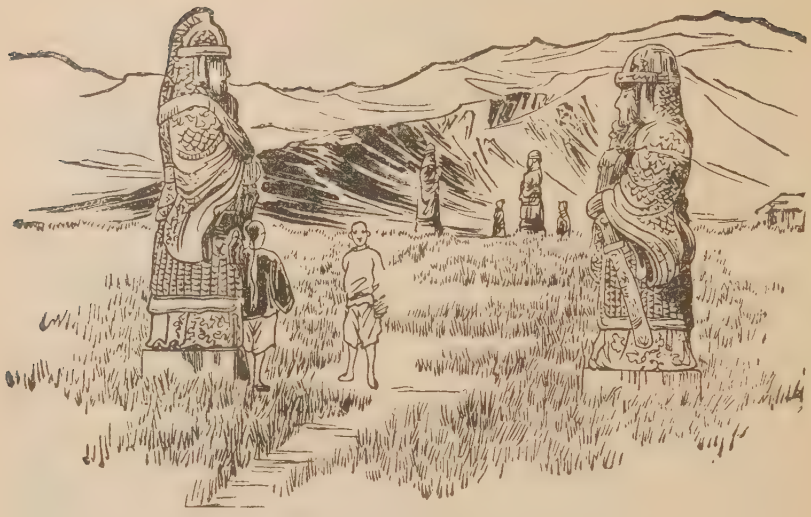
Hsü Kuang-ch'i

The troubles attending the fall of the Ming Dynasty had a serious effect upon Christian work in China; but it revived under their successors, the early Manchu rulers. The names that figure most prominently in Chinese annals are Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇) and Joannes Adam Schaal (湯若望).

In this connection, it is interesting to note that among the presents that the missionaries brought to China at this early period were an organ and a clock which were regarded as wonders by the Chinese court. They were probably the first of their kind that found their way into the imperial palace in Peking.

Matteo Ricci

Joannes Adam Schaal



Ming Tomb, Nanking

CHINESE EMPIRE
DURING THE
CHING DYNASTY
Chinese Li
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English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
Long East 110 of Greenwich
CHINESE TURKISTAN
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Hei ung kiang
Kirin
Liao ning
Chihli
Shan si
Shen si
Kan suh
Ho nan
Hupeh
Hunan
Kiang si
Che-kiang
Fokien
Kwei chow
Yun nan
Kwang tung
Kwang si
Sze chuen
Tibet
Koko Nor
Lake Baikal
Lake Balkash
Lake Aral
Lake Issikul
Lake Lob Nor
Lake Tali
Tsetsen-Khan
Tucheta-khan
Eastern Gobi
Western Gobi
Tarim Basin
Takla Makan
Ordos
Alashan
Tsaidam
Kuku Nor
Tarbagatai
Zangária
Altai
Celestial Mts
Thian Shan
Kuen Lun
Nan Shan
Yablonoi Mts
Stanovoi Mts
Khingan Mts
Bokhara
Kashgar
Yarkand
Khotan
Aksu
Kuchar
Turfan
Hami
Barkul
Urga
Kiakhta
Irkutsk
Chita
Nerchinsk
Albazin
Blagovestchensk
Khabarovsk
Nikolaevsk
Vladivostok
Peter the Great
Askold
Port Hamilton
Saghalien
Sungari
Amur
Ussuri
Liao ho
Hoang ho
Yang-tze-kiang
Si kiang
Min
Han
Tarim
Yarkand
Khotan
Aksu
Kuchar
Turfan
Hami
Barkul
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Nikolaevsk
Vladivostok
Peter the Great
Askold
Port Hamilton
Saghalien
Sungari
Amur
Ussuri
Liao ho
Hoang ho
Yang-tze-kiang
Si kiang
Min
Han
PEKING
Tientsin
Taku
Chefoo
Wei-hai-wei (Br.)
Kiao Chow (Germ.)
Port Arthur
Dalny
Newchwang
Korea
Gensan
Fusan
Seoul
Chemulpo
Quelpart
Nagasaki
Hiogo
Yokohama
Shimonoseki
Matsu-shima
Liaotung
Okinawa
Kerama Is.
Nafa & Shurt
Saki shima (Further Is)
Tamsui
Kilung
Tainan
Formosa
TAIWAN
Pescadores
Lisungkiao
Pratas
Amoy
Foochow
Swatow
Canton
Hong kong Brit.
Kwang chow B.
Hoihow
Gulf of Tong King
Haiphong
Pakhoi
Lungchow
Nanning
Kwei lin
Liuchow
Wuchow
Sunchow
Yochow
Changsha
Hengchow
Kweiyang
Yunnanfu
Talifu
Momein
Batang
Tachienlu
Batang
Bathang
Litang
Yachau
Kiating
Suifu
Chungking
Kweifu
Ichang
Shasi
Siangyang
Fancheng
Hingan
Yehyang
Hwaiking
Kaifung
Hwaiking
Hwai-ho
Yang-tze-kiang
Shanghai
Woosung
Nanking
Chinkiang
Soochow
Hangchow
Ningpo
Chusan
Yen chow
Kin hwa
Kiu kiang
Wuchang
Anking
Wuhu
Taiping
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Suifu
Chungking
Kweifu
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Shasi
Siangyang
Fancheng
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Yehyang
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Kaifung
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Hwai-ho
Yang-tze-kiang
Shanghai
Woosung
Nanking
Chinkiang
Soochow
Hangchow
Ningpo
Chusan
Yen chow
Kin hwa
Kiu kiang
Wuchang
Anking
Wuhu
Taiping
Ningkwo
Tatung
Kiukiang
Shaowu
Kienning
Yenping
Foochow
YELLOW SEA
(HWANG HAI)
EASTERN SEA
(TUNG HAI)
SOUTH CHINA SEA
(NAN HAI)
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SIAM
BHUTAN
TONG KING
Bay of Bengal
Mt. Everest
Mt. Godwin Austen
Mt. Kinchinjunga
Mt. Dhaulagiri
Mt. Gosainthan
Mt. Kailas
Mt. Kamet
Mt. Nanda Devi
Mt. Nun Kun
Mt. Tirich Mir
Mt. Ulugh Muztagh
Mt. Kuen Lun
Mt. Thian Shan
Mt. Altai
Mt. Celestial Mts
Mt. Yablonoi Mts
Mt. Stanovoi Mts
Mt. Khingan Mts
Mt. Nan Shan
Mt. Kuen Lun
Mt. Thian Shan
Mt. Altai
Mt. Celestial Mts
Mt. Yablonoi Mts
Mt. Stanovoi Mts
Mt. Khingan Mts
Mt. Nan Shan

Section II.—The Ch'ing Dynasty

CHAPTER XXXI

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The events that have taken place in China since the close of the XVI century must be regarded in the light of Modern Chinese History. They in fact form the most important and interesting part of China's History as a whole, and are largely the record of a people once held in abject submission by the Mongols and Chinese. These conquerors suddenly rose, threw off the veil of obscurity, attained to the height of their power, declined, and now promise to be lost among the masses of China. At the outset they knew nothing better than a tribal organization; but in these palmiest days, they ruled the largest empire, but one, known to Chinese history. The whole of China trembled at their feet, and many other Asiatic nations hastened to do them homage. Then followed a period of decline in their power, during which the forces of the East and the West were brought face to face in China. With the material development of the country, there came the intellectual awakening of the people. And to-day the very people, who constituted the aristocracy of yesterday, are but one of the many racial elements of the land. These are the Manchus.

Origin of the Term.—The term "Manchus" is of Tibetan, or Sanskrit, origin. The Tibetans were among the first to acknowledge the supremacy of the Manchus. In their correspondence with the early princes of the Manchus, the Tibetans were wont to call them "Manjusiri Tahuangti." If we may accept the definition as given by a Chinese work, known as Fan-i-ming-i (翻譯名義), or Sanskrit Terminology Explained, *Manjusiri* signifies Miao-chi-hsiang (妙吉祥), the most favored and lucky. The phrase employed by the Tibetans is, therefore, equivalent to "His Most Favored and Lucky Majesty." In time *Manju*, an abbreviation

of *Manjusiri*, was adopted for the name of the people whom the *Manjusiri Tahuangti* ruled.

Home of the Manchus.—*Manju* was first rendered in Chinese as 滿珠 (Man Chu), meaning a "Full Pearl." When it became necessary to give the land of *Manju* a Chinese name, the second character was changed from 珠 to 洲 (Chow), meaning a "continent," as the latter was certainly more consonant with the idea the name was intended to convey. Before long the earlier term was fogotten and Man Chow has come down to mean the people as well as their country. The Manchuria of the early days was a vast country of 450,000 square miles, extending from the Great Khingan Mountains to the sea and including the basin of the Amur. Much of this territory has since been ceded to Russia; some passing into her hands in 1689, and more in 1859-60. At present Manchuria comprises only the three Eastern Provinces of Fengtien, Kirin, and Heilungkiang. The country consisted originally of a number of petty principalities, taking their names from the neighboring rivers, or mountains, in which the country abounds. As will be told elsewhere, these numerous principalities were conquered one by one and welded into one kingdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meanwhile we shall give a brief sketch of the earlier people, who inhabited this vast country at different periods, although some references to them have already been made in the earlier volume.

Early Inhabitants of Manchuria.—About the time civilization began to take root in the Huang Ho Valley, Manchuria was peopled by a kindred race of the Hiengun, known as Tung Hu (The Eastern Huns). The Chinese annals state that in the 25th year of the reign of the Emperor Shun (帝舜), a certain nation, called Su-shên (肅愼), sent a friendly mission to China and presented the Chinese emperor with some bows and arrows, which, for centuries afterward, were regarded as the best models. It seems that even at a remote period the inhabitants of Manchuria were skilled in the use and manufacture of bows and arrows, and they themselves considered their workmanship good enough to be presented to the Son of

Heaven. How long it was before they learned to make better weapons than their brethren in the Huang Ho Basin, we cannot say. When the early Chou emperors had their throne in what is now Shensi province, their northern neighbors once more sent bows and arrows and other tribute to the Chinese Court. Their country, as was then described, was bounded on the north by the Amur, on the east by the Japan Sea, and on the south by the Chang-pai Mountains. In other words, the land of the Su-shên embraced the modern provinces of Kirin and Heilungkiang and that part of Russian territory bordering on the Japan Sea, of which Vladivostok is the chief port.

During the Later Han Dynasty, the exchange of missions between China and Manchuria was frequent. In writing of these missions, the Chinese historians used a new term, I Lou (挹婁), interchangeably with the other name of Su-shên. For example, they say southwest of the I Lou territory, that is the country north of the present city of K'aiyüan (開原), belonged to the Fu-yü (扶餘), while to the southeast the land of the Wo-chü (沃沮) was subdivided between the Northern, Southern and Eastern Tribes. Wo-chü, it seems, is the corruption for a Manchu word meaning "forests."

Seven Kingdoms of Mo-ho.—During the next two or three centuries, when China was divided between the Toba Tartars in the North and the Chinese in the South with the Yangtze for their dividing line, Manchuria shared a similar fate. In place of the old kingdom of Su-shên there sprang up seven independent states. The land of the tribes living on the banks of the Sungari River was known as Su-mo (粟末), after the old name of that river. On the north, Su-mo was bounded by Pai-to (伯咄部), which was in turn bounded on the northeast by Ankchuku (安車骨部). To the east of Ankchuku, there were two more states known as Funiap (拂涅部) and Hao-shih (號室部). The two remaining states occupied the valley of the Amur and the country at the foot of the Chang-pai Shan; hence they became known in Chinese annals as Hei-shui

(黑水) and Pai-shan (白山). All these tribes were collectively spoken of in the north as Wu-chi (勿吉), and in the south as Mo-ho (靺鞨).

The Kingdom of Pohai.—About 690 A.D., the Sungari tribes had an ambitious man named Tachuyin (大祚榮) for their chieftain, and under him the state of Su-mo expanded in every direction. In 713, the Emperor of China, for political reasons, conferred on Tachuyin the title of King of Pohai (渤海郡王). Thus in the stead of the old state of Su-mo, the kingdom of Pohai came into existence. Through subsequent conquests made by the immediate successors of the first king of Pohai, the limits of the kingdom were extended to the sea on the east, to Hsin-lo (新羅), or Corea, on the south, to the land of the Khitans (the eastern part of what is now Inner Mongolia) on the west, and to the Amur on the north. The kingdom was organized much after the pattern of the T'ang empire, with its central capital at the city of Hokhan (忽汗), near the present site of Ninguta (寧古塔). Besides this, Pohai had four other capitals, known as the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, 15 prefectures, and 62 chow or independent departments. By the time Apochi (阿保機) became the Emperor of the Khitan tribes, Pohai had reached the end of her national career. In 926 A.D., the Khitan soldiers entered Hokhan, and carried the surviving members of the ruling family, numbering no less than a thousand men and women, to Yenking, now known as Peking.

The Nü-chêns.—On the fall of Pohai, the Hei-shui tribes secured their independence and regained most of their original land in the Lower Amur region. As they remained outside of the Khitan influences they became known as uncivilized Nü-chêns, and their brethren in the Sungari valley, the vassals of the Khitans, the civilized Nü-chêns (熟女眞). Some Chinese historians think that the term, *Nü-chên*, is a corruption of the ancient name of Su-shên. In course of time the uncivilized Nü-chêns produced an able leader in the person of one Wukunai (烏古迺). Wukunai came from the Wanfu tribe which had its home in the basin of the Muhchuha (阿勒楚喀) river,

and so he bore the name of Wanyen (完顏). In 1038, the Emperor of the Liaos appointed Wukunai Viceroy of the uncivilized Nü-chêns. After his death the office that had been specially created became hereditary until Akuda, one of his descendants, appeared upon the scene. How Akuda founded the Aisin Koroh (愛新覺倫), or Chin Kuo (金國), how the Chins stepped into the shoes of the Khitans, and how they were finally driven out of China by the joint forces of the Mongols and the Chinese, has all been told in connection with the history of the Sung Dynasty. Between the fall of the Aisin Koroh and the rise of the Manchus, there was a period of four hundred years. During the first part of this period, the remnants of the Nü-chêns submitted to the Mongol yoke. When the Mings succeeded the Mongols in China, their authority never extended beyond a line formed by the cities of K'aiyüan (開原), T'ieh-ling (鐵嶺), Liaoyang (遼陽), Shênyang (瀋陽), Haich'ên (海城), and Kai-chow (蓋州). All the vast territory beyond this line, therefore, formed the cradle of the Manchu Nation. As the Chins had built an empire upon the ruins of the Pohai kingdom, so the Manchus in time founded one upon the ruins of the Nü-chêns.

Division of Periods.—We have now arrived at the beginning of the history of the Manchus. For convenient treatment their history may be divided into three periods:—

1. The Period of Up-Building.—During this time the petty principalities in Manchuria were amalgamated into one kingdom and the Manchus were firmly established upon the Dragon Throne in Peking. These events will carry us to the close of the seventeenth century.

2. The Period of Aggrandizement.—After the Manchus had taken possession of the Ming Empire and the Islands of Formosa and the Pescadores, there followed a period of aggrandizement. During this period the Manchu sway was extended into Sungaria, Tibet, and the Indo-China Peninsula. At the same time the empire reached its height of prosperity.

3. The Period of Decline.—After the death of Ch'ien Lung, the Manchu Empire entered upon her decline. His successors were all men of inferior ability who could neither govern wisely nor act with firmness. After a long train of civil wars and foreign aggressions, the house of Nurhachu was actually threatened with extinction. Then the imperial power fell into the hands of a woman who did much to alienate the love of the Chinese. With the coming of the foreigners from the West there also came a new light which taught the Chinese the necessity of union in order to free themselves from their oppressive yoke. Before the rolling tide of national indignation the Manchu power was at last overthrown.

FIRST PERIOD:—THE ERA OF DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER XXXII

THE UNIFICATION OF MANCHURIA

Early Legends of the Manchus.—Before the Nü-chêns were finally expelled from China, a certain Pukuli Yunsung Aisin Ghiorroh (布庫里雍順愛新覺羅) had founded at Omuhui (鄂謨輝) to the southeast of the Chang-pai Shan (長白山), a settlement, or village, to which he gave the name of Otoli (鄂多理). The early life of Pukuli is shrouded in obscurity, and legends have been busy in supplying what history does not afford. One legend has it that a maiden one day met an angel who gave her a red fruit and bade her eat it. She did as she was told, and in due course of time a child was born to her. To that child she gave the name of Aisin Ghiorroh. Three of Aisin Ghiorroh's neighbors were bent upon mutual destruction and were in quest of a leader. One day they saw a man on the bank of a river, and were much moved by his physique. That man was Aisin Ghiorroh himself. He told them that he was the child that had been born of a maiden, and they agreed to forget their feud and to make him their King, or Bere (貝勒).* As each of the these men was himself the chief of a small tribe, they had no trouble in building a new city for Aisin Ghiorroh and finding him a wife. The city they built was called Otoli and was situated on the bank of a river about 300 *li* southeast of Ninguta. Such is the legend that tells how Otoli was founded.

This picture depicts the legendary origin of the Manchu Imperial Family.

The legend says that while three fairies were bathing in a lake in Chang-pai Shan, a red fruit fell from a tree. One of the fairies ate the fruit, conceived, and gave birth to the founder of the Imperial Family.

*Manchu word, signifying chieftain.

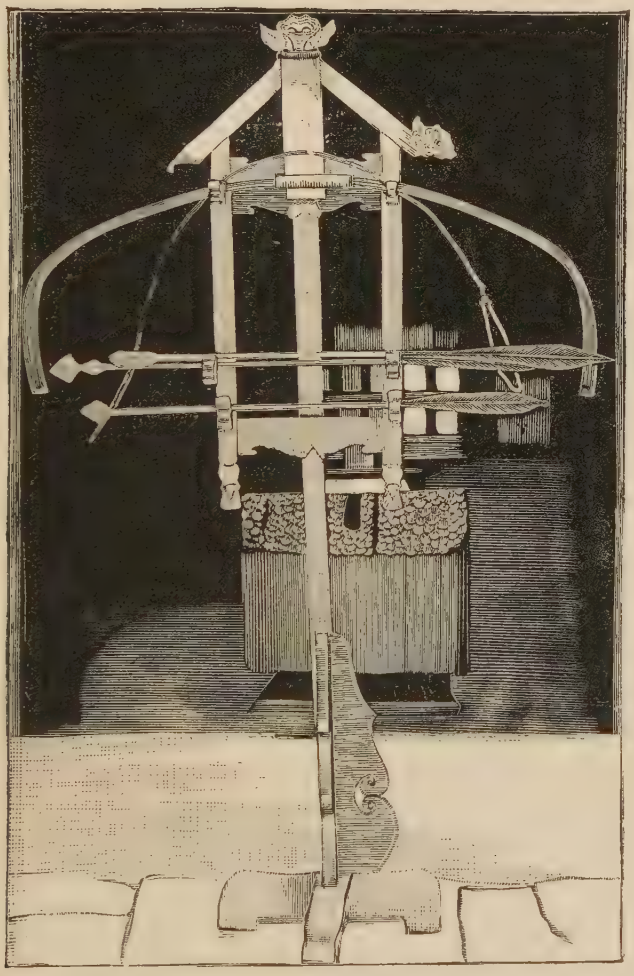
The rule of the house of Aisin Ghiorroh, however, was not destined to last long. The descendants of Pukuli were so weak that the people rose against them and had every one of the house butchered save one Fancha (范察), who, like the Kaidu (海都) of the

The Retinue of the First Tartar King

Mongolian legend, escaped into a wilderness. One of Fancha's descendants was Chaotsu (肇祖), the ancestor of the Manchus. Always bent upon revenge, Chaotsu one day enticed some forty of the old enemies of his house to a mountain* and caused half of them to be slain, and the remaining half to become his slaves. With these

* The Hulanhata, 呼蘭哈達.

new followers he settled at Hartu Ula,(赫圖阿拉), now better known by its Chinese name, Hsing Ching (興京). Hsingtsu (興祖), the great-grandson of Chaotsu, became in course of time the ruler of Hartu Ula, and in turn was succeeded by his fourth son, Chingtsu (景祖). Chingtsu had five brothers, each of whom had a walled



Bow and arrows used by the Second Tartar King

village or city of his own, situated within a radius of twenty *li* of Hsing Ching. It was not, however, until Nurhachu, the T'aitsu (太祖) of the late dynasty, appeared upon the scene, that the foundation of the future empire was firmly established.

As a matter of fact, very little is known of the early Manchus before Nurhachu, the second Jenghis Khan (成吉思汗). All we may accept as an unquestionable fact is that the Manchus belong to the same family that had given to the world the Wanyen Nü-chens (完顏女眞). For this, we have the authority of Emperor Ch'ien Lung (乾隆) (1736-1795). In an Imperial Decree dated the forty-second year of his reign, he says:—"The fact that 'Aisin' which forms part of our surname signifies in Manchu, 'gold', or 'golden', indicates that we belong to the same family as the Chin Yüan (金源). Our ancestors were the subjects of the Wanyens in the days of the Chin empire and now their descendants are our subjects." The emperor further informs us that the first name by which the land of "Our Ancestors" was denoted, was Chu-shên (珠申), which, in his opinion, was the corruption of the ancient name, Su-shên.

General Condition in Chu-shên or Manchuria.—With the rise of T'aitsu, we are on much safer ground, so far as historical facts are concerned. The date of his birth is generally given as the 38th year of the reign of the Emperor Chia Ching (嘉靖) of the Ming Dynasty, or A.D. 1559. Before we tell of the exploits of T'aitsu, let us study for a moment the following table, giving the the distribution of the scattered tribes of the old Nü-chên nation at that time.

DIVISIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

Divisions	Names	Locality
滿洲 MANCHU (5 TRIBES)	Sukusufu Ho 蘇克素護	Kienchow Wei 建州衛* East of Shênyang 瀋陽 and Liaoyang. 遼陽
	Hun Ho 渾河	
	Wanyen 完顏	
	Tungyo 棟鄂	
	Chechen 哲陳	
長白山 CHANG-PAI SHAN (3 TRIBES)	Noyin 訥殷	
	Chusiri 珠舍利	
	Yaluh 鴨綠	

* Wei signifies "garrison." All similar geographical names, such as Weihai Wei, etc., date from the Ming dynasty.

Divisions	Names	Locality
東海 渥集		野人衞
Tunghai or Wuchi (2 Tribes)	Warha 瓦爾喀 Kurha 庫爾喀	Yajen Wei
Hulun 扈倫 (4 Tribes)	Yehha 葉赫 Hata 哈達 Huifa 輝發 Wula 烏拉	海西衞 Haisi Wei, also known as Nan Kuan 南關 and Pei Kuan 北關

All these tribes were no longer nomadic but dwelt in cities, lived by hunting, and waged incessant wars among themselves. The four tribes, comprising the Hulun division, were by far the strongest of them all, and allied themselves with the Mings, forming outposts beyond the Chinese frontier. Their relationship to the Mings accounted for their conduct towards their southern neighbors, the Manchus, and finally led the latter to declare war against the Mings.

Murder of Chingtsu and Hsientsu.—About 1583, Nikan Weilan (尼堪外蘭), Chief of Tulun (圖倫) (Sukusufu Ho Tribe), some 560 *li* southwest of the present city of Kirin (吉林), showed signs of activity. He began to cast a longing eye on the neighboring city of Kulu (古哷), as it was then called, a city of strategic importance. Negotiations between him and the Earl of Ningyüan (甯遠) led the Mings to send him help, and the allies promptly laid siege to the city. Now the wife of the chief of the besieged city was a cousin of T'aitsu. Hearing that his grand daughter was in danger, Chingtsu, T'aitsu's grandfather, and her uncle, Hsientsu (顯祖), Nurhachu's father, hastened to the rescue of Kulu. The city stood a long siege. At last Nikan Weilan resorted to a strategem and succeeded in taking the whole garrison, who were murdered in cold blood together with Chingtsu and Hsientsu. When the news reached Nurhachu, then scarcely twenty-five years of age, he was wild with rage. When demanding an explanation from the Mings of the part they had taken in the tragedy, the Chinese officials disavowed the act and returned the remains of Chingtsu and Hsientsu. In order to further atone for

the misdeed on the part of their border officers, the Mings sent Nurhachu some thirty horses and other presents, together with a commission making him Tutu (都督) (military governor) of Kienchow Wei. This commission did not amount to much, for the Mings, as has been stated, never exercised actual control over the place.

Unification of the Five Tribes.—Satisfied that the Mings would not come to the aid of Nikan Weilan, Nurhachu led a small company of men to attack Tulun. The city was abandoned at his approach. Nor was Chiapan (嘉班) (110 *li* east of the present Ch'engté Hsien (承德縣)) to which Nikan Weilan had fled, in any better position to withstand the attacks of Nurhachu who followed upon the heels of his fleeing enemy. Nikan fled to the city of Fushun (撫順), a frontier city of the Mings, where he hoped the Chinese would give him a place of refuge. Finding that he could not rely upon the Chinese for protection, Nikan turned and fled to Oelkun (鄂勒琿), near what is now Tsitsihar (齊齊哈爾), and proceeded to fortify the city as strongly as the means at his command permitted.

The road to this city, it should be remarked, lay through territories of the Tungyo, Hun Ho, Chechen and Sukusufu tribes, none of whom favored the cause of Nurhachu. The latter was, therefore, obliged to punish these, before he could hope to reach Oelkun. This task occupied him two years, but in 1586 Nikan Weilan was once more forced to flee. Again he sought the hospitality of the Mings. This time he was received with apparent good-will, but only to be surrendered on demand to Nurhachu. In 1587 Nurhachu slew the Bere of the Chechen tribe in battle, and in the following year subdued the Wanyen, the last of the Manchu tribes to acknowledge his sway. With the whole of the Manchu realm consolidated, Nurhachu was in a position to carry on a vigorous campaign in the Haisi territory.

The War with the Allies.—Of the four tribes of Haisi Wei, the Yehha was the most powerful. Bere Nalinpulu (納林布

綠) of the Yehha, who had played the part of a leader, tried in 1589 to interfere with Nurhachu and to prevent his annexing the Yalu, one of the tribes of the Chang-pai Shan division. He demanded that Nurhachu should surrender part of the land to him; and on his refusal he collected a large army of 30,000 men and led them, in 1593, against Hsing Ching. Nine tribes* took part in this bold attempt; but it was a motley crowd, and no match for the well-disciplined soldiers of Nurhachu. On the summit of Tsahashan (札哈山), to the northwest of Hsing Ching, Nurhachu took up his position. Leaving the main body of his troops behind earthworks, he, at the head of only 100 men, fell upon the advance guard of the enemy, killed the younger Bere of Yehha, and routed a Mongol command under Bere Mingan (明安) of the Korchin (科爾沁) tribe. The rest of the enemy simply melted away. Some four thousand of the allies were left dead on the field, while among the prisoners taken was one Puchientai (布占泰), younger brother of the Wula Bere. The immediate result of this battle was that the two remaining tribes of the Chang-pai Shan division flocked to Nurhachu's standard. The year 1597 saw the belligerents at peace again; Nurhachu accepted the hand of the daughter of the younger Bere of the Yehha, whom he had slain in battle. Nalinpulu, the elder Bere, promised another princess to Nurhachu's second son, Bere Taishan (代善).

Conquest of Haisi Wei.—The peace thus patched up did not last long. When threatened by an invasion from the Yehha, the Bere of the Hata appealed to the Mings for help but without avail. He then turned to Nurhachu, who responded by sending a detachment of his best soldiers. Before these soldiers had time to arrive, however, Mengepulu (孟格布祿), the Hata Bere, suddenly changed his mind and made peace with the Yehha. His bad faith cost him his principality in 1601, when he himself became a prisoner in the hands of Nurhachu. The Mings naturally did not like to see their Nankuan, or Southern Pass,

*The Nine tribes included four of Haisi Wei, two of Chang-pai Shan and three Mongol tribes, Korchin (科爾沁), Shibe (錫伯), and Kualtsa (卦勒察).

fall into the hands of Nurhachu, and they protested. Nurhachu, being then too weak to ignore the demand of the great neighbor, restored the Hata principality to Mengepulu's son. But the Hata could never protect themselves against the aggressions of the Yehha; and, as the Mings would neither send them military aid or supplies, the people soon applied to Nurhachu for annexation. This was soon followed by the absorption of the Huifa in 1607 and the Wula in 1613, leaving only the Yehha, the Pei Kuan of the Mings, to dispute Nurhachu's authority. Nurhachu knew that so long as his enemy had a rich ally to furnish both men and arms, so long would Manchuria remain divided. He therefore declared war against the Mings in 1618, and was soon obliged to defend his own country against the overwhelming hordes of the enemy. It was not till 1619 that he was able to renew his efforts to subdue the Yehha. Left to themselves the Yehha soon succumbed; and in the fall of 1619 their last two strongholds were captured.* The campaign in the Haisi district was the most important of all, because the events that have been related led directly to the rupture between the Manchus and the Mings. In a certain sense, the conflict in this region afforded a training school for the Manchus, preparing them for a bloodier and more far-reaching struggle ahead of them.

Other Conquests in Manchuria.—While Nurhachu was busy with his plan for invading the Haisi district, he did not forget the land of the two tribes,—that vast country lying to the east of Ninguta. One of these tribes was the Warha whose home was in the Upper Usuri (烏蘇里) valley, with settlements scattered along the coast and as far south as the Hsien Ching district (咸鏡道) of Corea. Northwest of their land was the home of the Hurha tribe, whose settlements dotted all that part of the country watered by the Hurha river (瑚爾哈河). The first attempt to annex this territory was made in 1598, when under the command of Bere Chuying (褚英), eldest son of Nurhachu, the Manchus captured twenty stockades

*In one of them were found 1,000 Chinese soldiers who were put to death.

belonging to the Anchulaku Route (安楚拉庫路) of the Warha tribe. During the next half century the Manchu domain continued to grow at the expense of their eastern neighbors. Now by diplomacy, and now by coercion, Nurhachu and his son after him always succeeded in winning more people to their standards. It was not more land that the early princes of the Manchus stood in need of but more men, for theirs was a nation in arms. Before 1643, the Manchu sway had been extended not only over all the country between the mouths of the Amur and the Tumen,* but also over many islands in the sea, including Saghalien (薩哈連),† which, by virtue of the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905), was equally divided between Russia and Japan.

Canvas representation of walled town used at drill. (Birch)

The home of the Solun tribe (索倫), between the Amur and the Khingan Mountains, was never invaded during the lifetime of Nurhachu. It was not until 1635 that they opened

* Including the Dog-using 使犬 and Deer-using 使鹿諸部 tribes. These terms are self-explanatory. The former employs dogs, the latter deer, to draw their pali or sledges.

†On this island are the "very hairy" men (毛人), the Ainos of Japan (日本之倭人也).

communication with the Manchus by offering tribute. As they had long enjoyed the reputation of being skilful archers and horsemen, T'aitsung (太宗), who had succeeded to the throne of his father, enlisted them in his service. Frequent mutinies caused their land to be invaded by the Manchus and the Mongols in 1640-41. Since then they have accepted their fate, although they have remained a separate unit of the Manchu population. With the incorporation of the Soluns, all kindred tribes that had arisen since the days of the Khitans and the Chins, had been united into one nation.

Early Military and Political Organizations of the Manchus.—The Manchu army, as first organized by Nurhachu, consisted of Four Banners, distinguished by the color of their respective standards, as the Yellow, the Red, the Blue and the White. The unit of the army was the Niulu-yachen (牛彔額眞), or a captain's command of 300 men. It took five Niulu-yachen to form a Chala (甲喇), and five of the latter made up a Banner. When the army became larger, four additional banners were added. These were known as the Bordered Banners because their standards of yellow, white, blue, and red each had borders of another color. The yellow, white and blue were bordered with red; and the red, with white. Thus the so-called Eight Banners, the ground plan of the Manchu military organization, were formed. At a later date, the same organization was extended to the Mongols and Chinese who had joined their ranks. By the time the Manchus established themselves in China, there were Eight Banners each of the Manchus, Mongols and Chinese.

Whenever possible, the Eight Banners marched abreast of each other. On the battlefield, heavy infantry bearing long knives and spears formed the van, and these were closely followed by files of light armed archers on foot. As soon as the enemy showed the least sign of confusion before the immense shower of arrows, a regiment of cavalry, always held in readiness, dashed forward and completed

the rout. Each unit also carried two so-called "cloudy-ladders" (雲梯), manned by twenty soldiers, whose duty it was to scale walls and ramparts. No soldier was permitted to leave his captain's standard, and any one who received a wound while away from his post was entitled to no reward or pension.

A soldier. (Gorst)

The banner organization was also carried into political affairs. No laws for administrative purposes were known prior to 1587. In that year, the first laws against treason and robbery were proclaimed. The government then consisted of five Administrators, who formed the state council of the Manchu sovereign, assisted by ten lesser dignitaries known by their Mongolian title of Tsarkutsi (札爾固齊). All these officials were clothed with judicial as well as executive powers. Lawsuits were first heard before the Tsarkutsis, while the Councillors formed a court of appeal. The final appeal was, of course, to the monarch; but before a case could come up before him, it had to be heard by the Beres who constituted a sort of intermediate tribunal between the sovereign and the court of the Councillors. These institutions were undoubtedly adequate to the needs of a primitive nation.

In 1616, Nurhachu first adopted a dynastic name for his reign, and the term Manchu was first used for the nation. The name of his reign, which lasted till 1626, was T'ienming (天命) (Will of God). Thus it was by "divine right" that the first emperor of the Manchu Dynasty began to rule.

The Order of Baturu.—In the days when military titles were few, the order of Baturu (巴圖魯) (a Manchu word signifying "brave") was the most coveted military distinction among the

Manchus. This institution, dating from the war in the Haisi district, carried with it the privilege of wearing the peacock feather: and was conferred solely for active service in the field. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and more particularly since the Taiping Rebellion, this order has lost much of its significance. Whenever there was the least excuse, dozens of condidates were recommended to the Throne for the bestowal of the honor, although many of the recipients were by no means worthy of it.* Moreover it seldom happened during later days of the Manchu rule that the peacock feather, so lavishly bestowed upon the payment of a nominal sum of money, was not obtained previous to the bestowal of the Baturu. But in the early years of the late dynasty, no prince could obtain this reward of bravery without performing some brilliant feat of arms. The first recipient was the Bere Taishan (afterwards Prince of Li (禮)), second son of Nurhachu, who greatly distinguished himself in the battles of Haisi Wei.

As regards the peacock feather, it is stated that one of the successful Chinese generals† in the time of K'ang Hsi, preferred this mark of distinction to the second order of the Chinese Nobility, which had been bestowed on him in recognition of his services in connection with the conquest of Formosa (台灣).

The order of Baturu carried with it either a Chinese, or Manchu prefix (as Chiayung Baturu (嘉勇巴圖魯), or Feilinko Baturu (斐凌阿巴圖魯)), the latter being considered the more honorable.

* Nearly all the Chinese commanders who took part in the naval battle of the Yalu had had the Baturu conferred on them, although the first active service they saw was that battle, which sent so many of them to their grave of disgrace. Scores of other instances may be cited to show that the order had been conferred on cowards rather than on "braves."

†This was Marquis Silang (施琅), a native of Fukien. He had been a Minister of the Inner Department (內大臣), which office carried with it the right of wearing the feather, but upon receiving an appointment outside of the Capital, as was then the custom, he was deprived of the distinction, which belonged to his former office. When he offered to resign his commission as Marquis for this honor, it was of course given him in addition thereto.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MANCHUS AND THE MINGS

War of Liao Tung

Relative Strength of Manchuria and China.—In point of area, population, and resources, the little country of Manchuria, the Kingdom of Nurhachu, could hardly compare with China. The Mings could have literally flooded that kingdom with warriors at any time, and they were better armed. China Proper was separated from Nurhachu's country by the valley of the Liao, every inch of which must be conquered before the Manchus could expect to reach the gateway of China. The frontier towns were all strong positions, and above all there was the mighty fortress of Shanhaikuan. This has no military value now; but in those early days it was well nigh impregnable. After twenty-eight years of incessant warfare the Manchus were not able to take it. Had the Mings taken timely measures to check the expansions of their enemies, the Manchu empire might never have been heard of. The whole struggle was a case of suicide on the part the Mings.

To their everlasting disgrace, their government was helpless in the hands of the eunuchs*, before whom loyalty and bravery had to hide their heads. The long struggle is divided into two stages. The first stage was the War of Liao Tung, or the Region East of the Liao.

Declaration of War: "The Seven Hates," or Grievances.—Notwithstanding the relative strength of the nations, Nurhachu was ready to declare war against his mighty neighbor. So long as the Mings interfered in Manchurian affairs,† he could never hope to make himself the ruler of a united Manchu nation. He had raised his army to the strength of 40,000 men and know that his troops

*According to Emperor K'ang Hsi, their number at that time reached the high water-mark of 100,000.

†The Mings kept Yehha supplied with men and firearms.

were equal to the best soldiers that the Ming emperor could send against him. But revenge always sounds better than ambition or policy, and Nurhachu took care to prepare a proclamation setting forth his grievances against the Mings. The remarkable document became known as the Seven Hates, which are given below.

(1) "Though my ancestors never took a straw from, nor hurt an inch of earth within the Chinese boundary, the Chinese were unceasingly quarreling with, and without just cause abetting my neighbors to the great injury of my forefathers.

(2) "Notwithstanding such injuries, it was still my desire to be on friendly terms with the Chinese Emperor; and I therefore set up at the boundary line a stone slab on which was engraved an oath to the effect that whoever crossed the frontier, whether Manchu or Chinese, must suffer instant death, and that if any man aided the trespasser in escaping, he should himself suffer death instead. This oath was disregarded by the Chinese when soldiers came to aid Yeho.

(3) "At Nan Kiangan and Beihai, on the Ching Ho, the Chinese have crossed the river every year, plundering all around, regardless of consequences. I carried out my oath to the letter, and slew as many as were seen on our side of the river. Thereupon the Chinese annulled the treaty between us, reproached me with murder and at our very border murdered my ambassador to Kuangning with his nine attendants.

(4) "The Chinese crossed the frontier to aid Yeho, and thus compelled men and women who were our subjects to return to Mongol allegiance.

(5) "For many generations we have tilled the lands along the Chai river and along the tripartite roads of Foongan Mountain pass. The Chinese soldiers came and drove away the reapers when they went to gather in the harvest.

(6) "Though Yeho sinned against Heaven, you continued to listen to their lies and sent me a messenger with a letter, upbraiding me, railing at and abusing me without restraint, and causing me unspeakable pain.

(7) "Hada of old assisted Yeho in battling against me, who had only my own resources on which to rely. Heaven gave me Hada. You of the Ming supported his followers causing them to return to their own homes. But Hada was afterwards frequently attacked and robbed by this same Yeho. If these small kingdoms had obeyed the will of Heaven, they could have remained and prospered; but disobeying the will of Heaven they had to be broken and destroyed. Can you preserve those appointed to die? I took Hada's men; do you still desire to restore them? You are a prince of Heaven's appointment. You are the sole Emperor of all under Heaven; why do you envy me the possession of my small kingdom? When the Hoolun kingdoms gathered against me to destroy me, Heaven abandoned them and aided me, because they fought against me without a cause. At that time you aided Yeho against me, and thus ran counter to the will of Heaven; you reversed my right and his wrong, and thus delivered an unjust judgment.

"For all these reasons I hate you with an intense hatred, and now make war upon you."

We give the text of the document in full because it gives a *résumé* of the relations that had existed between the two nations prior to the year 1618. Instead of sending the declaration of war to the Ming emperor, Nurhachu caused it to be burned, so as to inform Heaven and Earth of the justice of his cause.

Battle of Fushun and Capture of Chingho.—The invading army numbered twenty thousand men. One detachment captured Tungchow (東州) and Mahatan (嗎哈丹); but the main force consisting of the Four Banners of the Left Wing, commanded by Nurhachu in person, advanced on Fushun (撫順), the farthest outpost of the Mings to the east of Shinyang. The Mings, unprepared for the invasion, offered no resistance. The garrison of Fushun surrendered and the city was razed to the ground. When the Brigadier-General of Kuangning, Chang Ch'êng-ying (張承蔭), came at the head of 10,000, it was too late for him to save the city. In the course of the battle which ensued, a heavy

sand-storm rose and threw the Chinese into such confusion that they were routed*, and their commander and several officers were slain. Following up his advantage Nurhachu laid siege to the city of Chingho (清河), and rejected all overtures for peace. After some weeks the city was captured and its garrison and inhabitants, numbering no less than 20,000 men, women and children, were massacred by the ruthless Manchus. Having crippled the Ming power, the Manchus promptly returned to deal a fatal blow to the Yehhas.

The Mings Take the Offensive.—The fall of Fushun and Chingho tended to open the eyes of the Mings to the new danger to which their empire was now exposed. They resolved to destroy the power of Nurhachu once for all by throwing four armies, each of 60,000 men, into Manchuria.

The first army was to march into Manchuria through the Fushun Kuan (撫順關), or Pass; the second, through the Yahu Kuan (鴉鶻關), or Pass; while the third and the fourth, assisted by the Yehha and the Corean auxiliaries, were to enter by way of Sanchakou and Hughuangchen, respectively. The execution of this plan of invasion was entrusted to a man named Yang Ho, with the title of Field Marshal (經略). Thus before Nurhachu could complete the conquest of Yehha, he was suddenly called upon to defend his own territory.

Battle of Sarhsu.—To permit the four Chinese armies to effect their union meant sure destruction. The Manchus must single out the different sections, take them by surprise, and give them no time to come to the help of one another. That was the only way they could hope to save themselves, and no one knew it better than Nurhachu himself. He could bring into the field only 60,000 men. But these men were better trained, knew their country better, and realized that their national existence was at stake. They also knew Nurhachu, and were ready to

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*Both Fushun and Chingho had been previously opened to barter trade with the Manchus.

carry out his orders. Nothing of the kind could be said of any of the divisions of the Mings. In each of their division there was a eunuch who knew nothing about war and who did everything he could to interfere with the free exercise of judgment on the part of the commander. None of the commanders seems to have taken measures to provide himself with the necessary means of communicating with his colleagues.

The division that Nurhachu decided to engage first was the one under the command of General Tu Sung. This general was more brave than wise. Determined that none of his comrades should share with him the honor of annihilating the enemy, whom he had always looked down upon with contempt, he marched more rapidly than any of them. He had no time to wait for boats to cross the Hun Ho, but ordered his soldiers to ford it. It is stated that by so doing many of his men were either drowned or left behind. Having gained the other bank of the Hun Ho, Tu Sung entrenched himself on Sarhsu (薩爾滸), a hill about 30 miles west of Hsingching. Here he further weakened his army by leading 20,000 of his men to lay siege to the town of Jiehfan, where the Manchus had fifteen thousand workmen laying out a new city, and a garrison of but 400 men. After having sent away 15,000 troops under his sons, to strengthen the garrison at Jiehfan, Nurhachu attacked the enemy's position on the Sarhsu Hill with his main force of 45,000 men. The battle began in the afternoon, and at nightfall the issue was still undecided, as both sides were determined to gain the victory or die. But in the darkness the torches of the Mings brought about their own destruction. Every arrow of the Manchus told on the enemy. The bullets that the Mings shot into the darkness, did but little damage. The battle of Sarhsu resulted in a complete victory for the Manchus. Nor was the detachment saved. Before Tu Sung succeeded in dislodging the Manchus from Chilingyen (吉林崖), an eminence on which they had entrenched themselves, he was attacked by the relieving

column with a heavy slaughter, and lost his own life. Thus was the first division of the Mings received and annihilated.

Defeat of the Other Divisions.—The third division was next engaged. Marching northward from the Sarhsu hill, Nurhachu found this division on Shanchienyen (山間崖), a short distance below T'iehling (鐵嶺), where two detachments of 10,000 men each were so entrenched as to have their rear protected. Nurhachu first engaged and defeated one of these detachments, and then the main body, leaving its commander, Ma Lin (馬林), with a handful of men, to fall back on K'aiyüan (開原). The Yehha soldiers upon hearing of the disaster, promptly withdrew into their own borders. Meanwhile the fourth division had captured some roadside stockades and was within a short distance of Hsingching. With consummate strategy, Nurhachu sent a few prisoners of war with a message purporting to come from Tu Sung to Liu Ting (劉綎), the commander of the 4th division, telling him to advance without delay. As the message said that Tu Sung had already begun operations, Liu Ting, who was completely deceived, advanced into the trap laid for him. At the foot of the Aputali (阿布達里) Hill, he was met by the soldiers of the fourth Bere, afterwards the T'aitsung (太宗) of the Manchus. In the thick of the battle, a detachment of soldiers was observed to arrive from the west. To all appearance they were true Chinese soldiers, dressed in Chinese uniforms and carrying the Chinese colors; and the Mings naturally took them for their friends. It was not until these supposed friends were in the midst of the Chinese that their true character was revealed. They were Manchus, the picked soldiers of the Bere Taishan. The confusion among the Chinese was beyond description. Liu Ting and most of his officers and men were slain, the general that brought up the rear was put to flight, and the one in command of the Coreans surrendered.

The second division of the Mings never saw the Manchus. It received an order to retreat and its commander, Li Ju-pai (李如柏), promptly obeyed. Inside of six days, Nurhachu had thwarted the scheme of the Mings by defeating three of their four divisions.

Instead of being destroyed, the Manchus emerged from the first stage of the struggle stronger than ever. Giving his men little or no rest, Nurhachu led his victorious army to K'aiyüan and T'iehling, both of which were easily captured. As told in the last chapter, the annexation of the Yehha country followed.

Causes of the Defeat.—The Chinese had no one but themselves to blame for their defeat. Each of their divisions would have been more than a match for the Manchus, if they had been led by able officers. They had firearms and allies while the Manchus none. There was absolutely no excuse for the failure to establish means of communication between the different divisions both for support and information. Ordinary precautions and a few scouts might have saved every one of the divisions from destruction. The Yehhas, who were in every respect like the Manchus and spoke their tongue, were still loyal to the Mings. They might have been too demoralized to take the field against the Manchus. Yet there was no reason why they should not have been employed to advantage by the Chinese so as better to inform themselves concerning the nature of the country. The Mings were outgeneraled at every turn, and their campaign was badly managed from beginning to end. It was the first and last supreme effort of the Mings to subdue the Manchus. Huang Tao-chow*, in commenting upon this campaign, said: "Kienchow" (建州) is but a little country, dependent upon Fushun and Chingho for food supplies. The fact that the Manchus made no attempt to hold these cities when they fell into their hands shows that their ambition went no further than their own border. With all the stockades along the line restored to good condition and garrisoned by a strong force, and with a flying column to harass and prevent the Manchus from sowing and harvesting, whenever possible, we could have dictated terms to the enemy. Instead of all this, we sent the flower of our

*Grand Secretary Huang Tao-chow (黃道周) who afterwards became the Prime Minister of Jang Wang, when the Mings made a desperate effort to hold Fukien Province against the conqueror.

army .... into an unknown country; and, besides, placed in the hands of the enemy an immense store of much needed provisions and military supplies! .... Who is to blame?" It is computed that the total losses of the Chinese during the campaign amounted to 310 general officers and 45,000 common soldiers.

Hsiung Ting-pi.—The incompetent Yang Ho was, immediately after the disaster, superseded by General Hsiung Ting-pi (熊廷弼). The new generalissimo was a man of ability and busied himself in restoring the discipline of the army, in establishing a long line of defence, and in organizing a roving army. In spite of a severe earthquake, an intensely cold winter, and other difficulties, he succeeded in gathering an army of 180,000 men. That was about all a man could do under the circumstances. Yet he was accused of inaction, and told to give his place to a civilian and man of letters, named Yang Ying-t'ai.

Capture of Shênyang and Liaoyang.—With the removal of General Hsiung, Nurhachu was ready to resume his aggressions on Chinese soil. He had marked the city of Shênyang as his next objective. That city was defended by deep moats and new firearms, recently obtained from the Portuguese, and much superior to those of native make hitherto used by the Mings. Nurhachu would not risk his men where these weapons were mounted on the wall, and could be employed to such advantage. By degrees he induced the brave commander of the garrison to leave the shelter of the strong fortress and accept battle in the open. Through his own rashness, the Chinese general fell into an ambush and was completely defeated. On his return he found to his surprise that the bridges across the moat had been withdrawn by some Mongols and Manchu spies. Unable to gain the shelter of the wall, Ho Shih-hsien (賀世賢), for such was the general's name, and the remnant of his army all perished by the swords of the victors who came up at their heels. Shortly before the war, thousands of Mongols had been driven by a severe famine to beg bread from the Mings. It was through the efforts of

these Mongols, whom Ying T'ai* against the advice of his officers had permitted to settle in Shênyang and the surrounding country, that Nurhachu now came into possession of the first stronghold which might have kept the Manchus at bay for an indefinite time. The Mings sent several armies to recapture the lost city but they were repulsed. They, or more particularly, the Chekiang soldiers under Colonel T'ung Chung-kuei (童仲貴), fought very desperately, and with the firearms recast by the Jesuit missionaries after the Portuguese pattern, did good execution. Finally when their powder was exhausted they were attacked by an overwhelming force of the Manchus—about three to one—and butchered.

Liaoyang, the headquarters of the generalissimo, was a city of still greater importance; but it was defended by a general who was no more sagacious than the commander at Shênyang. Yang Ying-tai, in fact, made the same blunder by leading his men out to fight the Manchus in the open. Badly defeated, he shut himself up in the city with a disheartened garrison, until despair made him commit suicide. A city without its head was then easily taken. As Nurhachu entered the city, the people testified their submission by burning incense in front of their houses. With the fall of Liaoyang, Haichêng (海城), Kaiping (蓋平), Chin-chow (金州), Fu-chow (復州), numbers of† smaller towns in Liaotung were either abandoned or surrounded, and before long the whole region of Liaotung was added to the kingdom of Nurhachu.

Mukden becomes the Capital of Manchuria. Nurhachu at first thought of building a new city, about 5 *li* east of the old city, for his "Eastern Capital." He had actually given orders to that effect when he suddenly discovered the superior position of Shênyang,

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*Ying T'ai was desirous that these Mongols should not join the Manchus. But as soon as the Mongols found themselves comfortable in the midst of the Chinese, they took possession of their wives and daughters, and the Chinese authorities were too timid to enforce law and order. For this, Ying T'ai was held responsible, and, as a matter of fact, the inhabitants preferred the rule of the Manchus to that of their weak generalissimo.

†Said to be more than 70.

which commanded the roads to Peking, Mongolia, and Corea. The orders for the laying out of a new city were promptly rescinded, and Shênyang under its Manchu name of Mukden (which has been translated into Chinese as Shengking), became the seat of the rising dynasty until the Manchus came into China. It took the Manchus four years to put up the necessary palaces and court buildings, and so Mukden was not occupied as a capital until 1625. All this time Nurhachu made Liaoyang the base of his operations against the Mings.

Imperial Palace in Mukden

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE MANCHUS AND THE MINGS

(*Continued*)

War of Liaohsi

Return of Hsiung Ting-pi to Power.—The loss of Liaotung restored General Hsiung to power, though his glory was again of brief duration. He proposed to concentrate a strong force at Kuangning (廣寧), and to organize two powerful fleets, one at Têng Chow (登州) and the other at Tientsin (天津). He thought that the land forces thus concentrated would be strong enough to check the further advance of the Manchus, while the fleets to be built up would be employed to harass the coast of Liaotung. Inasmuch as the Manchus were not sailors, this plan, if successfully carried out, would at least oblige them to break up their camp in order to defend their own coast line. At each of the three points mentioned, there was to be stationed a governor subject to the orders of the generalissimo, who was to take up his residence at Shanhaikuan (山海關). Hsiung Ting-pi's proposal has come to be known as the "Triple Defense Plan" (三方布置策).

Insubordination of Wang Hua-chên; Fall of Kuangning.—Wang Hua-chên (王化貞), the governor of Kuangning, however, did not like the policy of his generalissimo. Although a subordinate officer he was a favorite of the powerful eunuchs at Peking. He informed his friends that with 60,000 men he could destroy the Manchu power once for all; and tried to give himself all the credit for the re-capture of a small and unimportant town east of the present city Fêng Huang Ch'êng (鳳凰城), by Major Mao Wên-lung (毛文龍). Major Mao had, on the fall of Liaotung, escaped into Pitao (皮島), an island in the Gulf of Liaotung, now known under its modern name of Haiyangtao (海洋島), and had led frequent raids into places along the coast. When the news of the re-capture reached Peking, the friends of the governor ridiculed the scheme of the generalissimo as evidence of incompetency and cowardice.

Hua-chên remained master of the whole situation and could do what he pleased, whether the generalissimo would or not. It was he, and not General Hsiung, who was in command of the larger army.

The insubordination of Hua-chên soon turned out to be a very expensive matter for the Chinese. Nurhachu, taking advantage of the dissension among the Chinese commanders, crossed the Liao in 1622: and after a brief siege took the town of Si Ping Pao about three miles west of the river. Wang Hua-chên then sent his lieutenant, Sun Tê-kung (孫得功), with the major portion of his army to recapture the town. The sight of the Manchus at Pingyangch'iao (平陽橋) was sufficient to put Sun Tê-kung into such a flight that he did not stop until he was safe within the city of Kuangning. His example was of course followed by all his men. Instead of punishing him, Hua-chên was deceived by his representations, with the result that Kuangning was actually abandoned to its fate two days before the arrival of the Manchus. General Hsiung found the governor of Kuangning on the bank of Talingho (大凌河). Not only had he failed to destroy the Manchu power, but had also lost his city, army and every thing he had, save two slaves who had followed him on foot all the way from the deserted city of Kuangning. As the generalissimo had but 5,000 men, there was but one thing he could do, and that was to fall back upon Shanhaikuan. Not wishing to leave the military stores for the benefit of his enemy, he set fire to them before he retreated with Hua-chên behind the Great Wall. For this disaster, Hua-chên and his friends in Peking alone were responsible. Nevertheless, the eunuchs finding themselves powerless to save the life of their protegé took revenge upon General Hsiung and caused him to be executed several months before the real culprit. Patriotism had to hide its head before eunuchs or suffer itself to be led to the scaffold.

The City of Ningyüan.—The tide of Manchu conquest having rolled across the Liao River, the question with the Mings now was whether they should abandon all territory beyond Shanhaikuan, or fortify the city of Ningyüan (寧遠). One of the strong advocates of the latter plan was Yüan Ch'ung-huan (袁崇煥), then a district

magistrate. As General Wang Ts'ai-chin, the immediate successor of Ting-pi, did not favor his plan, the question was finally referred to Peking, when Grand Secretary (大學士) Sun Ch'êng-tsung (孫承宗) was sent out from Peking to make an investigation, which resulted in the adoption of Yüan's plan. In time Sun himself became the successor of Wang Ts'ai-chin, and under him and Yüan Ch'ung-huan the work of fortifying Ningyüan was prosecuted with vigor. The city walls were strengthened, European cannon were mounted and a respectable army of 100,000 was raised. A line of outer defence was also erected, and 5,000 *mow* of land were brought under cultivation as a military fief (屯田) for the support of the soldiers, in addition to large quantities of military stores accumulated in Chio Hua Tao (覺華島), an island on the coast of Liaotung. The Manchus made no efforts to interfere, partly because they were engaged with the laying out of palaces and other buildings in Mukden, and partly because Mao Wên-lung was giving them trouble on the Yalu. This lull in the war was employed by the Chinese to restore the confidence of the army and to part of the territory of Liaohsi.

The Battle of Ningyüan.—Like his predecessor, General Hsiung, Sun Ch'êng-tsung was not a favorite of the eunuchs. He was* made to resign in 1625, and his removal once more gave Nurhachu an opportunity to bring his warriors across the Liao. To his great dismay, the stronghold of Ningyüan stood in his way, Yüan Ch'ung-huan would neither evacuate it to please his new generalissimo, Kao Ti (高第), nor come out of it to accept battle. The European guns were especially to be feared, for they simply swept away the Manchus. As many times as the brave soldiers had the courage to come within their range they were repulsed. Their "cloudy ladders" were useless in face of the murderous fire, and every attempt to breach the wall was a failure.

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*After the death of Yüan Ch'ung-huan, Sun was restored to his command but was again dismissed at the instance of the eunuchs. Kao Ti thought it more expedient to concentrate his forces at Shanhaikwan. Every station beyond Shanhaikuan, with the exception of Ningyüan, was therefore abandoned.

After three days of tremendous sacrifice of life, Nurhachu hesitated to renew the assault. Never before had he acknowledged defeat. It was both the first and last time in his life that he did so.

Death of Nurhachu.—For days Nurhachu was unhappy. He fell sick at Mukden and died in September 1626, only a couple of months after his return from Ningyüan. He died when he was sixty-eight years old and left his throne to the 4th Bere, who has come to be known as T'aitsung. At twenty-five, Nurhachu's principality was not larger than a good-sized village of the present day; but before his death he had welded all the different sections of his people into one powerful nation. To him the Manchus owed their greatness. To his generalship, which easily entitles him a place among the great military leaders of the world, he added the wisdom of a first-class statesman. John Ross says of him, "Revenge made him a soldier, abilities a general, the stupidity of his opponents a conqueror, and wisdom a ruler and founder of a dynasty." *

Boulger, another foreign writer of Chinese history, pays a no less complimentary tribute to him. He says: "In many respects he accomplished for the Manchus what Jenghis did for the Mongols. It was not his fault if his sphere was a smaller one and more circumscribed. The credit of having emancipated himself from it may, indeed,† have been all the more conspicuous: and it certainly seems that Nurhachu achieved a great exploit when he extended his sway from a small valley of a few square miles over a vast territory, including two Chinese, or quasi-Chinese, provinces, and stretching from the Great Wall to the Amur. If much of his extraordinary success must be attributed to the blunder and folly of his opponents, cannot almost the same be said of every conqueror from the days of

* John Ross' "The Manchus."

† Indeed, he abhorred the idea of ruling China. His ancestors, the Nü-chêns, had been ruined simply because of their residence in China, and he was resolved that the mistake should not be repeated. For this, we have the authority of T'aitsung which has often been quoted by subsequent emperors to warn their people against adopting the effeminating customs of the Chinese.

Alexander to those of Napoleon? Nurhachu had the strength of will, seldom given to mortals, to know when to stop. His victories are not more remarkable than the vigor with which he consolidated his authority in the new possessions that fell into his power. He built up the edifice of his empire step by step, and his successors had to thank him that he sank its foundations very deep in the affections of his own people, and in the possession of a well-trained and valiant army."

Peace Negotiations.—Ch'ung-huan's success in rolling back the wave of invasion at Ningyüan made him a national hero. The Peking government thought so much of him that they abolished for a time the office of generalissimo in order to leave him supreme in command, and at the same time raised him to the rank of a governor. Ch'ung-huan wished to restore the fortifications at Chinchow (錦州) to the north, and those of the surrounding country. It was to his interest that the Manchus should not attack him for sometime. To this end, he secured the services of a lama and sent a message of condolence from Ningyüan to Mukden. The message was received with apparent goodwill. The truth was that the new ruler of the Manchus was contemplating an invasion of Corea, and did not want his enemy to harass his country in his absence. Consequently the friendly mission sent by Ch'ung-huan marked the opening of peace negotiations. But neither side was sincere in desiring peace; both sought to gain time.

The terms demanded by the Manchus were as follows:—

1. That the Mings should pay them 100,000 teals of gold, 1,000,000 teals of silver, 1,000,000 pieces of satin, and 10,000,000 pieces of cloth, as the price of peace; and continue to send gold, silver, satin and cloth at the end of each year thereafter, for which they would agree to send, in return, furs, pearls, and ginseng.

2. That all territory east of the Liao should remain Manchu, while that west of Shanhaikuan should continue Chinese, and in the neutral territory of Liaohsi between them, no city was to be fortified by the Chinese.

3. That in all official correspondence, "Neither should the Ming Emperor be raised to the same height as Heaven, nor his Ministers of State, to the same honor as the Manchu emperor."

In other words, instead of demanding terms of equality in official correspondence, the Manchus only wished to secure terms of less glaring unequality.

The conditions named by the Mings were certainly no less exacting. They included the return of all land and prisoners of war that the Manchus had taken, and a promise to keep out of Corea and Corean affairs. Under the circumstances, no understanding was possible, but much valuable time was thus gained, and finally both governments once more declared themselves ready for war.

Renewal of Hostilities.—By the middle of 1627, the war cloud again burst. The Manchus had returned victors from Corea, and the Mings had completed their defense at Chinchow. An army of Manchus, intoxicated with their recent success in Corea, made their appearance before Chinchow only to be repulsed. Chinchow, indeed, was as impregnable as Ningyüan, and the very first attack T'aitsung made on the Mings proved a complete failure.

Advance upon Peking; Removal of Yüan Ch'ung-huan.—So long as Yüan Ch'ung-huan remained in Liaohsi, the Manchus were unable to secure permanent foothold on the west side of the Liao. He had to be removed before T'aitsung could hope to realize his plan. Once he was removed, but on the death of Wei Chung-hsien, the all-powerful eunuch, he was reinstated. Avoiding the scenes of his last defeat, T'aitsung, in 1629, led an army through the territory of the Korchin (科爾沁) Mongols who had long been his allies. Having made a breach through the Great Wall at Hsifengkou (喜峯口), the Manchus invaded China and captured the city of Tsunhua (遵化). From this point they marched due west, met with little or no resistance, and, coming down from Shunyi (順義), encamped before the Tesheng (Northern) Gate (德勝門) of Peking. The capital of the Mings

was in danger. As the news travelled far and wide, reinforcements poured into Peking from different parts of the empire. By a forced march Yüan Ch'ung-huan, now Field Marshal in Liaohsi, also brought up an army before the Kuangch'ü (Eastern) Gate (廣渠門). Without any apparent reason, T'aitsung retired with his men to Nanyüan (南苑), the Imperial Hunting Park. Among the Manchu prisoners of war there were two eunuchs. Within their hearing T'aitsung caused it be said that his retreat had been made in pursuance of a secret agreement with Yüan, which would eventually put the Manchus in possession of the Imperial City. These eunuchs being allowed to escape the next day, went directly into the palace and informed the Emperor Ch'ung Chên (崇禎) of what they had overheard. The Emperor believed every word of the story, and without any ceremony he deprived Yüan Ch'ung-huan of his command and put him in prison, from which he never emerged except to lose his head by the executioner's axe.

Meanwhile a company of Manchus had penetrated as far south as Ku An (固安) and Liang Hsiang (良鄉). Upon their return they routed one body of Chinese soldiers at Lukouch'iao (盧溝橋), and another before the Yung Ting (Southern) Gate (永定門) of Peking. Instead of storming the city, however, they turned in the direction of Tungchow (通州) and looted the principal towns between that city and Shanhaikuan. Pursued by an overwhelming force, they dared not remain long on Chinese soil, but retreated through Lêngk'oukuan (冷口關) into Mongolia and thence into Manchuria.

For a long time afterwards many reasons were advanced by Chinese historians to account for the withdrawal of the Manchus from before the Yung Ting Gate. The explanation, as given by Emperor Ch'ien Lung, was very simple. As Shanhaikuan was still in the hands of the Mings, the Manchus were too far away from their base. Besides, the road between their home and Peking was at the mercy of hostile neighbors, the Chahar,* who

*The Chahar Mongols.

were Mongols in the service of the Mings. Under these circumstances, a slight reverse might mean utter destruction, and no wise general would risk his chances before such a strong city. Apart from the removal of General Yüan, and the plunder they carried home, the bold advance on Peking brought the Manchus no material advantage. The small garrisons they left behind them at several points of strategic importance were one by one ousted by overwhelming odds.

Murder of General Mao Wên-lung (1629).—Before the arrival of the Manchus at Peking, the Mings had lost an able officer in the murder of General Mao Wên-lung.* He was murdered by agents of Yüan Ch'ung-huan almost immediately upon the latter's resumption of power. The explanation he gave to Peking for his strange conduct was that General Mao was not loyal to the cause of the Mings, an accusation that was not borne out by the facts. This cruelty on the part of Yüan Ch'ung-huan, it is stated, had the effect of poisoning the mind of his emperor against him, and constituted one of the reasons why he was later thrown into prison without an investigation. As we shall presently see the murder of Mao Wên-lung wrought no small consequence to the Ming cause.

Fall of Port Arthur and the Islands along the Coast of Liaotung (1633-1637).—The disaster that General Yüan had brought upon himself through his own cruelty, was nothing compared with what his country had to suffer afterwards. Upon the death of Mao Wên-lung, two of his sub-lieutenants, Kêng Chung-ming and K'ung Yu-tê, deserted and went over to the Manchus. In 1633 they led the Manchus to capture Port Arthur. Upon its fall, Shang K'o-hsi, another lieutenant of Mao and commander of Kuanglutao (廣鹿島), capitulated. The

*Towards the close of 1629 Yüan was removed by Wei Chung-hsien (魏忠賢), the all-powerful eunuch. Upon the accession of Ch'ung Chêng in the following year, Wei was sentenced to death and Yüan appointed Generalissimo at Shanhaikuan. General Mao called to pay his respects to the Generalissimo and on a given signal was seized and executed.

capture of Pitao, the last of the islands that had so long resisted the efforts of the Manchus since the taking of Liaotung, then followed. All these men became the most faithful servants of the Manchus, who, in consideration of their services, made them their princes when they came into China.*

The Battle of Chang Shan (1631).—This battle is interesting in that the Manchus for the first time in their history employed firearms against the Mings. It was from the Chinese prisoners of war that they had learned how to make cannon. The battle was brought about by T'aitsung's making a fresh attempt to capture Chinchow (錦州). This was no more successful than his first effort, although the Manchus succeeded this time in destroying the Chinese post at Talingho.

Chihli and Shantung Provinces Ravaged by the Manchus.—After the battle of Chang Shan, the Manchus changed their tactics, and in the years 1632–1635, completely broke the power of the Chahar Mongols. The Chinese frontier along the Great Wall was now exposed to attack. In spite of the wall the Manchus could descend upon China from the north, and in 1635 they broke through that barrier at different points and effected a junction at Yenching (延慶州). After a series of encounters with the Chinese soldiers, they pillaged as many as 12 cities, and their divisions met in T'ungchow (通州). From this point, one division went to Ichow (易州) (Ichow Prefecture 易州府), another to Ansu (安肅), and still another to Hsiung Hsien (雄縣) (both in the Pao Ting Prefecture (保定府)). The next year saw the Manchus in Shantung. At Tsinan (濟南), the capital of the province, a prince of the House of Ming fell into their hands, and was carried a prisoner into Manchuria. All these expeditions were more or less in the nature of pillaging parties, who were murdering and kidnapping people and carrying away their live stock. The Manchus moved from place to place with great rapidity, always attacking [illegible]

*It is commonly believed that without their help, the Manchus could never have brought the whole of China under their sway.

weakest point en route. The first expedition took 180,000 prisoners and great numbers of live stock into Manchuria. The second expedition returned by way of Tientsin, and the soldiers were so loaded with loot that it took them several days to get their long train of carts across the Grand Canal near that place. Had the Ming commander in the vicinity shown any of the qualities of a general, they could not have reached home with all their booty. As late as 1642–3, the Manchus came again through the Great Wall and ravaged all the country around Yenchow (兗州) in Shantung.

Effect of the Pillaging Parties.—As to immediate results, the expeditions into the heart of China must be regarded as failures. The Manchus did not gain an inch of territory by these movements; but their expeditions brought about far-reaching consequences,—something of which they had not dreamed. For it was Li Tzu-ch'êng (李自成) who conquered the Ming empire and laid it at the feet of Emperor Shun Chih (順治), but it was these expeditions that had made the success of the rebel possible. Owing to the frequent depredations of the Manchus, the best soldiers of the Mings were gathered in and around Peking, thus leaving Shensi, Shansi and Honan Provinces at the mercy of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng. At that time there were stationed between Peking and Shanhaikuan four viceroys, six governors and eight brigadier-generals, besides the numerous eunuch commanders.* Party intrigues and personal jealousies divided them and they never could offer a united front against the invader. It was clearly a case where too many cooks spoiled the broth.

Fall of Chinchow.—While the Manchu Beres† were making profitable expeditions into Chihli and Shantung provinces, T'aitsung did not give the people of Chinchow any rest. If he

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* The Viceroys were at Kuan Wai (關外), Kuan Nei (關內), Chang Ping and Pao Ting (保定). The 6 govenors were at Ning Yüan (寧遠), Yung [illegible] (永平), Shun T'ien (順天), Mih Yün (密雲), Tientsin (天津), and Pao Ting. The 8 Brigadier-Generals were at Pao Ting, Tientsin, Shanhaikuan, Chung Hsieh (中協), Hsi Hsieh (西協), Mou Ping (冒平), and Tungchow.

† All the Pillaging expeditions were commanded by Beres.

could not carry the city by storm, he could starve its inhabitants into submission. The siege continued for years, even until cannibalism reigned within the city. It fell in 1641, when General Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou (洪承疇),* its commander, was taken prisoner. On him were showered all marks of honor. Overcome by kindness, Hung swore allegiance to his conqueror, took up arms against his mother country and afterwards proved a great help to the Manchus.

Arrogance of Confucian Scholars.—Towards the last days of his reign, T'aitsung was not at all unfavorably inclined to peace. In fact, he attempted several times to open negotiations, and was even willing to surrender his title of Emperor for that of khan, if the Mings would only follow the example of their predecessors, the Sungs, by purchasing peace. The Ming Emperor, too, was no less ready for peace; but the Confucian scholars of the empire would have none of it. The Manchus lived outside the Great Wall and to these scholars every one beyond that dividing line was a "barbarian." They would never make peace with a barbarian. As everyone that was able to read and write had the privilege under the laws of the Ming Dynasty to address his emperor direct, Ch'ung Chêng was virtually overwhelmed with warlike counsels. Owing to the popular clamor, a governor of Ta Tung (大同) was imprisoned because he had the audacity to forward the peace proposal of the Manchus to Peking; and Ch'ên Hsin-chia (陳新甲), President of the Board of War, had to be dismissed, although it was under instructions from his emperor that he conducted negotiations with the Manchus. T'aitsung alone realized that so long as Shanhaikuan and Ningyüan were not in his hands, it was fruitless for him to try to conquer China. The Chinese held these places up to the time of his death (Fall, 1643). With his death the war of Liaohsi was closed.

* The Manchu Beres were greatly displeased that their sovereign showed so much consideration to a prisoner of war. "But he is more than a prisoner of war," declared T'aitsung, "he is the pathfinder and pilot that will take us safely into the Chinese Empire." Hung proved quite worthy of this high opinion.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE CONQUEST OF COREA AND INNER MONGOLIA; THE EARLY CUSTOMS OF THE MANCHUS

1. Conquest of Corea

Early Relations between Corea and Manchuria.—The Corean peninsula, "measuring roughly 600 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west,"* is separated from Manchuria by the Yalu River. The Coreans have never been able to take care of themselves. When the Manchu nation to the north came into being, Corea was a vassal state of the Ming emperor. To him, the Coreans had every reason to be grateful, for it was the Chinese that had, toward the close of the 16th century, rescued them from the clutches of Japan. The Coreans had no personal grievances against their northern neighbors, but they treated them as enemies because they were the foes of the Ming emperor, whose orders they must obey. In 1619 they sent 20,000 men to help the Chinese in Manchuria, where three-fourths of them lost their lives in battle, and the surviving 5,000 surrendered. This event was sufficient to convince the Manchu ruler that Corea was quite a thorn in his side. He had either to win the southern neighbor as his ally, or to deprive her of the means of aggression. As the former plan was certainly less expensive, it was adopted. The Corean prisoners were accordingly sent home with a letter to their king, with a view to interesting him in the Manchu cause. The Corean King not only treated the communication with contempt but also meddled again in Manchurian affairs by sending aid to the Warha (瓦爾喀) tribe in their hopeless attempt to resist the tide of Manchu expansion. If Nurhachu's hands had not been so full, he would have punished so meddlesome a neighbor himself rather than leave the task to his son.

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*"The Far East."

Peace of P'ingshan (1627).—The accession of T'aitsung witnessed a temporary lull in the war of Liaohsi. Valuable information as to the state of affairs in Corea having been received from certain political refugees who had come into Manchuria to seek shelter, T'aitsung threw an army across the Yalu in 1627. Near Yichow (義州), they encountered a handful of Chinese soldiers belonging to the command of General Mao Wên-lung (毛文龍), who had come to the aid of the Coreans. They made the soldiers embark on their ships and sail away. The Coreans, left to their fate, could offer but a feeble resistance. City after city fell, and even Seoul, the capital, was in danger. The king was among the first to desert his city, taking his family with him to the Island of Kiang Hua (江華島). For want of a fleet the Manchus could not follow him; and, as their services were required elsewhere, a treaty of peace was signed at P'ingshan (平山). They had, however, plundered the country to their hearts' content and gladly carried their spoils home. The treaty placed the two contracting parties on an equal footing as "Brother," or sister states (兄弟之國).

Events leading to the Second Invasion.—After the peace of P'ingshan, the Manchus were engaged in a campaign against the Mings and their allies, the Chahar Mongols. During all this time, the Coreans remained faithful to the tottering house of the Mings. "The Ming emperor," declared their king, "is my father. Is it right for me to assist in any hostile preparations against him?" This epistle was sent in reply to a request of the Manchu ruler that he equip a fleet for their use. But upon the fall of Port Arthur, the Manchus had a fleet of their own, which they requested the Coreans to supply with provisions. This they also refused to do. There were frequent communications passing between the Manchus and the Coreans, but their relations were anything but cordial. By 1636, T'aitsung had broken the power of the Chahar Mongols and assumed, for the first time, the imperial title. Instead of sending congratulations, the Corean king protested, for he thought that the only person entitled to the imperial title was the Ming emperor.

Second Invasion.—The storm that had so long been gathering soon broke. In less than a year, Northern Corea again experienced the horrors of an invasion. In spite of the fact that the frontier cities had been strengthened since the previous war, the Manchus were victorious wherever they went. Their army numbered 200,000 strong; and, at its head, marched the newly-crowned emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty. A message was promptly despatched to inform the "father" of the danger; but, owing to the fact that an alarming rebellion was threatening the very existence of the Ming empire, there was no succor in that quarter. The Lintsin (臨津) River to the north of the capital was at length reached by the Manchus, and their horses simply trotted across the frozen stream. Following his old plan the king sent his family to the Kiang Hua Tao and retreated with his court to Nanhanshan (南漢山), south of the Han Kiang (漢江), whither he was followed by the Manchus and besieged. Two sorties were made but to no avail. From different parts of the peninsula three armies came to his relief, but only to suffer defeat. To increase the sorrow of the king, word soon came informing him that his wives and children had fallen into the hands of the Manchus. The situation was hopeless. The king capitulated, and willingly enrolled himself as a vassal of the Manchu Emperor. From that moment, Corea remained a vassal state of the Ch'ing Dynasty until the close of the Chino-Japanese War (1895).

2. Conquest of Inner Mongolia

Outlines of Mongolian History during the 16th Century.—During the supremacy of the Ming Dynasty, the Mongols had been successfully driven beyond the Desert of Gobi, but before long they crept southward again. The Mongols north of the Desert, known as the Mopei Mongols (漠北蒙古) or Khalkhas (喀爾喀), were practically unknown in the annals of the Ming Dynasty. Their cousins in the south were known by the general term of Monan Mongols (漠南蒙古), and were a constant

menace to the Mings. They made frequent raids on the border, until the weak descendants of Hung Wu found it cheaper to buy immunity from them and enlist them as guardians of the Chinese marches, hence their name Chahar, the Mongol term for the guardian of a city.

Of the Monan Mongols, the Korchin (科爾沁) tribe occupied the extreme eastern part of what is now Inner Mongolia, and their country "measured 870 *li* from east to west and 2,100 *li* from north to south." On account of their geographical position, they were the first to come into contact with the Manchus. The land to the southwest bordering upon the present Chihli and Shansi provinces belonged to a number of tribes, of which the Chahar (察哈爾) were the most powerful.

Origin of the Korchins.—After their final expulsion from China, the Mongols split themselves into two sections, the Eastern and Western, or the Tatar (韃靼) and the Oirad (瓦剌). During the first decade of the 15th century, Altai (阿魯台), a descendant of Hasar (哈薩爾), a younger brother of the great Jenghis Khan, rose to a position of influence among the Tatars. In course of time, his descendants emigrated to the valley of the Nên River (嫩江) and there grew into the Korchin tribe. As they multiplied in number, they were organized into other tribes, known as the Djalaid (札賚特), Turbet (杜爾伯特) and Ghoros (郭爾羅斯); these four composing the Cherim League (哲林盟) of the Inner Mongols at the present day.

The Korchins form Alliance with the Manchus.—Owing to their proximity to Manchuria, the Korchins viewed the rising power of Nurhachu with alarm and joined the Yehha (葉赫) tribe in an attempt to destroy Hsing Ching. The result has been related elsewhere. When Nurhachu later led his men against the Wula tribe, the Korchins again crossed the frontier but only to be driven back. This convinced their chief that it was best for them to live in peace with the Manchus and to give up all hopes of checking their progress. Since then the Korchins have fought

many battles for the Manchus, and have given many an empress-mother to the Manchu Dynasty. Their *dzassaks* (札薩克) to-day rank foremost among all the Mongol dignitaries.

Origin of the Monan Mongols.—The division of the Mongol nation into the two general divisions of Mopei and Monan dates from the time of Dayen Khan (達延汗) (1470-1543), a remote descendant of Shun Ti (順帝), the last emperor of the Mongol Dynasty. Having united all the sections growing out of the weakness of his predecessors under the Hara Holin (喀喇和林) throne, he followed the example of his great ancestor, Jenghis Khan, and divided the country south of the desert among his several sons. From the descendants of his first son, Batulu (巴圖魯), we have the Chahar (察哈爾), Khaochid (浩齊特), Sunid (蘇尼特), Uchumuchin (烏珠穆沁), Aokhan (敖漢), and Naiman (奈曼) tribes; from those of Barsu (巴爾蘇), his second son, the Ordos (鄂爾多斯), and Tumed (土默特) tribes; from those of Orchu (阿爾楚), his third son, the Djarud (札嚕特), and Barin (巴林) tribes; and from those of Orchi (鄂爾齊), his fourth son, the Keshikteng (克什克騰) tribe.

As already stated, the Chahar tribe was the leading tribe of Monan. The opening sentence of a letter, which Lintan Khan (林丹汗) of the Chahars addressed to Nurhachu in 1619, shows the relative strength of the two rulers at that date. Lintan styled himself "Jenghis Khan (成吉思汗), Batulu (巴圖魯), King of the Mongols, and Commander of the Nation of 400,000 strong" (統領四十萬衆); and referred to Nurhachu simply as "Commander of a nation of 30,000 people on the coast" (水濱三萬衆滿洲國主). It is no wonder that the weak emperor of the Ming Dynasty should grant an enormous amount of subsidy to this "Commander of 400,000 strong" to harass the Manchus "on the coast."

The War with the Chahar Tribe.—By the time T'aitsung succeeded to the throne, the Manchus were not simply a tribe of 30,000 people. Moreover, several of the weaker Mongol tribes, such as the Aokhan, Naiman, Djarud, and Harachin (a tribe

claiming descent from one Chilama (濟拉瑪), a Minister of State, under Jenghis Khan), had sought the help of the Manchu king against the oppressions of Lintan Khan. By a series of battles, the Manchus taught Lintan the folly of espousing the cause of the Ming emperor, although T'aitsung was not yet ready to take the offensive. At last in the year 1332, T'aitsung marched 1,300 *li* beyond the Lesser Khingan Mountains (內興安嶺), and found his enemy utterly unprepared for an invasion. Lintan fled with his followers and live stock across the Northern Bend of the Yellow River, and died two years later in the vicinity of Kokonor (青海). His son, Orche (額哲), having surrendered the remnant of the Chahar tribe in the following year, the whole country of Monan was brought under the Manchu power, for the other tribes gladly accepted the authority of the new master. Owing to a subsequent rebellion in the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi, the Chahar tribe was distributed along the borders of Chihli and Shansi under the name of Yu Mu (游牧), or Nomad Herdsmen. Unlike their cousins, who were ruled directly by their own khans called Dzassaks, they were placed under the government of the Manchu Tutungs (都統) (Generals). The Chahars as an organization, therefore, have disappeared from the list of Mongol tribes of Inner Mongolia.

T'aitsung Changes the Name under which He Reigns and also that of His Dynasty.—When Orche surrendered, he also gave up the imperial seal of China which had been in the possession of his family. The event was considered such a good omen that T'aitsung in the following year changed the name under which he reigned from T'aitsung (太宗) to Ch'ung Tê (崇德), and ordered that "Tach'ing" (大清), should be adopted instead of Manchu (滿洲), as the name of his dynasty. He felt confident that as the seal of the Chinese Empire had come into his hands, so would the empire itself, although he should not live to see it.

3. Early Customs of the Manchus

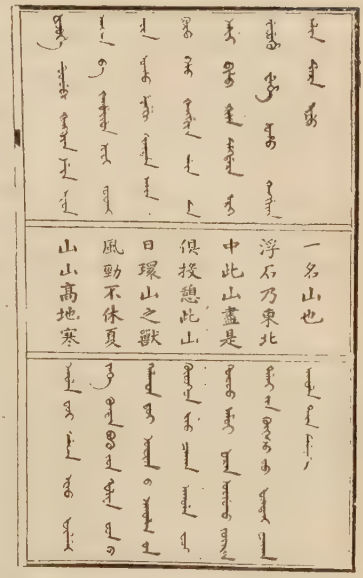
Civil Government.—During the early reign of T'aitsung (太宗), the need of civil government was keenly felt. No better model was known then than the organization of the Ming Empire, and in the year 1631 (the fifth year of T'aitsung) the Six Boards were established on the Chinese plan. They were the Boards of Civil Appointments, of Revenue, of Ceremonies, of War, of Punishments, and of Works. Each board was presided over by a Bere, assisted by Secretaries (承政), Assistant Secretaries (參政), and interpreters (啓心郎); all the subordinate positions being open alike to Manchus, Mongols, and Chinese. Since all state documents were written in Manchu, the interpreter, or Ch'ihsinlang (啓心郎), was a necessity, and this office was continued for a time after the Manchus came into China.

The Censorate (都察院), which was organized in 1636, formed the Seventh Department, and the Lifanyüan (理藩院), or Mongol Superintendency, followed two years later. The latter was charged with the control of the various tribes of Mongolia subject to the Manchu authority.

In place of the Hanlin Yüan, there was one department charged with the duty of compiling histories; another, with the duty of carrying on the sovereigns' correspondence; and still another, with the duty of giving the king useful lessons in Chinese. They were known as the Kuoshihyüan (國史院), the Piwenyüan (秘文院), and the Hungwênyüan (宏文院), respectively.

The Written Language of the Manchus.—The Manchus were not a literary people. They not only had no native literature, but were also obliged to employ the Mongol language as the medium of correspondence. Towards the close of the reign of Nurhachu, there came into use a new system by which they were able to write their own tongue. Gradually they discarded the Mongol language; but to the present day still retain its syllabic alphabet. There are six or eight vowels and ten marks

used in rendering Chinese syllables in Manchu. Modern Manchu, like Chinese, is written in vertical lines.



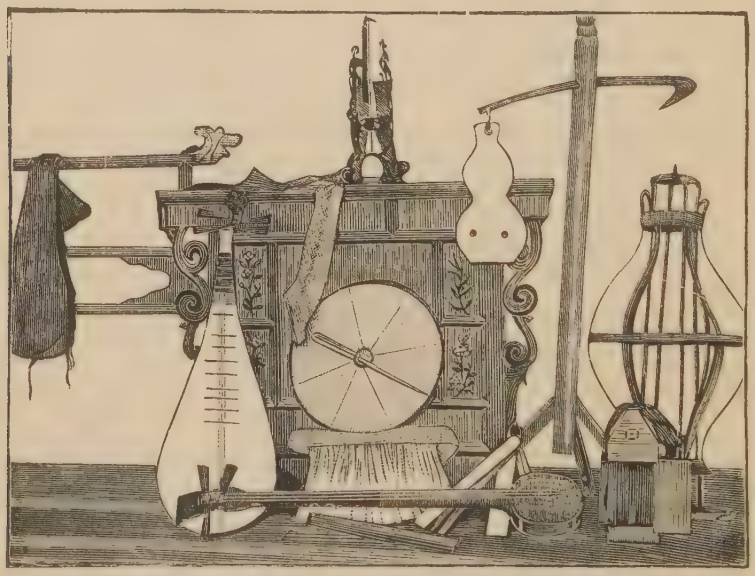
Manchurian, Chinese and Mongolian systems of writing

During the reign of T'aitsung several Chinese historical, philosophical and metaphysical works were translated into Manchu. "The Stories of the Three Kingdoms" (三國演義) became at once their favorite. T'aitsung spared no effort to foster in his people the acquisition of a literary taste, and sent every son in his family between the ages of eight and fifteen to school. On more than one occasion, he publicly commended the courage of the Chinese who remained at their posts of duty in the face of hunger and death; and he rightly concluded that it was education that helped to make faithful soldiers. Under him public education made a fair start, for he knew, "An empire, conquered on horseback, cannot be governed on horseback." Who can ever question his wisdom and statesmanship?

Religion.—As the Manchus borrowed their alphabet from the Mongols, so they borrowed their religious belief from the Chinese. Their gods, however, are few and it is their custom to group them together with the tablets of their ancestors in one room, called the "T'ang Tzŭ" (堂子). It is stated that upon the conclusion of the first treaty with the Mings, they applied to the latter for a god before whom they could make oath, and were given the god of Earth, or T'uti (土地), that stands at the end of the long list of Chinese deities. It is significant that the characters for T'uti also mean "country" in Chinese, and that in the signing of this very first treaty the virtual giving away of their empire was foreshadowed.

Besides the T'uti, the chief deities of the Manchu T'ang Tzŭ are Kuanti (關帝), the Chinese god of War, Julai (如來), and Kuanyin (觀音). Among the lesser ones are the god of Chang Pai Shan (長白山神), and the Wanli Mama (完立媽媽). Some think that the last-named god is the wife of the Emperor Wanli (萬歷), of the Ming Dynasty; but there is no satisfactory explanation of why the Manchus should worship her, although it is claimed that it was largely due to her influence that the remains of Ching Tsu and Hsien Tsu were returned.

The sacrificial ceremony consists of offerings, music, and dancing; and is performed with the assistance of a priestly person, often a woman, who acts as the director of the rite and interpreter of augurs. Being a martial people, they thought that nothing would please their gods more than a show of their martial spirit, hence the custom of dancing T'iao Shên (跳神), in which it was not unusual for the persons engaged to appear in armour.



Instruments for sacrifices, kept in the Imperial Palace, Mukden

Slavery.—If the whole Manchu nation was an army, that army was based upon slavery. The relation between the sovereign and his people was the relation between a commander and his troops,

or between a master and his slaves. Excepting the sovereign, every one was a Nuts'ai (slave) (奴才), both in theory and practice. After the Manchus came into China all Chinese military officers were also required to refer to themselves as nuts'ai in all communications addressed to the throne. The Emperor was the commander of the Three Upper Banners (上三旗),* while the Beres were the commanders of the rest. A nuts'ai of a Bere might become a high official under the throne ; but remained the property of his master. Once a slave a man was a slave all his life, and all his sons inherited the status of the father.

The institution of slavery was the natural consequence when the weak came into contact with the strong. It was built upon might and the weak were naturally its victims. The wave of Manchu conquest carried this blight all over Manchuria, Mongolia, and part of China. Conquest gave birth to slavery ; and slavery, in turn, encouraged further conquests. The possession of slaves enabled the early Manchus to develop fully their fighting character.

Position of Woman.—The Manchus did not imprison their women as the Chinese do. Indeed, their seclusion was not introduced until a comparatively late date, and was due entirely to policy.† Even down to the present the position of the Manchu daughter is one to be desired. She has social and legal rights of her own. She takes precedence in her own family over even her mother ; and no father can make a disposition of his property without the consent of his eldest daughter. If she remains unmarried, triumphant arches are erected in her honor ; and, instead of being looked down upon as an object of commiseration, she is always looked up to by the members of her household. The intermarriage of the Manchus and the Mongols dates from the early times ; but up to a few years ago there was a law against the

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* The Yellow, White and Bordered Yellow Banners.

† This formed the subject of an Imperial Decree issued by the Emperor Shun Chih at the instance of a Manchu censor.

marriage of Manchus with Chinese. This was a wise provision, for women with small feet were not suitable wives for men who were to conquer an empire. The Manchu woman has never bound her feet.

Polygamy, in the form of concubinage, was known among the early Manchus, as is common among their descendants of the present day.

Manchurian ladies

Dress, etc.—The Manchus are more athletic than the Chinese, fond of exercise, archery, riding, and hunting. They do not look down upon a military career as the Chinese do. From their tight belts they suspend a profusion of ornaments, such as lotus pouches (荷包), (so named because they are made to resemble the lotus leaf), chopsticks, knives, etc. Their forefathers were accustomed to carry food in these pouches when they went out hunting. The shaving of the front part of the head and the wearing of the queue, is, of course, a characteristic institution of the Manchus.

The gowns of the women hang from their shoulders, and are worn long and loose so as never to show the line of the waist, or the outline of the figure.

CHAPTER XXXVI

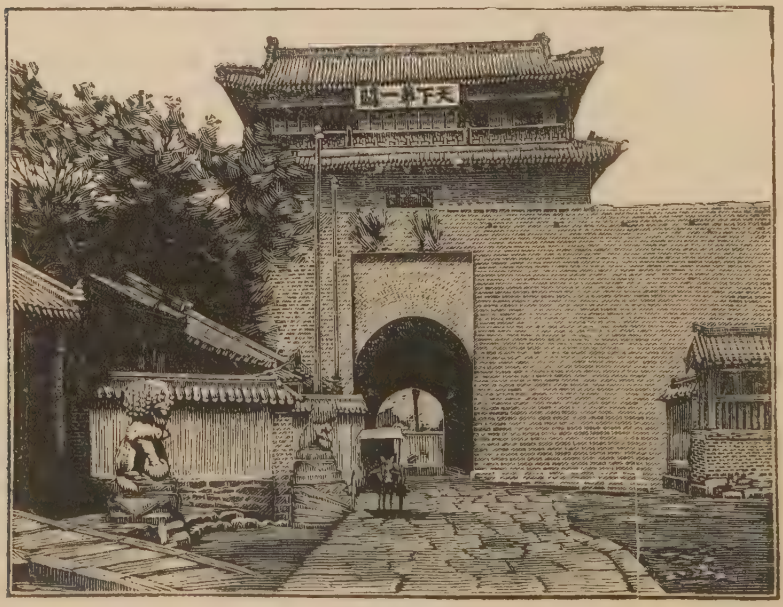
THE CONQUEST OF CHINA PROPER

Accession of Shun Chih.—At his death, T'aitsung left his throne to his nine-year-old son, afterwards known by the title under which he reigned as Shun Chih (順治). If Nurhachu had been the father of the Manchu nation, T'aitsung had been its defender. Corea was now a vassal state; Inner Mongolia had cast her lot with the Manchus; Chinchow, the first stronghold in Liaohsi, was no longer Chinese. The rejoicings over the accession of the new emperor had hardly ceased in Mukden, when a catastrophe visited the House of Chu Yüan-chang. A eunuch opened the gate of Peking to Li Tzŭ-ch'êng and amidst the consequent chaos and lawlessness, the Ming Dynasty fell. Ch'ung Chêng, the last representative of the dynasty, simply reaped as his predecessors had sown, for the seed of tyranny, of eunuch-rule, of official corruption, had begun to bear fruit. It only remained for the young emperor in Mukden to be borne into Peking and there proclaimed the father of the Manchu Empire.

Alliance with Wu San-kuei.—Though the house had already collapsed, the gate was still standing. Shanhaikuan was still in the hands of General Wu San-kuei (吳三桂) in 1644. He had been summoned to bring his forces with all haste to Peking; but it was too late. At Lanchow (灤州) a messenger met him, and informed him of the state of affairs in the capital. His emperor was dead! His father was in the hands of the rebel! Yet, all this would have been borne in silence, if Yüanyüan (圓圓), the girl he loved, had been safe. She had been siezed by Li Tzŭ-ch'êng and given to one of his generals. This was enough for General Wu in whose breast patriotism was now dead; but the fire of jealousy was burning with great fierceness. If he could have forgiven Li Tzŭ-ch'êng for stealing the Ta Ming (大明) Empire, he would not and could not forgive him for taking this girl.

A letter was promptly dispatched to prince Dorgun (多爾袞), the Manchu Regent (攝政王), imploring him to come to his aid in punishing the robber. To accept this proposal meant that the Manchus, as a friend of General Wu, could now march unopposed through Shanhaikuan into China—that impregnable Shanhaikuan, that had defied their best efforts for twenty-five years. The regent gladly consented to give his assistance. General Wu little thought that in making this compact he was sealing the fate of the Chinese Empire.

The Battle of Shanhaikuan.—The arrangement was effected none too soon. At the head of 200,000 soldiers, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was pressing forward towards Shanhaikuan, into which Wu San-kuei had fled; and a detachment of 20,000 strong had also been sent by a circuitous route to occupy the road between that pass and Liaotung. The Prince Regent found that he could proceed no farther than the Shaho (沙河) without encountering the rebels. "Now that the whole rebel force is in the field," counselled Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou (洪承疇), who was now



Shanhaikuan

with the Manchu army, "we should march directly upon Peking by way of Mongolia and sieze that city before Li Tzŭ-ch'êng can have time to return." This would leave General Wu alone to face the tremendous hosts, and he, of course, objected to such a plan. With the aid of the Manchus, he drove out the rebel force of 20,000 and visited the Regent in his own camp on the Shaho. There he could not do otherwise than agree to the terms dictated. He submitted himself to a barber and had his head shaved and his hair twisted into a queue, after the Manchu fashion. The Regent promised to give up the thought of attacking Peking, but still refused to march into Shanhaikuan. He had every reason to be cautious. An enemy that had ended the Ming empire at a blow and that was superior in numbers to the combined forces now massed against him, was by no means to be despised. Accordingly Wu San-kuei was told to stitch a white cloth on the shoulders of his soldiers, and begin the battle.

The fearful struggle took place on May 26th, 1644, at Shanhaikuan. In spite of a severe sandstorm which was blowing sand and gravel in the face of the combatants, the conflict

Big gun in fortifications at Shanhaikuan.
("China and Her People," II)

continued for hours. The men under General Wu fought bravely, but the enemy outnumbered them ten to one. At length the order to make a charge was given by the Regent, who had been watching the contest from an eminence, and the two

wings under Prince Yu (豫親王) and Prince Ying (英親王) galloped into the scene of action with three loud cheers. The sun had now passed the meridian. The storm ceased and the sky became clear once more. The mere sight of a foe of whom so much had been heard, but nothing had been seen, was enough to cause a feeling of awe. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was the first to turn his horse and flee. The battle was decisive, and the retreat of the rebels was turned into a great rout and fearful slaughter. Before nightfall, the Manchus were in Shanhaikuan. A proclamation was issued calling upon the inhabitants to shave their heads as a sign of submission. This having been complied with, Wu San-kuei, now a Manchu prince with the title of Pinghsi (平西王), was sent to pursue the rebels. The latter made a pause at Yung Ping (永平), from which place Li sent a message to San-kuei desiring peace; but his peace proposals were rejected, and he continued his flight into Peking.

Coronation of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng.—Since he knew it was the objective point of the Manchus, the Rebel dared not stay long in Peking. His thoughts were now of Shensi (陝西), his native province. Sian (西安), the capital of this province, had been the capital of China in the past, and the approach to it from the east lay through the pass of Tungkuan (潼關), which could be easily defended. From Sian he hoped still to rule over a portion of China, even if he had to leave the Manchus in quiet possession of Peking and the country east of it. But Peking, the capital of the empire that he had just overthrown, should witness his coronation as Emperor of China. The preparations to crown him Emperor were, therefore, hastened; and the day after the ceremony, he set out on his westward or homeward journey. He did not leave Peking, however, until he had stripped the imperial palaces of everything of value and had set fire to them. Nor would he permit Wu Hsiang (吳襄) to join his son, but the aged father of Wu San-kuei, as well as every other member of his household, except Yüanyüan, was put to the sword.

Arrival of the Prince Regent at Peking.—On June 5, 1644, the Prince Regent reached Peking. He took possession of the capital of China in the name of his nephew, to whom word had been sent to come forward and occupy the vacant throne, gave out orders to have the remains of Ch'ung Chêng and his empress interred in an appropriate manner, and set apart three days for national mourning. The latter measures were taken with a view of gaining the good will of the literary portion of the populace. All the cities north and east of Peking swore allegiance to the new dynasty.

Fu Wang Proclaimed Emperor in Nanking.—After the fall of Peking, all hopes of the Mings centered about Nanking, the former capital. In this city there was every part of the machinery necessary to the carrying on of a government similar to that at Peking, except an emperor. Their emperor, Ch'ung Chêng, was dead, and the whereabouts of the heir-apparent were unknown. Whom should they raise to the throne in such an hour of misfortune? Two imperial princes, Fu Wang and Lu Wang, had escaped to Huaian (淮安), a short distance north of Nanking. Fu Wang (福王) had the better claim to the throne, but lacked the fitness of Lu Wang (潞王), his uncle. Notwithstanding his unfitness Fu Wang was made emperor. Indeed he was the worst man the Mings could have had for so responsible a position at so critical a moment. The power soon fell into the hands of Grand Secretary (大學士) Ma Shih-ying (馬士英), who had been instrumental in placing the unworthy, drunken, and debauched prince upon the throne; and the court at Nanking at once sank into a worse condition than that of Peking at the time of its fall. Shih K'o-fa (史可法), a man of integrity and ability, who was more worthy of the premiership than his colleague, Ma Shih-ying, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the armies at the front. This appointment virtually amounted to his banishment, and was made for the sole purpose of getting rid of a man whose presence was too dazzling a light in a city completely enveloped in darkness. The armies over which he was to take the supreme command were the troops of Hsüssŭ (徐泗) with headquarters at Ssŭshui (泗水), of Fêngshou (鳳壽) with headquarters at Linhuai

(臨淮), of Huaihai (淮海) with headquarters at Huaipei (淮北), and of Ch'uho (滁和) with headquarters at Luchow (廬州). They were strong in numbers but their generals were prone to quarrel among themselves, and were more swayed by personal prejudices and party intrigues than the orders from their Commander-in-Chief. Indeed, to prevent disruption among such generals might justly be considered a superhuman task. And such was the condition of affairs in the South when the Prince Regent reached Peking.

Restoration of Peace in Shantung, Honan and Shansi Provinces.—The Prince Regent was not ready to march into the South for some time. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng had made his way into Shensi, but the cities in Shantung had revolted against his usurpation. The country south of Peking, but more particularly Paoting (保定), Taming (大名) and Chêngting (正定), had to be pacified. All this meant work, and it was as much as the Manchu soldiery could do during the summer. The task of restoring peace in Shantung and Honan was assigned to Prince Su (肅親王), and General Yehch'en (都統葉臣), at the same time, was sent to occupy Shansi. When the Emperor Shun Chih arrived at Peking on Oct. 30, 1644, the Manchus were in possession of only four out of the Seventeen Provinces of China (The two Provinces of Hupeh and Hunan formed but one under the Ming Dynasty and was known as the Hukuang Province).

Crushing of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng's Rebellion.—The plan of the Prince Regent was to invade Shensi by way of Tungkuan and Yulin (榆林). At Tungkuan the rebel Li suffered another defeat at the hands of Prince Yu, and was obliged to fall back upon Sian, where he intended to make his final stand. Upon his arrival, however, word was received that the second division of the Manchus under Prince Ying and Wu San-kuei, with their Mongol and Chinese auxiliaries, had crossed the Yellow River at Paotêchow (保德州) and were bearing down upon Sian from Suitê (綏德). Resistance seemed impossible, and, after having set fire to the city, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng escaped into Hukuang. His army still consisted of more than 300,000 men but its spirit was low. After his death (an

account of which has been given in a previous Chapter), the major portion of it joined the standard of Ho T'êng-chiao (何騰蛟), Viceroy of Hukuang, who was faithful to the cause of the fallen dynasty. Thanks to the Manchus, the rebellion that had cost Ch'ung Chêng his empire and his life was thus suppressed. Prince Yu, who arrived at Sian five days after the Rebel had left it, was now ordered to turn south and engage the forces under Shih K'o-fa.

Fall of Yangchow and Death of Shih K'o-fa.—The Prince Regent had tried to convince Shih K'o-fa of his hopeless condition, but to no avail. The letter he sent, and the one he received in reply thereto, are both considered masterpieces. When the obstinate character of the man was known, the Regent openly declared war against the South. Shih K'o-fa intended to build a long line of defence along the bank of the Yellow River, which in those days took a southeasterly route after leaving Kaifeng, and cut its way through the prefectures of Hsüchow and Huaian to the sea. In order to carry out this scheme successfully, he needed co-operation from the Brigadier-General at Suichow (睢州), Hunan (河南). With this end in view, he sent General Kao Chieh (高傑), Commander of the Hsüssu (徐泗) Army, to interview him. The Brigadier-General, who was on the point of going over to the Manchus, caused General Kao to be murdered, thus not only thwarting the plan of defence, but also depriving Shih K'o-fa of the only faithful general he had.

In the meantime, the army of Prince Yu, fresh from the conquest of Shensi, had penetrated by different routes as far south as Kuei-tê (歸德), and was about to attack Ssŭchow (泗州). To check the advance of the Manchus required the strengthening of the garrison of the city, but at this critical juncture the Commander-in-Chief was summoned to defend Nanking. The army under Tso Liang-yü (左良玉) in Hukuang had mutinied, and the mutineers were marching down from Hankow (漢口). The cause of this mutiny was that Grand Secretary Ma Shih-ying had unjustly withheld the pay due the troops. They were all fine soldiers,—men who had seen much fighting in checking the spread of the rebellion under Li Tzŭ-ch'êng,—and their march toward Nanking at once assumed a very

serious aspect. Although the mutiny, or rebellion, died a natural death, when death overtook General Tso at Kiukiang (九江), word to that effect was not received by Shih K'o-fa until he had arrived with the main division of his forces at Yentzŭ-chi (燕子磯) on the south side of the Yangtze. Upon his return to Yangchow (揚州), he found that Prince Yu was within six miles of the city. After a siege of seven days, the city was carried by storm, when a general massacre of the garrison and the population took place. For ten days every living thing that the Manchus could lay their hands on was brutally slaughtered. Shih K'o-fa was made prisoner; and, as he refused to submit, was also put to the sword.

Capture of Fu Wang.—After the death of Shih K'o-fa further resistance melted away. The appearance of a handful of Manchu cavalry on Peikushan (北固山), after they had crossed the Yangtze under cover of a dense fog, was enough to put the garrison of Chinkiang (鎮江) to flight. Chêng Hung-k'uei (鄭鴻逵), its commander, was not heard from until he had made his way safely into Fukien.* Fu Wang and Ma Shih-ying made no attempt to hold Nanking. After the former had fled with his harem to Wuhu (蕪湖), and the latter to Hangchow (杭州), the people of Nanking opened the city gates to receive Prince Yu. At Wuhu Fu Wang was made prisoner by one of his own generals, who afterwards turned him over to the Manchus. Having gained possession of Wuhu, Prince Yu sent Bere Pulo (濮洛) with a detachment to conquer Chekiang (浙江).

On the bank of the Ch'ien T'ang River (錢塘江), whither Ma Shih-ying had marched an army from Hangchow to oppose the advance of the Manchus, Bere Pulo achieved a signal victory which sent Ma Shih-ying across the river into Chetung. Lu Wang, the Ming Prince who had been appointed to his fief at Hangchow, then capitulated and Hangchow was lost to the Mings forever.

T'ang Wang and Lu Wang.—After the fall of Nanking, the Mings rallied their forces under T'ang Wang (唐王), a remote

* He and his clansman, Chêng Chih-lung (鄭芝龍), then raised T'ang Wang to the throne in Foochow.

descendant of Hung Wu (洪武). He was proclaimed Emperor at Foochow in the province of Fukien. About the same time, the people of Chetung chose for their leader Lu Wang (魯王), also a prince of the Ming Dynasty. Lu Wang, who took up his residence at Shaohsing, assumed no imperial title, contenting himself with that of regent (監國). Thus in place of Fu Wang two other princes were chosen to represent the fallen dynasty; and the war of Manchu conquest in Southeast China has come to be known as the "War of the First Three Princes" (前三藩之役).

Disunion in the Southeast.—Personally both T'ang Wang and Lu Wang were better men than Fu Wang. Had the officials under them only been able to forget their personal differences, they might have maintained a shadow of their lost empire in Southeast China. Their case was not altogether hopeless. Besides Chetung, the provinces of Fukien (福建), Kuangtung (廣東), Kuangsi (廣西), Yünnan (雲南), and Kueichow (貴州), still remained intact. In Hukuang, the Manchus could barely hold the cities of Wuchang (武昌) and Chinchow (荊州) against the powerful army of Viceroy Ho Têng-chiao. In Kiangsi (江西), General Yang Ting-lin (楊廷麟) still held Kanchow (贛州) and Chian (吉安). In the central provinces, the people of Chiating (嘉定), Kiangyin (江陰), Sung-kiang (松江), Huichow (徽州), Chich'i (績溪), Wukiang (吳江), K'unshan (崑山), Ch'ungming (崇明), and Ihsing (宜興), were giving the Manchus much trouble. For the present at least, the Manchus could send no army into Chetung or Fukien; and their position was further weakened by their struggle with Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), the rebel chief in Szechuan, and the mutinies in Shensi and Shansi. A compact South, under these circumstances, could easily have arrested the course of Manchu expansion on the Yangtze and made that mighty river the dividing line between two kingdoms, as it had so often been in other days. But a united South was an impossibility with the Mings who did everything in their power to foster dissension between Shaohsing and Foochow; and it was this lack of union that did more harm to their cause than the arrows and firearms of the Manchus.

The Manchus take Possession of Shensi and Szechuan.—With the advance of the spring of 1646, a strong Manchu army under the command of Prince Su and Wu San-kuei marched into Shensi. By the end of July every sign of resistance or discontent had been wiped out in blood, and the more glorious Szechuan campaign had begun. That campaign was glorious, because the Manchus were fighting a hideous monster, the Rebel Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠). In the battle of Hsich'ung (西充), the Rebel Chang, whose cruelties had depopulated the rich province of Szechuan, was slain. After his death, the scattered bands of soldiers were either slaughtered, or chased out of the province. The victors marched as far south as the city of Tsun-i (遵義), on the border of Kuei-chow (貴州) province, when want of supplies compelled them to return to Peking.

Overthrow of Lu Wang and T'ang Wang.—The year of the restoration of peace in Szechuan also marked the overthrow of both Lu Wang and T'ang Wang. The soldiers of Lu Wang had erected a long line of earthworks on the eastern bank of the Ch'ien T'ang River, and had taken every precaution to prevent any boat from falling into the hands of the Manchus. Occasionally they had even compelled the latter to act on the defensive. But after April, 1646, things underwent a decided change. There was no longer any necessity for the Manchus to act on the defensive. Nor did they remain on the opposite bank trying to throw volleys into the Chinese earthworks. In consequence of a severe drought the river was so low at places that any one could ford it. No soldier could fight for a king who had taken to flight before danger came and had not stopped to pay him. From Shaohsing, Lu Wang had fled to T'aichow, and from there he now set out by sea and sailed along the coast to Amoy. His flight simplified matters to a considerable extent. Shaohsing, Ningpo, T'aichow, Chinhua, and Ch'üchow now fell in rapid succession; and ere long the whole of Chekiang was added to the Manchu domain.

With Ch'üchow (衢州) in the hands of the Manchus, Fukien was no longer safe. Besides this, General Chên Chih-lung (Kox-

inga's father), the mainstay of the Ming cause in this province, had been in secret communication with Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou with a view to surrendering, and had withdrawn the larger portion of his soldiers to Formosa, leaving the approaches to Fukien practically unguarded. T'ang Wang, who was not blind to the character of his general, had left Foochow for Yenp'ing (延平), in the hope of joining his friends at Kungchow. Consequently the Manchus met with even less resistance in Fukien than in Chekiang. Alarmed by the celerity of the Manchus, and knowing that he could count on no help from Kungchow, T'ang Wang turned to the south and fled to Tingchow, leaving Yenp'ing to its fate. His intention was undoubtedly to seek temporary shelter in Kuangtung until Ho Têng-chiao, the Viceroy of Hukuang, could send him aid. But the chances were against him, and before his friends could send him help, he found himself a prisoner in the hands of the Manchu cavalry. He was promptly brought back to Foochow, where he committed suicide. To the joy of the Manchus, Chên Chih-lung, the traitor, wrote from Anping promising submission. After the fall of Chüanchow (泉州) and Changchow (漳州), their work of conquering Fukien was at an end.

Fall of Kanchow.—We have seen that the object T'ang Wang had in going up to Yenp'ing was to place himself nearer his friend in Kiangsi. He had heard how General Yang Ting-ling had driven the Manchus from Kanchow to Chian and thought that he could rely more on him than on any one else. At any rate, that General was the nearest man to whom he could appeal. Accordingly he sent Yang Ting-ling a letter, asking him to come with soldiers and meet him on the Kiangsi-Fukien border. This thoughtlessness on his part was solely responsible for the subsequent disasters in Kiangsi. Yang Ting-ling obeyed, and left the defence of Chian in weaker hands. Before he reached Kanchow he heard to his regret that Chian had been taken. He now had no time to go to the Kiangsi-Fukien border as requested. He must remain with Kanchow, which was being besieged. For two months the garrison defended the city with the courage of

despair, hoping against hope that some day relief might yet come from Kuangtung. At last 5,000 soldiers came from Kuangtung, but only to be driven back. Then came the news of the death of T'ang Wang! The city could hold out no longer, and the horrors of Yangchow were repeated. With the fall of Kanchow, which took place in November 1646, no further resistance was encountered by the Manchus in Kiangsi province.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE CONQUEST OF CHINA—(*Continued*)

The War with Kuei Wang

Election of Kuei Wang.—With the overthrow of the Foochow Government, it became necessary for the Mings to elect a successor to the position made vacant by the death of T'ang Wang. They had still the provinces of Kuangtung, Kuangsi, Yünnan, and Kweichow, besides a portion of Hukuang. Among the men who espoused the cause of the fallen dynasty were Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ and Ho Têng-chiao, Viceroys of Liangkuang and Hukuang respectively. The choice of these Viceroys fell upon Kuei Wang, a grandson of Wanli, who was now proclaimed at Chao-ch'ing, Kuangtung.

Loss of Kuangtung.—Their choice of Kuei Wang, however, was not acceptable to the men who had recently escaped to Canton from Foochow. In their midst was a younger brother of T'ang Wang whom they preferred; but as they could not prevail on Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ and Ho T'êng-chiao to adopt their views, they made him emperor at Canton. Thus within 70 miles of each other there existed two so-called Emperors of the Mings; and a sort of civil warfare was kept up between Canton and Chao-ch'ing to the detriment of their own cause. So intense was their hatred for each other that they actually forgot that Li Ch'êng-tung, a Chinese general who had submitted to the Manchus, was marching an army of considerable strength from Changchow across the Fukien border. Canton, unprepared for the invasion, was easily taken and Yü Ao (聿鐭), for such was the name of the Canton emperor, promptly ended his life by his own hands. Kuei Wang, the surviving one of the puppet emperors, immediately took to flight, leaving the province of Kuangtung to the Manchus.

Defence of Kueilin (1647).—After leaving Chao-ch'ing, Kuei Wang did not stop until he arrived at Kueilin (桂林), a

city of excellent position. Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ tried hard to have him remain, but he would do nothing of the kind because his chief eunuch,* Wang K'un, had told him to go to Chüanchow (全州) on the Hunan border. Indeed, he would not have been a representative of the House of Ming had he had the courage to do otherwise.

In the company of his eunuch, Kuei Wang bade adieu to the Kuangsi province, leaving Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ, the courageous and loyal minister, to hold Kueilin against the victorious army of Li Ch'êng-tung. Notwithstanding the fact that the city had been abandoned by the so-called King, the garrison, thanks to the energy of Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ, gave a good account of itself by withstanding all the attacks of the enemy. At length uprisings in Kuangtung compelled Li Ch'êng-tung to withdraw, and while he was away, Chü Shih-ssŭ recovered nearly all of the cities in Kuangsi that had been taken by the Manchus.

Loss of Hunan (1647).—The success of Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ, however, was more than eclipsed by the reverses sustained by Ho Têng-chiao in Hunan. Kuei Wang's stay in Chüanchow was indirectly responsible for these. The forces under Ho Têng-chiao, or more particularly the thirteen divisions, it must be observed, consisted largely of the old adherents of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, who knew no discipline. Numerically the army was strong, but morally it was weak. After the arrival of Kuei Wang at Chüanchow things went from bad to worse. Liu Chêng-yün (劉承允), one of the commanders of the thirteen divisions, having secured the confidence of the emperor, who was virtually a prisoner in his hands, soon became so powerful that he even forced the Viceroy at Changsha to assume a subordinate position. The result was that the latter completely lost what control he had had over the men who were to defend Hunan. At this juncture an immense Imperial army under the joint command of K'ung Yu-tê (孔有德), Shang K'o-hsi, (尚可喜) and Kêng Ching-chung (耿精忠) appeared at Yochow (岳州). Awed by the size of the army the garrison of Yi Yang (益陽) immediately retreated to

* This eunuch was Wang K'un (王坤), who had escaped from Peking. He was Kuei Wang's eunuch-premier (司禮監).

Changsha (長沙) to demand their overdue pay. The soldiers were so riotous that Ho Têng-chiao found it advisable for him to leave the city; and without its governor, or head, Hunan was easily subdued. Both Hêngchow (衡州) and Yungchow (永州), the two southernmost prefectures of Hunan, soon passed into the hands of the Imperialists. Kuei Wang, who was apparently never tired of moving from place to place, first fled to Wu Kang and thence to Liuchow (柳州). Had it not been for the fresh army raised by the joint efforts of Ho Têng-chiao and Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ, for the sole purpose of holding Chüanchow, the Imperialists would have overrun the whole of Kiangsi before the close of 1647.

Insurrections in Kiangsi, Kuangtung and Shansi.—The next year Kuei Wang was at the height of his power. At a moment when his destruction seemed certain, insurrections broke out in many places in the empire, threatening to bring the Manchu rule to an ignominious end. The first were those led by Chin Shêng-huan (金聲桓) and Li Ch'êng-tung, two able officers, who had successfully extended the Manchu authority throughout the provinces of Kiangsi and Kuangtung. Notwithstanding their services both these men had been placed in subordinate positions under Manchus in their respective provinces and were being constantly watched. That was the natural sequence of serving under aliens, and Chin and Li had every reason to regret their lot. In 1648 they could endure it no longer, and both of them openly revolted and gave their help to Kuei Wang, thus reducing the Manchu authority in Kiangsi and Kuangtung to the lowest ebb. About this time, Li Chan-ch'un (李占春) in Szechuan, and Chiang Kuei (姜瓌) in Tatung, dissatisfied with the new order of things, also rebelled and returned to their former allegiance by acknowledging Kuei Wang as their sovereign. While the Imperial army of Hunan was withdrawn into Kiangsi, Ho Têng-chiao showed his usual energy by recovering the cities of Yungchow, Hêngchow, Paoching and Changtê. Thus all on a sudden Kuei Wang found himself master not only of Yünnan, Kueichow, and Kuangsi, but also of Kuangtung, Kiangsi, Hunan, Szechuan, Shensi, and Shansi. The Manchus trembled on the throne and it looked as if they

might have to retrace their steps into Manchuria at no distant date.

Kiangsi and Hunan Reconquered.—The glory of Kuei Wang, however, was short-lived. With the dawn of 1649 the Manchu sun once more shone out brilliantly in Kiangsi. In this province the insurgents had carried everything except the city of Kanchow (贛州). While they were laying siege to Kanchow or conducting negotiations for its surrender, a Manchu army of considerable strength marched out from Nanking; and, carrying everything before them along the bank of the Yangtze, forced Chin Shêng-huan to return north to defend the city of Nanchang. Wang Tê-jen (王得仁), the second in command of the insurgent army, wished to march on Kiukiang in order to threaten the enemy's flank; but as his orders were peremptory, he had to follow his chief and enter the city, where they were successfully penned up within the walls. The besiegers wisely busied themselves in preventing anything in the nature of food from getting into Nanchang. At length when starvation had done its work, and Nanchang succumbed to its besiegers, both Chin Shêng-huan and Wang Tê-jen were executed. Several times had Li Ch'êng-tung tried to come to the aid of his friends; but he never advanced beyond Kanchow. When the fall of Nanchang relieved the tremendous hordes, his fate too was sealed. He wanted to make a stand at Hsin Fêng (信豐), but his men refused to fight. Broken-hearted and friendless, he drowned all his sorrows in a near-by river.

While the insurrection of Kiangsi was being suppressed, the Imperialists in Hunan were no less successful. At the town of Hsiangtang, where he was making a tour of inspection, the gallant Viceroy, Ho Têng-chiao, was taken by surprise and carried a prisoner into Changsha to meet his death. One division of the Imperialists under Prince Kung Yu-tê then captured Hêngchow and Yungchow in the south; and another under Prince Chêng (鄭親王), Ch'ênchow (辰州) and other cities in the northwest. Before the close of 1649, Hunan was once more a province of the Manchu Empire.

Loss of the Two Kuang Provinces.—With Kiangsi and Hunan restored to the Manchus the two provinces to the south could not hold out much longer. Immediately upon the death of Li Ch'êng-tung, Kuei Wang had appointed a new viceroy of the two Kuang provinces with headquarters at Canton; and had sent a strong force to guard the passes through the line of hills, known as the Yü Ling (庾嶺), which separates Kuangtung from Kiangsi. In the beginning of 1650 a small path was revealed to Prince Shang K'o-hsi by a deserter, and although difficult, it led his men into Kuangtung, without their going through the deep line of defensive works. Yet in the face of diseases which smote down a considerable part of his army, he could not approach Canton except by a regular siege. It was not until the cold season had set in and reinforcements had begun to arrive from Kiangsi that he was able to resume more vigorous operations. On December 2, 1650, Canton was carried by assault and Tu Yung-ho (杜永和), the new viceroy, fled to Hainan. Six days later Kueilin, the capital of Kuangsi, also fell; and both General Chang Tung-ch'ang (張同敞) and Ch'ü Shih-ssŭ were captured by Prince Kung Yu-tê. They spent their lonely hours in the dungeon writing poems until they were executed. General Chang had fought most stubbornly at Chüanchow, and it was only through want of provisions that he had fallen back upon Kueilin. Kuei Wang, who had recently returned to Kueilin, now left it again never to return, going this time towards Nanning (南甯) on the Kuangsi-Yünnan border. As the Manchu soldiers after two years' service in the South needed rest, the main force under Prince Chêng (Manchu) returned in 1651 to Peking. Prince Kung and Prince Shang were appointed to reside in the provinces of Kuangsi and Kuangtung respectively.

Shansi, Shensi, and Szechuan Reconquered.—We shall now turn to the northwest. To cope with the critical situation created by the rebellion of Chiang Kuei, two armies under Generals (都統) Nikan (尼堪) and Pulo (滿洛) were sent from Peking; and a third, under Prince Wu San-kuei, marched north from Hanchung

(漢中). In 1649 the three armies were everywhere successful. Realizing their desperate situation, the insurgents finally killed their own leader, Chiang Kuei (姜瓌), in Tatung; and in course of time, all the cities of Shensi and Shansi were retaken. After the restoration of peace, Prince Wu San-kuei returned to Hanchung; and from that point he marched into Szechuan, where he was quite as successful. By the end of 1650, all traces of insurrection in the northwest had been wiped out in blood.

The Yünkuei Provinces.—The Yünkuei provinces now became the principal seat of war. As already stated, most of the adherents of Chang Hsien-chung had been chased across the border of Szechuan into Kueichow. From Kueichow, some of them found their way into Yünnan, driving out the Ming officials as they went. By the time Kuei Wang arrived at Nanning, both provinces were completely in the hands of those who up to a short time before had fought so desperately to bring about the downfall of the Ming Dynasty. But as Kuei Wang was practically left without a friend, he conferred on Sun K'o-wang (孫可望), their chief at Kuei-yang (貴陽), the title of Ch'in Wang (秦王) (Prince of Ch'in)—an honor Sun had tried in vain to obtain during the previous year. This title at once raised him to a commanding position in Yünkuei; and he in turn sent to Kuei Wang at Anlung (安隆) on the Kuangsi-Yünnan border, a body of three thousand soldiers, nominally to act as his bodyguard, but really to keep watch over him. An invasion of Szechuan and Hunan soon convinced the Peking government that a new foe had arisen in the southwest. In the province of Szechuan, Prince Wu San-kuei was gradually driven as far north as Hanchung. From Hunan, the invaders turned south and marched into Kuangsi, where they took Kueilin, and would have captured Prince K'ung Yu-te himself had he not committed suicide.

Disagreement between Sun K'o-wang and Li Ting-kuo.—Li Ting-kuo (李定國), himself a former rebel, was the man who had personally conducted operations in Hunan and

Kuangsi. So elated was he by his success at Kueilin that he refused to take any further instructions from Sun K'o-wang. From that time their relations were anything but friendly. Sun refused to send him supplies or help, and the result was that after a temporary stay in Kuangsi, he was rapidly driven back to Wukang in Hunan. In 1655 Li Ting-kuo was further pressed by Prince Shang K'o-hsi and gradually withdrew into Nanning. His colleague Liu Wên-hsiu (劉文秀), who had driven Wu San-kuei out of Sze-chuan, was in turn being driven out by that foe. Thus were Kuei Wang's fortunes once more reduced to a low ebb.

At this juncture, Kuei Wang was justly alarmed by the evident designs of Sun K'o-wang, who had mercilessly put to death many of Kuei Wang's ministers and founded six boards at Kueiyang. It was clear that the next thing on his program was nothing short of the murder of Kuei Wang himself. On the presumption that the foe of his enemy might prove a faithful friend, Kuei Wang now appealed to Li Ting-kuo to save his life by making him Prince of Chin (晋王). Moved by his pathetic appeal, Ting-kuo appeared at Anlung with an army and escorted Kuei Wang into Yünnan, where he was joined by the forces of Liu Wên-hsiu. In 1657 the forces of Sun K'o-wang and the allied forces of Li Ting-kuo and Wên-hsiu were drawn up in battle array on the opposite banks of the San Cha Ho (三盆河). In the engagement that ensued, Sun K'o-wang was so badly defeated that he dared not stop at Kueiyang but continued his flight to Changsha, where he tendered his submission to Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou, the Viceroy of Hukuang.

Invasion of Kueichow and Yünnan.—Hitherto the Peking Government had been inclined to let Kuei Wang alone in the southwest. The Manchus had every reason to feel contented. An empire larger than they had ever dreamed of had fallen into their hands, and they wanted to consolidate it before trying to extend it. But with the submission of Sun K'o-wang, every thing was changed. When this new ally was found, Hung Ch'êng-ch'ou, who would never rest satisfied until he had brought the

whole of China to the feet of the Manchus, promptly decided upon a plan of invasion. Three Imperial armies,—one from Hunan, another from Szechuan, and a third from Kuangsi,—were to set out simultaneously and all converge on the city of Kueiyang. These armies arrived at their destination in 1658; and, as the city was poorly defended, it was easily taken. In the autumn the Imperial forces, braced by the arrival from Peking of Prince Hsin (信) as Field Marshal, renewed their march. Since it commanded the main route from Kueichow into Yünnan, Li Ting-kuo tried to hold the famous Iron-Chain Bridge (鐵鎖橋) across the Pei P'an River (北盤江), but had to give way before a superior army. His next hope lay in the line of ambuscades skilfully laid along a most difficult path through the Kaoli Kung Shan (高黎貢山), a spur of the Hsueh Shan (雪山), running parallel to the great Nu River (怒江). He had sent Kuei Wang to Têngyüeh (騰越), and felt confident that if the Imperial army should take up the pursuit, he had yet a chance of annihilating it. But as a deserter disclosed the secret to the pursuers, only a few thousand of the Manchus perished in the trap. From Têngyüeh he crossed the frontier into Burmah, a country, which up to a hundred years before, had been paying tribute to his great ancestors. After all resistance was crushed, Prince Wu San-kuei was given permission to take up his official residence at Yünnanfu, in order to keep an eye on Burmah.

Invasion of Burmah.—In Burmah Kuei Wang might have spent his last days in peace but for Wu San-kuei. It is stated that the latter already cherished a hope of obtaining the Chinese throne for himself, and was therefore anxious that there should be no direct descendant of the founder of the Ming Dynasty. At any rate, it was due entirely to his persistent entreaties that the Peking Government sent a demand to the king of Burmah for the surrender of the fugitive. The demand having been disregarded, a grand army numbering 100,000 was concentrated on the Yünnan frontier in 1661, ready to use force.

Kuei Wang had not been a welcome guest in Burmah. Hearing of his arrival at Bhamo, Pentagle, King of Burmah, sent him an escort and gave him a residence in the city of Jagaing, across the Irrawaddy from Ava, his capital. So far everything was well and good. But Li Ting-kuo soon heard of the whereabouts of his king, and offered to come with the remnant of his army to take him to a more suitable place. As Pentagle would not allow his army to come into the country, Li Ting-kuo declared war upon the Burmese, with the result that he was completely defeated; and afterward did everything he could to stir up trouble between Burmah and her neighboring states. Whether tired of his unwelcome guest, or through fear of the Chinese, Maha Pavares Dhamma Raja, the murderer and successor of Pentagle, caused the unfortunate Kuei Wang, with his wife, son, and other relatives, to the number of one hundred or more, to be arrested and delivered up to Wu San-kuei at Ava. Having secured the royal captives Wu San-kuei returned with his army into Yünnanfu; and in 1662 caused Kuei Wang to be strangled. While being led to the execution ground, his son, a lad of twelve years, cried out; "What have my ancestors in general, and my father and I in particular done to you to merit the treatment we now receive from your hands?" San-kuei might have answered, "Nothing, but you are in my way, my lad." He, however, chose to keep his secret to himself, and the boy was beheaded. With the death of Kuei Wang, all resistance to the Manchu domination of China in favor of her former rulers was at an end.

Prolonged Resistance of the Chinese.—For eighteen years, the Chinese had continued to oppose the advance of the Manchus. Nothing further is needed to show the hatred the Chinese have for foreign rule. Under the foreign yoke, all the unparallelled crimes of the later rulers of the Mings and their eunuchs were at once forgotten, and every one willingly gave up his life and property in the interest of freedom. The failure of the Chinese was not the result of their lack of patriotism, but was due entirely to their lack of organization and union. The

resistance was strongest in the South, but the people in the North were no less patriotic. They had seen enough of the lawlessness of the rebels. It was a choice between two evils, and they chose the lesser which meant order and peace.

With due justice to all concerned, it must be said that the Manchus, after their coming into China, did put down two formidable rebellions, and established in their place law and order. It was the Chinese horror of foreign government that compelled them to take the stand they did. China at last was overpowered; but the hearts of her people were never subdued.

NOTE: That the women throughout China never adopted the Manchu attire is a fact too conspicuous to need explanation. In many places an equally remarkable custom has been observed to the present day of requiring every newly-born child to be dressed in the Ming attire; while at other places, dead bodies are usually wrapt in a similar manner. Thus are we reminded that "so long as we live, we shall not submit to the Manchus, and even when we die, it is without submission to the Manchus" (生不服清, 死不服清).

CHAPTER XXXVIII

FURTHER STRUGGLES WITH THE MANCHUS

The So-called Pirates.—In the foregoing chapters, we have seen how the Chinese struggled (1644-1661) with the Manchus on land; and we shall now see how that struggle was extended to the sea. During these years almost every good-sized island on the coast of China was used as a base for hostile preparations against the Manchus; and many of the brave sons of China after their fruitless attempts on the mainland gladly took to the sea either to avoid capture or to organize further resistance. The Chinese historians have been wont to call these men "Pirates" because they boarded ships. But their aim was not piratical, even though many pirates were undoubtedly with them. The fact that even pirates flocked together to make an effort to free China from the clutches of a foreigner, only tends to make their deeds the more laudable.

Lu Wang at Nan-ao.—The first of the so-called pirates to claim our attention was the Lu Wang who was expelled from Chekiang in 1646. He sailed down the coast as far south as the island of Nan-ao (南澳), where he was joined by many who still remained faithful to the house he represented. During the next two years (1647-8), he made several attempts to invade Fukien. At one time he was in possession of several cities on the coast, including Kienning (建寧), Shaowu (邵武), Hsinghua (興化), and Funing (福甯), though by the autumn of 1649 everything on the mainland was lost to him, and he was once more obliged to put to sea.

His Descent Upon Chekiang.—His next rendezvous was Chushan (舟山), an island which commands the entrance to the Ch'ien T'ang (錢塘) River. Huang Pin-ch'ing (黃斌卿), who had for years held the island against the Manchus, was killed in an attempt to prevent Lu Wang from landing, but for some time afterward the island was honored with the royal residence. Frequent expeditions up the Ch'ien T'ang River soon made known the return of Lu Wang to his former home, and many of the inhabitants along

the coast, particularly in the prefectures of Wênchow (溫州), T'ai-chow (台州), Ningpo (寧波), and Shaohsing (紹興), lent him aid, by erecting hundreds of barricades in the hilly parts of the country. They cancelled their new allegiance and caused no little trouble to the authorities. The situation was ably summed up by Ch'ên Chin (陳錦), the Viceroy of Minche, in his report to Peking as follows:—"Whenever the pirates land, the highway robbers extend them aid, and whenever steps are taken to punish the latter, they at once go on board the ships in the harbor and sail away. Not only is the coast of Fukien and Kuangtung exposed to their raids, but the cities of Soochow (蘇州) and Sung-kiang (松江) to the north are also in danger of an invasion."

In the fall of 1651, Lu Wang ventured too far from his base. Thinking that the authorities would not take the offensive, he set out with a large fleet to capture Wusung (吳淞), and left only 6,000 men to defend Chushan. This was Viceroy Ch'ên's opportunity. Under cover of a dense fog, he landed his army on Chushan and annihilated the garrison that had been left behind. Once more without a home, Lu Wang escaped with his fleet to Amoy (廈門), and lived the rest of his unhappy days a guest of Chêng Ch'êng-kung.* In 1662 he died in Formosa, and was the only one of the four princes, who had had the courage to dispute the Manchu authority, to die a natural death.

KOXINGA

Origin of the Name Koxinga, or Koshinga.—Chêng Ch'êng-kung was the son of Chêng Chih-lung and a Japanese woman. He was such a favorite with the court at Foochow that T'ang Wang

*Lu Wang no longer used his title of regent (監國), but adopted that of Yu Kung (寓公) or "Sojourner," instead. Koxinga, who never forgot the dispute between T'ang Wang and the Yu Kung, refused to accord him royal honors, although he permitted him to remain with him till the end of his life.

conferred on him the royal surname of Chu (朱). Thenceforth he became known among his countrymen, the Southern Fukiencse, as Kuo-Hsing-Ya (國姓爺), or "Lord of the Royal Surname"; hence his name "Koxinga," or "Koshinga," as it was written by the Portuguese. Koxinga remained a loyal subject of the Ming Dynasty all his life, and of all its friends he was the most successful.

Koxinga Harasses the Coast of Fukien.—When Chêng Chih-lung tendered his submission to the Manchus, his son signified his disapproval by fleeing to Amoy and fortifying that island. Koxinga, it must be borne in mind, belonged to a city noted for its fine sailors.* His father had been a sort of sea-lord on the coast. It is stated that no junk could ply between Amoy, then the centre of foreign trade in China, and the outside world, without flying his flag, and for this privilege as much as $3,000 was charged. When the sea-faring people of Fukien, Chêng Chih-lung's friends, heard of what the father had done, they naturally transferred their fidelity to the son. The father had shaved his head and was to them a traitor; but as the son would do nothing of the kind, he was a national hero, and at once became their new lord and new leader. Eastern Kuangtung supplied him with rice and other necessities of life; Southern Fukien, with men to man his ships and to fight his battles; and Foochow and Wênchow, with the necessary timber for shipbuilding.† Notwithstanding the strong force stationed along the coast, Koxinga could sail here and there as he pleased and nothing could induce him to give up his noble purpose. He would not accept any title of nobility‡ from the Manchu Emperor, or listen to any advice or threats from his agents; and a command from his father to surrender was completely ignored. At one time, he laid siege to the city of Foochow; and at another, he slew the Viceroy of Minche in open battle near Kiang Tung Chiao (江東橋).

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* He was a native of Nau-ngau, Fukien.

† The Memorial from a certain Censor to Shun Chih.

‡ He was offered the title, "Duke of Haich'êng" (海澄公), Haich'êng being a city not far from Amoy. The same title was later given to Huang Wu (黃梧) (see Page 356), and is still held by his descendants at the present day.

Koxinga's First Attempt to Seize Nanking.—His fame was such that Kuei Wang conferred upon him the title of Prince of Yen P'ing (延平郡王), and thus stimulated him to greater efforts. He now had 50,000 sailors, 100,000 soldiers, one half of whom were cavalry, and some 20,000 auxiliaries. Sailing northward with these in 1654, he intended to effect a landing between Wênchow and T'aichow, and then march to Nanking. Unfortunately, he encountered a severe typhoon on the coast; and, after having lost a number of ships and several thousand soldiers, was compelled to return to Amoy with a heavy heart.

His Second Attempt.—His second attempt in 1659 was more successful. This time he came within sight of Nanking, although he did not succeed in capturing it. The garrison of Nanking then was considerably weakened by the contingent it had sent into Kueichow. Suspecting the weakness of the garrison, Koxinga brought his fleet of seventeen ships up the Yangtze, landed 2,000 men near Chinkiang and routed, at Yang P'êng Shan (楊篷山), an immense army that had been arrayed against him. Chinkiang was taken and the vicinity of Nanking was reached; and there to his great delight, he saw the tomb of Hung Wu (洪武), the founder of the Ming Dynasty. One of his lieutenants suggested to him that he should march immediately to Yangchow (揚州), in order to threaten the communication between Shantung and the South, and prevent the grain of Chekiang from getting into the North. This was certainly sound advice, but Koxinga refused to take it.

In the meantime, a squadron under Admiral Chang Huang-yen (張煌言) had under Koxinga's orders landed a body of men at Wuhu to advance in the direction of Ning Kuo (寧國) and Huichow (徽州). Four prefectures (府), three departmental districts (州), and twenty-four districts (縣), in Anhui, opened their gates to them. The fact that the Emperor Shun Chih talked of taking the field himself, is evidence of the panic into which Peking was thrown upon hearing of Koxinga's success in the South. There was, however, no necessity for this step.

Before the walls of Nanking, Koxinga soon sustained a defeat which made a retreat advisable; and his troops in Anhui also had to withdraw before the victorious army now returning from Kweichow. Koxinga once more returned to Amoy. He never ventured north with his fleet again, but founded for himself a valuable kingdom in the island of Formosa.

Formosa Prior to Its Occupation by Koxinga.—Formosa, one of the largest islands on the coast of Asia, is about 260 miles in length, and 60 to 70 miles broad in its widest part. It is separated from Fukien province by a channel about 100 miles in width. The name it bears is of Portuguese origin,—signifying "beautiful island." To the Chinese it is T'aiwan (台灣), or Pishina (毗舍那); and it is stated that it was first sighted off the Pescadores (澎湖) by an official of the Sung Dynasty. The Japanese claim that they attempted to make a colony out of it in 1620; but large numbers of Chinese were there before that date.* The first Europeans to visit the island were the Portuguese. When the Dutch came in 1624, after their expulsion from the Pescadores by the Chinese, they found a number of Spaniards in in the island whom they later drove out. They founded several settlements in Formosa, of which Fort Zealandia (安平) and Fort Provintia (赤嵌) were the notable ones.

Chinese Immigration.—"The establishment of the Manchu Dynasty caused thousands of Chinese families to emigrate to Formosa. They either settled under the Dutch, or planted colonies of their own, and by their industry soon changed the

*During the 2nd decade of the 16th century, a certain Chinese pirate, by the name of Ling Tao-ch'ien (林道乾), found refuge in this island. According to a Chinese account, the Japanese came to the island at the instance of a Chinese pirate, Yen Ssŭ-chi (顏思齊). His adherents were numerous and Chêng Chih-lung was one of them. Chêng made his residence at Anping for a good many years, and during all the time that he was the power behind T'ang Wang, Anping remained his headquarters and the place where his treasures were stored. Chêng surrendered to the Mings in 1628, or the 1st year of Ch'ung Chêng. The authorities of Fukien then having no exact knowledge of the extent of Formosa, suggested to the Dutch that they should move from the Pescadores to that island.

desolate island into a cultivated country, and increased the production of rice and sugar for exportation. The immigration went on so rapidly that the Dutch became greatly alarmed; but, instead of taking wise measures to conciliate and instruct the colonists, they tried to prevent their landing, and thereby did much to irritate them and lead them to join in any likely attempt to expel the foreigners." *

Koxinga Drives out the Dutch.—At last the end of Dutch rule in Formosa was at hand. Koxinga was in need of a better home than Amoy, or Quemoy (金門). He had been in secret communication with the Chinese in Formosa, and had obtained an official map of the island from one of the Dutch officials. In June, 1661, he completed his preparations for invading Formosa, placed his son, Chêng Ching (鄭經), at the head of affairs in Amoy, and, leading the expedition himself, landed 25,000 men in the neighborhood of Fort Zealandia, and immediately proceeded to cut off the communication between the forts. Fort Provintia was forced to surrender and Fort Zealandia was left to defend itself as best it could. As relief had to come from without, Coyet, the Dutch governor of Formosa, sent the swiftest ship he had to Batavia for help. In response to his appeal ten ships and seven hundred men arrived from Batavia; and, for a time, Koxinga's operations were checked. During the respite, Coyet committed a grave blunder, by sending away five ships to aid the Chinese authorities in an attempt to dislodge Koxinga's son from Amoy. This caused Koxinga to renew with vigor his attack on Fort Zealandia which, after a nine months' siege, surrendered.† The Dutch flag came down never to go up again.

Koxinga in Formosa; His Death.—Koxinga now busied himself in putting his new home in order. Laws were made,

*Williams' "A History of China."

†Koxinga said to the Dutch; "I have come to take possession of what was once my father's property. So far as the treasures you have accumulated here are concerned, you can ship them away with you."

schools founded, and the approaches to the island fortified. Nor did he forget Amoy and Quemoy whose garrisons he strengthened. With a view to cultivating the friendship of his immediate neighbors, he sent embassies both to Japan and the Philippine Islands, the latter being then in the hands of the Spaniards. Fort Provintia, under its new name of Ch'êng T'ien Fu (承天府), became the seat of Koxinga's government, where many an unfortunate prince of the fallen house, like Lu Wang, was received with open arms. Formosa in fact became an asylum for all Chinese who refused to submit to Manchu rule. In view of the continuous emigration, laws were made by the Emperor Shun Chih forbidding any one to embark on the sea, even for the purposes of trade or fishing, and calling upon the inhabitants of Fukien to retire 30 *li* from the coast. It was hoped that by these measures Koxinga would be prevented from receiving any supplies of men or provisions from the mainland. Convinced that there was no hope of Koxinga's ever becoming a subject of the Manchu Empire, the authorities caused his poor father, Chêng Chih-lung, who had been kept a prisoner in Ninguta, to be put to death for having lost all influence over his son. Koxinga survived his father but a short time. In 1662 death cut short his remarkable career at the early age of 39. His death left the Manchus in undisputed possession of the whole of China Proper, as the prize of eighteen years' hard and incessant fighting. Formosa remained in Koxinga's family for a period of twenty-two years after his death.

CHAPTER XXXIX

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES UNDER THE MANCHU RÉGIME

Introductory.—To present an elaborate account of the political and social organization of China under the Manchus is outside of the scope of the present treatise. What we propose to do is rather to trace some of the more important changes that followed the great event of 1644. In that memorable year, a native dynasty, after having ruled China for over two centuries and a half, was dethroned and its place was taken by a people full of energy and martial spirit, and with institutions and manners different from those of China. The whole country finally lay prostrate at their feet, and in the midst of war every institution had been shaken to the very foundation. The new ruler was ever ready to enforce law with an iron hand. Under these circumstances it will be of interest to observe how much of the old order of things remained and how much that was new was introduced.

Continuation of the Old Form of Government; Manchu Officials Have Precedence of their Chinese Colleagues.—As has

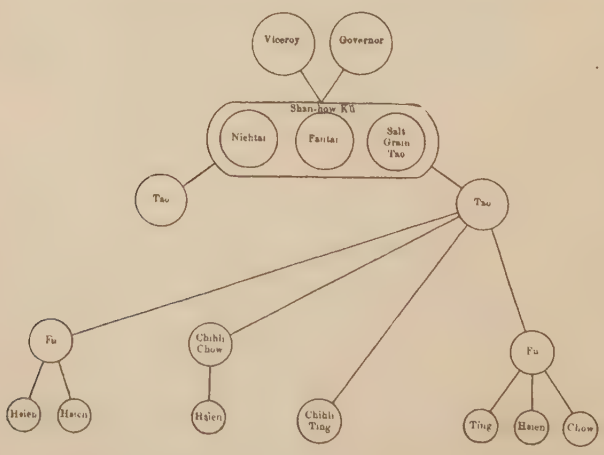

Diagram showing essential elements of provincial administration. (Morse)

been seen in the foregoing pages, the reign of Shun Chih was largely occupied with fighting. Incessant warfare necessarily suspended all efforts at reform ; and as a result the old form of government was continued. The emperor remained the head of the state, the source of power, the fountain of justice, and the high priest of the people. In the work of governing, he was assisted by six boards,—the Six Boards of the Ming Dynasty which had been adopted in Mukden. Most of those who had held office under the previous dynasty, were, by order of the prince regent, continued in the same appointments, although they were now subordinated to a Manchu bearing the same title. In other words, with the exception of certain offices which could not be held by persons other than Manchus, every office of importance connected with the Central Government became a sort of partnership between two persons, one of whom was Manchu and the other Chinese. The Manchu always had precedence of his colleague, and was therefore in a position to impose his will upon his associate. For a time he was also the spokesman.* So long as the co-occupants of an office were not able to understand each other, they were at the mercy of their interpreter, or Ch'ihsinlang (啓心郎). Indeed, this was the chief reason named for abolishing the office of interpreter in the 15th year of Shun Chih.

The seal of office continued to be used in official documents instead of signatures. At first the inscriptions were in both Chinese and Manchu, the seal of Yen Shêng Kung (衍聖公)† with only the Chinese characters, being the one exception.

The Cabinet or Nei Ko.—The grand secretaries (大學士) of the Manchus in Mukden were mere clerks and had nothing to do with the executive functions of the state. After their arrival at Peking, the new rulers found that the functions of their grand secretaries were identical with those of the members of the Han Lin Academy (翰林院). Since the retention of the latter rendered

*Imperial Decree of the 13th year of Shun Chih.

†See Page 349.

their grand secretaries superfluous, they were abolished; and at the same time the cabinet system of the Mings was reinstated. Henceforth the cabinet, or Nei Ko (內閣), consisting of Six Grand Secretaries, half Manchu and half Chinese, as well as a number of subordinate officials, became the most powerful and important body under the Throne. In the next century it was superseded in active usefulness by the Chünchich'u (軍機處), or Grand Council. No Chinese could become a grand secretary unless he had been a member of the Han Lin Academy,- a requirement which was not exacted of a Manchu.

Eunuchs.—Eunuchs were not known among the Manchus before their coming into China, but the conquerors were aware of the part this class of persons had played during the Ming Dynasty. The first thing the Manchus did was to deprive them of their power, and exclude them from audiences and other state ceremonies. So much stands to their credit, but they did not go far enough. So long as there was an emperor's harem, so long would there be eunuchs. After the abolition of the "Thirteen Yamens" (十三衙門) in the 18th year of Shun Chih, most of the duties which had belonged to the eunuchs of the Mings were assigned to the Nei Wu Fu (內務府), or Household Department. A eunuch was forbidden by the statutes to hold any rank above the fourth grade, or interfere with state affairs. These restraints largely account for the fact that no abuse, such as had made the name of the Ming Dynasty a shame, was repeated under the Manchus.

The System of Literary Examinations.—The system of literary examinations, as told in a previous chapter, was the product of the brain of Hung Wu (洪武). It proved the most effective weapon the founders of the Manchu Dynasty could wield against the literary and most influential part of the populace. The followers of the Sung philosophers could endure every form of oppression provided they were assured of their privilege of taking the public examinations. For this reason, the system of literary examinations was granted a further lease of life after the passing away of the dynasty Hung Wu had founded. As soon as a

province became pacified the system was restored in that province. Later on even the Manchus were subjected to this worst intellectual fetter that man has ever invented.

Literary Examination Halls

Honors to Confucius.—Similar reasons led the Manchus to bestow honors upon Confucius. In this matter, they did not blindly follow the footsteps of the Mings but did something to establish the true relationship in which Confucius stands to the people. The preceding dynasties had been so wont to honor him with all sorts of princely titles that he occupied very much the same position as a Chinese god. No greater injustice could have been done to Confucius. The Emperor Shun Chih undertook to give Confucius a title for all ages. He was no longer to be known as Wên Hsüan Wang* (文宣王); but as the "Greatest Sage," or Chih Shêng (至聖), and our "Teacher" (先師). He was not to be worshipped as a god, but honored as our sage and teacher. To his family the hereditary title, Yen Shêng Kung (衍聖公), or Holy Duke, was secured.

* A title conferred by the Yüan Dynasty and continued under the Ming.

The Manchu Provincial Garrisons; The Green Camps.— In the matter of provincial government, the Manchus also copied the greater part from the Mings. The highest authority in this system was the viceroy (總督); but, during the reign of Shun Chih as well as in the days of the Mings, his office was of a rather temporary character. In the more important provinces the establishment of Manchu garrisons under a Tartar General and a number of lesser dignitaries, was, of course, an innovation. In such cases, the Tartar General, owing to his Manchu blood, ranked before the viceroy of the province.

A Field Piece

Iron Four-pounder

The Manchu garrisons at the following points formed an outer defence to Peking and were also expected to keep an eye on Mongolia.

Shantung, Ch'ingchow (青州).

Honan, Kaifêng (開封).

Shansi, Kueihua (歸化城).

Shensi, Sian (西安).

Kansu, Ninghsia (寧夏), Liangchow (涼州), and a subdivision at Tsun Lang (遵浪).

Those at the following places were to hold in submission the conquered Chinese.

Szechuan, Ch'êngtu (成都).

Hupeh, Chingchow (荆州).

Kiangsu, Nanking (南京),* with a smaller garrison at Chinkiang (鎮江).

Chekiang, Hangchow (杭州), with a smaller garrison at Chapu (乍浦), once a seaport, but now silted up.

Fukien, Foochow (福州).

Kuangtung, Canton (廣州).

There were six provinces in which there were no Manchu garrisons. They had the Chinese soldiery of the conquest, or Hanchün (漢軍); and besides these other Chinese soldiers who were organized into the so-called "Green Camps" (綠營),† from the colour of their standard as distinguished from the Eight Banners. The Eight Banners moved from province to province, but the green camps were generally assigned to garrison duty.

The First Code of Law.—The first code of law issued by the Manchus is dated in the 5th moon of the 3rd year of Shun Chih (June, 1641). Apart from the legislation made necessary by the intermingling of Chinese and Manchus, the code was chiefly a reproduction of the Ming code. Owing to the differences in language and customs, the Chinese and the Manchus were placed under different laws and courts. The cruel tortures were not the invention of the conquerors. Their earliest code sanctioned only two kinds of punishment, viz.:—death and flogging.§

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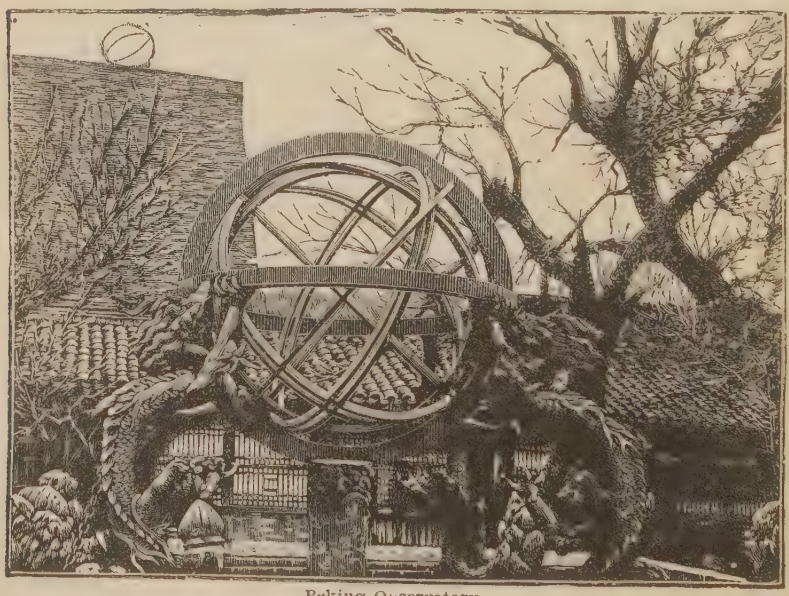
* Its name was changed to Kiangning by Shun Chih. The city was no longer a Southern Capital under the Manchus.

† These consist of the viceroy's command, or Tupiao (督標), the governor's command, or Fupiao (撫標), and the general's command, or Tipiao (提標).

§ Introduction to the First Code by Shun Chih.

The Imperial Calendar; Success of the Jesuit Missionaries.—The right to issue the calendar in China has been part of the imperial prerogative from time immemorial. The president of the Astronomical Department (欽天監) under Shun Chih was neither Chinese nor Manchu, but a Jesuit missionary named Joannes Adam Schall (湯若望). In the first year of Shun Chih, a solar eclipse, which took place, bore witness to the accuracy of Schall's calculations and caused his appointment. Under the reign of this emperor Jesuit missionaries, owing to scientific knowledge, achieved unparallelled success in China. They also found a good friend at Nanking in the mother of Fu Wang. It is stated that through one of the missionaries she sent a letter to the Pope with a view to interesting him in the cause of her son.



Peking Observatory

Extension of Slavery.—In the conquest of China we have a case of slavery following the flag. There were three classes of slaves:—

1. Imperial Gifts (賞給). These were mostly prisoners of war, and to the captor belonged the captives.

2. Volunteer Slaves (投充). Coming into China at a time when lawlessness was the order of the day, the Manchus found thousands of evil-doers ready to enlist themselves as their slaves. The badge of slavery conferred upon them a new status which gave them a right to prey upon their neighbors, to seize property which was not theirs, and to commit other things which they could not otherwise have done with impunity. It should not be understood that their masters knowingly permitted all sorts of lawlessness. It was their lack of a sufficient knowledge of the native tongue and customs, rather than their connivance that made such things possible.

3. Slaves by Purchase (契買). Reduced to the verge of famine, there were many fathers and mothers who were willing to dispose of their children for a nominal sum of money. Besides these, there were persons who had no other means of subsistence, and so offered themselves for sale in the slave market. There were also kindnappers reaping immense profit from the trade, and in some cases their sales were made with the consent of the local authorities, the deeds being stamped with official seals. But it was not illegal for a Manchu to own slaves on a "white deed," that is deed not having been stamped by the officials. In short, slaves could be bought or sold in the same manner as ordinary property; hence the terms, "Red Deed" (紅契) and "White Deed" (白契), were applied to slaves as well as real estate.

In respect to the treatment and position of slaves there was practically no distinction. All slaves remained in slavery and their children in the same social position. It was not until the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung that laws were made allowing descendants of slaves to redeem themselves, either by the payment of sums of money, or by deeds of gallantry on the battle field.

Slavery, however, was not brought into China by the Manchus. It had existed under the previous dynasties, and it had not been unusual for a high official of the Ming Dynasty to own hundreds of slaves. The last emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Ch'ung Chêng, even

requested his ministers to train their slaves to defend the capital against the rebels. After the overthrow of the dynasty, thousands of these slaves seized the opportunity for plunder and revenge, and undoubtedly many of them became the "volunteer slaves" of the Manchus.

The Fugitive Slave Law.—No law was more severe than the fugitive slave law, and any one who harbored such a slave was liable to have his head chopped off and his neighbors banished. Even the local officials were not exempt from blame. It is needless to say that such a law often worked undue hardship on persons who were not at all guilty.

The Manchu Homesteads.—The greatest question that presented itself to the new government was how to provide homes for the numerous Manchus. The order from the Throne concerning this matter said that "all lands around Peking found without owners" should be reserved as homesteads (圈地) for the Manchus. No one at the present day (1913) is able to say how much of the land so reserved was really "found without owners." An Imperial Decree, dated the 8th year of Shun Chih, throws considerable light upon the subject, and we shall let it speak for itself: "It has come to our knowledge that lands belonging to the people have been seized at various places and reserved for hunting grounds, or for camps. Granting that the end in view is to carry out frequent military reviews and maneuvers, it should be remarked that the ancients only practiced things of this nature when they could be done without interference with the agricultural pursuits of the people. But in the present case, lands which should have been under cultivation have been seized, so that the only means by which the people can hope to feed and clothe themselves have been taken away from them. This condition of things has grieved Us to a great extent. Let your department,* therefore, take steps to restore to their rightful owners the reserves, hitherto taken from the Chinese, that they may cultivate the same before the season ends."

* The Decree was addressed to the Board of Revenue.

Besides the homesteads granted by the government, it was not unusual during those early days for a "volunteer slave" to give up his title to land in favor of his master. In so doing, he had every thing to gain and nothing to lose. In the first place, as a president of the Censorate in the 12th year of Shun Chih pointed out, the land did not belong to him but to his neighbor ; in the second place, land registered in the name of his master paid no government taxes; and, in the third place, he had every hope of being appointed a Chuang T'ou (莊頭) or homestead keeper, when he would be able to rent the same land to tenants at a profit to himself. Few Manchus ever tilled their lands themselves.

The Pension System and Its Effect.—Perhaps no government was even more generous to her soldiers than the Manchu Dynasty. After the conquest of China, there was a law which secured to each bannerman rations according to his rank. The intention of the Government was that every bannerman should be brought up to be as fine a soldier as his fathers had been. The allowance given during those early days was undoubtedly ample for the needs of a Manchu. Surrounded by a number of slaves ready to do his bidding, and with a large revenue from his homestead, every Manchu was his own lord, and spent his time in rearing falcons or other pet birds, in frequenting theatres, or in patronizing public bars and restaurants. His "Master (主子)," the Emperor, finally found it necessary to make laws preventing his going upon the stage,—a calling that was always looked down upon in China,—and making the excessive use of liquor a crime. It was also found advisable to place restrictions upon his movements, but the effect was just the reverse of what had been expected. Instead of a nation in arms, there was an enormous army of idlers. As a whole the Manchu element in China was poorer than the Chinese ; and this was especially true during their last days in power.

The Manchu Nobility.—The Imperial Nobility consisted of twelve degrees ; four were Princes ; four, Imperial Dukes ; and four, Commanders. Unless a title was conferred with "the right of inheritance for ever" (世襲罔替), all the above honors were to be

handed down in a diminished degree ; the son of a prince of the first order became a prince of the second order, and so on, until the 12th degree was succeeded by a "Commander by Grace" (奉恩將軍). This title permitting no further diminution was then secured to the family forever, unless taken away for misconduct. To the families of the eight princes who took part in the conquest of China, the right of perpetual inheritance was secured, hence the term "the Iron Crown Princes" (鐵帽子王). Untitled Imperial Clansmen, if they were able to trace their descent from Hsien Tsu (顯祖), were permitted to wear the yellow girdle ; and, if from one of his brothers, they could wear the red girdle. A "Yellow Girdle" (黃帶子) clansman, when degraded, became a "Red Girdle" (紅帶子) clansman. Titles of Imperial Nobility were often conferred on Mongol Khans, but never on Chinese after Wu San-kuei.

Admission of Chinese into the Banner Organization.—During the early days of the dynasty the right to become a bannerman was granted for distinguished services. Of this class of bannermen, the most prominent were Wu San-kuei and Kung Yu-tê. Even Sun K'o-wang (孫可望), after his surrender, was made a duke and admitted into banner citizenship. The same honor was also extended to Wang Wu (黃梧),* and a few others.

Smallpox.—When the Manchus first entered China, the disease they dreaded most was smallpox. Many times, the Emperor Shun Chih held no audiences because of the outbreak of this disease; and once, when it threatened to become epidemic, all infected persons were removed from the city by imperial command. It is stated that during the panic hundreds of persons suffering from non-contagious skin diseases were forcibly taken away from their homes and sent into the "wilderness."

The Shaving of the Head; the Queue.—Before closing the first part of our narrative, we must mention the most conspicuous change imposed on China by the Manchus. A people gifted with less strength of will might never have attempted to

* Duke of Haich'êng (海澄公).

require the Chinese to wear a queue, and to shave the head as a sign of submission. This requirement undoubtedly had a good deal to do with the stubborn resistance the Manchus met with in the South. The name of Confucius even would not excuse his descendants from complying with the law. It is a matter of regret that the same strong hand that forced the shaving of the head was not applied to the rooting out of many glaring evils, such as the employment of eunuchs, footbinding, literary examinations, drowning of girls*, and the thousand and one other evils of China. In a land like China, where there is such a variety of people, and where the art of deceit has been taught, fostered, and honored by the teachings of the Sung philosophers, a strong government is always a necessity. A strong government does not necessarily mean absolutism. It means a government that is able to enforce its laws. Lawlessness and freedom are two entirely different things; and no nation can long continue to exist unless its people can distinguish the one from the other. No government has any excuse for being unless it can help the people so to distinguish them. The Manchus owed their success to a strong government as much as to an invincible army.

*Towards the close of the reign of Shun Chih several edicts were issued prohibiting this practice, but were insufficient to root out the evil.

SECOND PERIOD:—THE ERA OF GREATNESS

(1662—1796)

CHAPTER XL

THE SAN FAN REBELLION

Death of Shun Chih; Accession of K'ang Hsi.—Shun Chih died in 1661. Seventeen years before when he was crowned in Mukden, his "Empire" was bounded on the southwest by Ning-yüan (寧遠) and Shanhaikuan (山海關). Thanks to the energy and loyalty of his uncle, the Prince Regent, when Shun Chih died, at the age of twenty-four, he was the Kubla Khan* of the Manchus, and the acknowledged head of China as well as Manchuria. He had ruled in his own name since 1651, the year after the death of his uncle.† The death of Shun Chih brought his third son, a lad of eight, to the throne. This boy-emperor, who reigned under the name of K'ang Hsi (康熙), lived to be one of the greatest emperors China ever had. For a time the government was conducted in his name by four guardians or regents; but like his father, he took the reins of government in his own hands at the age of fourteen. With his accession, we are about to enter on the golden period of the Manchu Dynasty. If fear and good fortune had guarded the throne of Shun Chih, love and reverence now secured it to K'ang Hsi.

The San Fan Rebellion.—The reign of K'ang Hsi opened with a formidable rebellion, which finally spread through eleven of the Eighteen Provinces, and required eight years for its suppression. This rebellion is commonly known as the San Fan Rebellion, or the war with the Second Three Princes (後三藩之役), to distinguish it from the war of the First Three Princes. In the earlier struggle, it was resistance to the planting of the Eight Banners in China; but in the

* The temple name of the Emperor Shun Chih is Shih Tsu (世祖), the same as that of Kubla Khan.

† The Prince Regent died in 1650 at the age of 39. Shun Chih began to rule in his own name the following year.

present case, it was an armed contest between the Chinese and Manchus for the ownership of China. The revolt was in fact led by the very Chinese who had put the Manchus in possession of their empire.

The Principal Leaders of the Revolt.—Wu San-kuei (吳三桂) (Prince of Ping Hsi 平西), Kêng Ching-chung (耿精忠) (Prince of Ching Nan 靖南), and Shang Chih-hsin (尙之信) (Prince of Ping Nan (平南) were the principal leaders of the revolt; the last two were the grandson and son, respectively, of Kêng Chung-ming (耿仲明) and Shang K'o-hsi (尙可喜). At one time there were four Chinese princes under the Manchus; but, owing to the extinction of the house of Kung Yu-tê, there were only three in the time of K'ang Hsi. According to the law, daughters could not inherit titles of nobility from their fathers, hence Princess Kung Ssŭ-chên, the only surviving child of Kung Yu-tê, received no part of her father's estate.*

In time she was married to Sun Yen-ling (孫延齡), who subsequently became the "Tartar General,"† or Chiang Chün (將軍), of Kuangsi, a position which he owed entirely to his matrimonial alliance with the family of Kung Yu-tê. Thus at the time of the accession of K'ang Hsi, there was one Chinese prince in Yünnan, one in Kuangtung, and one in Fukien, while a Chinese Tartar General in Kuangsi exercised the powers of a prince.

Power of Wu San-kuei.—Of all the princes Wu San-kuei was by far the most powerful, as he had received the lion's share of the credit for the conquest of China. The viceroy of Yün-kuei (雲貴總督) and the governors of each province were all subject to his orders. In the matter of making appointments, he was virtually independent of the Boards in Peking. Civil and military officers

* A daughter of an Imperial Prince of the second degree (多羅郡王) is Hsien Chu (縣主); of the third degree (多羅貝勒), Chün Chün (郡君); of the fourth degree (貝子), Hsien Chün (縣君); and of an Imperial Duke of the first or second degree, Hsiang Chün (鄉君); Colloquially, all of them are Ko Ko (格格), from a Manchu word. The daughters of Imperial nobles in the lower ranks are designated as Tsung Nu (宗女).

† Sun was not a Tartar himself.

receiving appointments from him were designated Hsi Hsüan (西選) (selected by the Prince of the West), and they held posts throughout China. In financial matters, he was free from any restraint or direction from the Board of Revenue. He took up his abode in the old palace of Kuei Wang at Wu Hua Shan (五華山), Yünnanfu, where he rivalled K'ang Hsi in splendor and greatness. His private property consisted 70,000 *mow* of land; and the revenue from the mines and the receipts from the salt gabelle within his district all went to him, instead of to the government at Peking. Thousands of Mongolian and Tibetan ponies were brought into Yünnan every year in exchange for tea, cloth, and other commodities required by the Mongols and Tibetans. His friends and protégés controlled all the important routes leading into his district; and with a son, the husband of an imperial princess, resident at the Court in Peking, he kept in touch with everything that passed in the Capital and in the Imperial Palace. In military strength, he had 53 Tso Ling (佐領), or 10,600 Han Chün (漢軍) soldiers, 12,000 "Green Camps," and numerous auxiliaries. To feed this army and those of the Princes Ching Nan and Ping Nan, cost the government "upwards of Tls. 20,000,000 a year."

The Question of Disbandment.—Matters came to a crisis in the year 1673. In the earlier part of that year an application for retirement was received at Peking from Shang K'o-hsi, the aged Prince of Ping Nan living in Canton. He had been for years a prisoner in the hands of his own son, Chih-hsin (之信), a drunken and undutiful wretch. Thinking that foul play might some day be used, he decided that the best way to get out of the trouble was to return to Liaotung, and leave his son at Canton; hence his application. The application was received with joy at Peking, as it gave the young Emperor an opportunity to display his energetic character. He replied to the application with an order that the prince should disband all his soldiers, and then return with his sons, other members of his family, and slaves to Liaotung (遼東). This order was a surprise not only to Shang K'o-hsi but also to Wu San-kuei and Kêng Ching-chung as well. The latter both

thought that policy and courtesy required them to make a similar application, and by so doing they found out what greater surprise there was in store for them. K'ang Hsi treated their applications in the same manner and answered them with the same kind of order. Indeed many of K'ang Hsi's ministers questioned the wisdom of his action; but he was firm. Young as he was, he was a well-read man for his day, and knew the evil of feudalism and what unrestrained power in the hands of feudal lords had meant to the previous dynasties.

First Act of Rebellion.—The hope of Wu San-kuei was now completely thwarted. For all the services he had rendered, first in letting the Manchus into the formidable Pass of Shanhai-kuan, and then in extending their authority gradually throughout the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Szechuan, and Yünnan, he was to be returned to Liaotung, not to enjoy rest and grandeur, but to die like the humblest Manchu. He owed the Manchus nothing; but they owed him everything. If they did not appreciate his friendship, he could as yet prove the worst enemy they could have. On November 21, 1673, Wu San-kuei caused the governor of Yünnan to be murdered; and having committed the first act of rebellion, he openly unfurled the standard of revolt and conferred upon himself the title of "Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Empire" (天下都招討兵馬大元帥).* He ceased to shave his head, and "caused it to be spread far and wide" that the Chow (周) Dynasty had been revived. The provincial commander of Yünnan (雲南提督), the governor, and the commander of Kuei-chow, all gave him aid. The Viceroy of Yünnan, who refused to do so, was chased from Kueiyang to Chên Yüan (鎮遠), where he was killed. But news of the rebellion found the youthful Emperor by no means unprepared for the sudden turn of affairs. He absolutely refused to punish "the disbandment advocates" (建議撤藩諸臣), deprived Wu San-kuei of his honors, threw all his relatives found in Peking into prison, including Ying Hsiung (應熊), the

*San-kuei alone possessed the title of Ch'in Wang (親王), or Imperial Prince of the first degree.

husband of the imperial princess, strengthened the garrisons of Chingchow (荊州), Changtê (常德), and Chêngtu (成都), and sent two armies to the scene of rebellion, one by way of Hukuang and the other by way of Shensi and Szechuan.

The First Year of the Rebellion.—(December 1673-December 1674.) After having subjected the two provinces of Yun-kuei to his authority, Wu San-kuei sent General Wang Ping-fan (王屏藩) into Szechuan, and Ma Pao (馬寶) into Hunan. The governor of the latter province deserted his post and fled, with the result that inside of three months, Changtê (常德), Changsha (長沙), Yochow (岳州), Lichow (澧州), and Hêngchow (衡州), five of the fourteen prefectures* in Hunan, were taken by the rebels. While the rebellion was making progress in the region south of the Tung Ting Lake (洞庭湖), good tidings came to Wu San-kuei from other directions. The Governor of Szechuan, the Chiang Chün (將軍) of Kuangsi, the Brigadier-General of Hsiang-yang (襄陽), and the Prince of Chên Nan in Fukien, had all responded favorably to his call, by raising the standard of rebellion in their respective districts. Wu San-kuei himself came forward into Hunan but gave orders that none of his soldiers should march beyond the Yangtze. He thought that his preliminary success might cause K'ang Hsi to cede to him all the territory south of that river. As a matter of fact, he had caused a suggestion to that effect to be sent to Peking through the Dalai Lama. As he was now an old man and his thoughts were with his family, he did not wish to jeopardize the lives of those who were dear to him. In his younger days he had suffered his father, mother, and other relatives, to be cruelly put to death for his own sake; but was now unwilling to cause the execution of his son and grandson, while he himself was nearing his own grave. He had, however, underestimated the character of the great Emperor. Although K'ang Hsi was scarcely twenty years old, he was a man of determination, and must have an undivided China, or none.

*Five of these were Departmental Districts or Chihlichow (直隸州),

The only reply Wu San-kuei received from him was the execution of his son and grandson. The struggle must be renewed. With a sad heart, Wu San-kuei sent one division from Changsha to invade Kiangsi, and another to invade Shensi by way of Szechuan. He did not want to go to Chingchow where the Manchus were awaiting with a very strong force.

The Effect of the Rebellion in Shen-Kan.—Towards the close of 1673, Warha (瓦爾喀), the Tartar General of Sian, had been ordered to march into Szechuan with the Manchu garrison in order to check the possible advance of the rebels in that direction. He was to be followed by General Mo Lo (莫洛), a Manchu Grand Secretary, and one of the "Disbandment Party," who was in command of the "Green Camps;" and Prince Tung-o (洞鄂), in command of the Manchu cavalry. Warha found General Wang Ping-fan no mean enemy; and was obliged to act mainly on the defensive in North Szechuan, where the enemy busied himself in threatening his communications and supplies. The situation looked so doubtful that Wang Fu-ch'ên (王輔臣), the provincial Commander of Shensi, began to doubt the wisdom of remaining any longer on the side of the Manchus. In December, 1674, a mutiny of all the "Green Camp" soldiers under him took place at the city of Ning Chiang (寧羌), on the Shensi-Szechuan border, and General Mo Lo became their first victim. Prince Tung-o, with the Manchu cavalry, could easily have hunted down the mutineers; but he chose to remain in Sian, and thus gave them and their commander an opportunity to go into the province of Kansu, which was soon lost to the Manchu cause. On hearing of the state of things in Shen-Kan, Wu San-kuei promptly sent Fu-ch'ên Tls. 200,000, which induced the former commander of Shensi to side with him. He also saw that by making an alliance with the mutineers, he could march from Shensi to Peking. With this end in view, he sailed with his fleet up the Yangtze to Sungtzŭ (松滋), leaving 70,000 men to hold Yochow and Lichow, so as to check the advance of the Imperial troops from Chingchow. He left an equal number of men to guard the cities of Pinghsiang (萍鄉), Liling

(醴陵), and Changsha (長沙), so as to secure his rear from the attacks that might come from the direction of Kiangsi, where Prince An (安親王) had been appointed to the chief command.

In 1675 Prince Tung-o was superseded by Grand Secretary Tuhai (圖海). With the coming of fresh soldiers from Peking, the situation in Shen-Kan was changed. By a pitched battle fought north of P'ing Liang (平涼), the strength of Wang Fu-ch'ên was completely destroyed and Kansu was restored. In June, Wang Fu-ch'ên returned to his former allegiance, and in the same month Wang Ping-fan was driven to Han Chung Fu (漢中).

Attack on Changsha.—Meanwhile the absence of Wu San-kuei from Hunan had given Prince An in Kiangsi courage to assume the offensive. Notwithstanding its outer defenses, Changsha was reached and attacked, and Wu San-kuei had to beat a hasty retreat from Sungtzŭ. He ordered his men on the Hunan-Hupei border to come to the rescue of Changsha, and thereby liberated the soldiers of Chingchow, who, for the first time, ventured south of the river. But upon the appearance of the fleet from Sungtzŭ, they withdrew into the city again. Then Wu San-kuei immediately directed his general, Kao Ta-chieh (高大節), to attack Chian (吉安) in Kiangsi so as to threaten the retreat of Prince An. All hope of crushing the rebellion in Hunan was therefore gone upon the return of Wu San-kuei to that province.

The Progress and Termination of the Rebellion in Fukien.—During the years of 1674-5, the situation in Fukien was no less threatening. Three different armies had been organized by Kêng Ching-chung and were sent to operate in as many different directions. One army under General Ts'êng Yang-hsing (曾養性) marched into Chekiang and occupied Wenchow and T'aichow; another under General Pai Hsien-chung (白顯忠), into Kiangsi, and occupied Kuang Hsin (廣信), Chien Ch'ang (建昌), and Jao Chow (饒州); and a third under General Ma Chiu-yü (馬九玉), taking the route through the Hsien Hsia Ling, (仙霞嶺), took Ch'ü-chow (衢州) and Chinhua (金華) in Western Chekiang. The fact

that two imperial princes were appointed to commands in Chekiang shows the gravity of the situation. For a year and a half, they were able to report no progress. In the South, Kêng Ching-chung, supported by a powerful fleet under Chêng Chin (鄭錦), Koxinga's son, also threw an army into Kuangtung.

Kêng Ching-chung's disagreement with his ally, Chêng Chin, however, was the turning point in the war. He had promised to cede to the latter some territory on the mainland but failed to make good his word. Enraged by the bad faith of his ally, Chêng Chin helped himself to the places he wanted and wrested from him the Prefectures of Changchow (漳州), Chüanchow (泉州), T'ingchow (汀州), and Shaowu (邵武). This happened in 1676. Taking advantage of the fact that the rebels were under the necessity of sending away part of their force to defend their homes, the imperial troops in Chekiang and Kiangsi, by a series of battles, drove them back into Fukien. When the Imperialists arrived at Yenp'ing (延平), Kêng Ching-chung, realizing his own hopeless position, gave them the seal of office and other insignia of authority that he had received from Wu San-kuei, and asked for an opportunity "to redeem his guilt by joining the army to drive out the pirates." His request was granted. The "pirates" were in the following year made to vacate all the cities on the mainland, and to retire into Amoy.

The Rebellion of Kuangtung; Death of Shang K'o-hsi.— In spite of all Wu San-kuei's efforts to win his old comrade to his cause, Prince Shang K'o-hsi* remained loyal to the government. A hostile army was marching from Fukien into his domains, a fleet was threatening the coast of Kuangtung, and another army under orders of Wu San-kuei was coming from the direction of Kuangsi (1675). Still he did not change his mind; but he was powerless to restrain his son, Chih-hsin, and

*He forwarded all the letters that Wu San-kuei had written him to Peking. The emperor was so pleased with him that he conferred on him also the title of Ching Wang.

Chin Kuang-tsu (金光祖), Viceroy at Canton. These both declared themselves in favor of the cause of Wu San-kuei, and Kuangtung cast in its lot with the rebels. Shang K'o-hsi did not live much longer. After the final restoration of peace, his coffin was opened, and it was discovered that he died a Manchu subject and was dressed in their attire.

Chih-hsin and Chin Kuang-tsu soon had cause to regret what they had done. The former was required to supply Wu San-kuei with money; and the latter was not even assured of his position. In 1677 when the Imperialists flooded Kuangtung by way of Fukien and Kiangsi, Chih-hsin surrendered. Of the three centres of rebellion, Kuangtung was the weakest point, and there was not much blood shed on its soil.

Death of Wu San-kwei.—The year 1678 found Wu San-kuei shorn of the provinces of Shensi and Kansu in the northwest, and Fukien and Kuangtung in the southeast. Nor could he count upon much help from Kuangsi, where a new foe had arisen in the person of one Fu Hung-lieh (傅宏烈).* Wu Shih-ts'ung (吳世琮), whom he had sent there to take the place of Sun Yen-ling (孫延齡),† murdered in 1676 for his duplicity, was constantly losing ground. In Kiangsi, through dissensions among the rebel generals, the strategic city of Chiau, taken by Kao Ta-chieh, had been lost. But Wu San-kuei did not despair. In March, 1678, he assumed the imperial title, adopted Chao Wu (昭武) as the name under which he reigned and made Héngchow his capital. Fortune, however, was against him. Death overtook him on August 17, 1678, when he was on the point of carrying

* Fu pretended to be friendly to Wu San-kuei; but, when his plans matured, led the Imperial troops to invade Kuangsi.

† Kung Si-cheng never approved the conduct of her husband. Owing to her influence, he was planning to return to his allegiance to the emperor, when he was murdered by an agent of Wu San-kuei. She was spared her life and taken into Yünnan, but, after its fall in 1681, she was conveyed to Peking, where she soon died. Wu San-kuei had adopted her as his daughter and to this fact she owed her life.

the city of Yung Hsing (永興) by storm. This deprived the rebels of a mind capable of directing affairs at so critical a moment. His so-called throne was occupied by his second grandson, Wu Shih-fan (吳世璠), but there was no one to take the vacant place at the head of the army.

End of the Rebellion.—After the death of Wu San-kuei, the imperial commanders, who had hitherto been obliged to act mainly on the defensive, prosecuted the war with new vigor and success. They were triumphant wherever they went. The rebels in Hunan, Szechuan, and Kuangsi either lost their lives in a hopeless attempt to resist, or found safety in flight. The province of Kueichow was invaded in 1680 by three different armies; one under General Chang T'ai (彰泰) (Manchu)* came from Hunan; another under General Lai T'a (賴塔) (also Manchu), from Nanning (南甯); and the third under General Chao Liang-tung (趙良棟) (Chinese), from Szechuan. From Kueiyang, Wu Shih-fan, the successor of Wu San-kuei, was chased into Yünnan, where for eight months he made a desperate effort to hold the citadel around Wu Hua Shan; and, upon its fall in October, 1681, committed suicide. The penalties were visited upon all the provinces where the cries of rebellion had been heard, and none of those who had taken a part in it escaped. Kêng Ching-chung met his death by *Lingchi* (the so-called "lingering death"), and Shang Chih-hsing by strangling. These were both executed in 1680.

The credit for the successful termination of the rebellion was mainly due to the Emperor himself. It was his determination, tact, and generalship that made success possible. When the best of Manchu soldiers were losing heart, he twice offered to lead them in person. Although circumstances never made it really necessary for him to take the field, yet the whole campaign from beginning to end was conducted from Peking.

* The successor of Prince An, who in the previous year was ordered to Peking with the major portion of his Manchu force.

Where his instructions were minutely followed, success was the result; but where they were neglected, the commanders barely escaped from the battle-field with their lives. At the outset, it looked as if no Chinese were strong enough to resist the temptation to rebel; but towards the close, Chinese figured no less prominently than Manchus in the work of restoration. Especially prominent were such Chinese as Viceroy Li Chih-fang (李之芳), of Chekiang, Governor Fu Hung-lieh, of Kiangsi, and Generals Chang Yung (張勇), Chao Liang-tung (趙良棟), Wang Chin-pao (王進寶), and Sun Ssŭ-k'o (孫思克), of Shensi. Those who were to operate in Chekiang and Fukien had Nanking and Kiangsi for their bases; those who went into Szechuan relied on Sian and Shansi; and those who fought in Hunan depended on Anking (安慶).

Financing the War.—The greatest problem was how to provide funds for the war, and for a short time, the sale of official ranks and positions was resorted to in order to raise the needed money.* In spite of this and other similar drastic measures, it was found necessary after the restoration of peace to pay the personal debts contracted by the Manchu soldiers during the war to the amount of Tls. 5,600,000. The total number of Imperial soldiers employed in the provinces during the war reached the high-water mark of 400,000.

The rebels experienced much greater difficulty in this respect, and lack of funds was, in a large measure, responsible for their failure.

The System of Check and Balance.—After the rebellion, a most complicated system of check and balance was introduced in the provinces. Military authorities were made dependent upon their civil colleagues for pay, and the financial agents were denied any connection with the provincial armies or "Green Camps." Nominally, the viceroy headed the list of civil and military authorities in his district, which was either one or two

*For three years only. Total amount realized Tls. 2,000,000.

provinces; but his supervisory powers were matters of statutory provision. In many respects, these powers were shared by the governor, or governors, associated with him. He was not their superior but rather their senior colleague. In cities where there was a Manchu garrison, the situation was further complicated by the presence of the Tartar General. In short, there was no one-man power in the provinces. That is, no one person possessed sufficient authority over the army, the finances, and the civil authorities, to enable him to use them against the central government. Besides, no man could hold his position beyond the tenure of office ordained by law. When that time was up, the official, or officer in question, had to memorialize the Throne and ask for permission to present himself for an audience at Peking; and the matter of his continuation in office depended entirely upon the pleasure of the Emperor. The titles of Chinese nobility were nine, ranging from that of Duke to that of Ên-Ch'i-Wei (恩騎尉); none of them carrying with it a fief, or the right to keep soldiers.

Instead of being weakened in any way, the Manchus emerged from the San Fan Rebellion stronger than ever. The transplanted dynasty from Mukden had begun to take root in China.

CHAPTER XLI

ANNEXATION OF FORMOSA

Raids of Chêng Ching; Loss of Amoy and Quemoy.—We have seen how Koxinga came into possession of Formosa, how his son and successor, Chêng Ching, became the ally of Kêng Ching-chung (耿精忠), and how their subsequent rupture led to the former's expulsion from the mainland of Fukien. Chêng Ching was still in possession of Amoy and Quemoy on the coast of Fukien, with his home in Formosa protected by the Pescadores. Like his father he was undaunted by his adverse fortune. In 1679, that is two years after his expulsion from Fukien, he took the town of Haich'êng (海澄), and laid siege simultaneously to the cities of Changchow (漳州) and Chüanchow (泉州), the old homes of his men. So long as the Imperialists had no fleet to co-operate with their land forces, they were placed at a disadvantage. With great difficulty, they drove Chêng Ching's men from the walls of Changchow and Chüanchow; but failed to dislodge them from the town of Haich'êng, a place within easy reach of the sea.

In the beginning of the next year things took a turn for the better. The Imperialists not only had a fleet, but one that had had some experience in naval warfare in Hunan. It was a fleet of some 200 wooden ships, which, after a long journey down the Yangtze and along the coast of Chekiang and Upper Fukien, arrived in the waters of Amoy in April, 1680, and proceeded at once to blockade Haich'êng. Neither Haich'êng on the mainland nor the islands of Amoy and Quemoy on the coast could hold out long, and one by one they were abandoned by Chêng Ching, who, gathering up the remnant of his fleet and army, retired to Formosa, leaving Liu Kuo-hsien (劉國軒), an able lieutenant of his, to defend the Pescadores.

Terms of Peace Offered by the Manchus.—"Formosa has formed no part of China, and might have remained undeveloped,

but for the efforts of your father and yourself. Why should our Government not leave alone a tiny spot in the ocean for the home of a man, who is a Tien Hêng (田橫). Although he was in sympathy with the fallen dynasty, yet he has committed no crime against us, as Wu San-kuei has done." With these sentences, the Manchu General in command of the Fukien garrison opened a communication to Chêng Ching; and his words summed up the whole position that the Peking Government proposed to take in regard to Formosa. In the same communication, he went on to assure Chêng Ching that no hard exaction would be imposed if he would only lay down his arms and promise not to trouble the authorities on the coast. Again this remarkable document says, "You need neither shave your head, nor change your attire. If you choose to submit to us and pay tribute, well and good; but if you prefer not to do so, it will make no difference whatsoever. We shall consider Formosa in the same light as Chi Tzŭ's Corea (箕子之朝鮮), or Hsü Fu's Japan (徐福之日本). You can do no harm to any one, and therefore there should be no need of further fighting. Now let us terminate, once for all, the long series of miseries to which the inhabitants along the coast have been subjected. Please think over the matter seriously." Such easy terms, proposed by so high an authority as the Manchu commander of the province, were of course acceptable. But Chêng Ching wanted to have the right of trade at Haich'êng. In order to agree to this proposal, the consent of the Viceroy of Fukien had to be obtained. This official was not a Manchu, but a Chinese, and he objected. The Manchus, as a rule, were poor sailors, and dreaded an issue that had to be decided on water. But Yao Ch'i-sheng (姚啓聖), for such was the name of the viceroy, knew that among the men under his command there were fine sailors who were equal to the task that was expected of them. His objection therefore carried the day.

Death of Chêng Ching.—As if to simplify the work of conquest, Chêng Ching, who had previously escaped unhurt the numerous attempts on his life made at the instance of Yao Ch'i-sheng, died the year after his return to Formosa, and left the island in weak hands. Unfortunately for him and the house he represented, K'o Chang

(克璽), his eldest son, the only man fit to assume the direction of affairs in Formosa, was the son of a slave woman. That fact alone would have been sufficient to bar him from the place made vacant by the death of his father, even if he had made no enemies by his own first rule during his regency. These enemies of his would be satisfied with nothing short of his death. K'o Chang was accordingly made away with in secret in order to make room for his younger brother, K'o Shuang (克塽), who now became Chêng Ching's successor. Fêng Hsi-fan (馮錫範), through whose instrumentality K'o Shuang gained the throne, usurped all power of government; so that the popular confidence in the house of Koxinga was entirely gone.

Attack on the Pescadores; Surrender of K'o Shuang.— Viceroy Yao, always on the alert and always anxious to add Formosa to the Manchu Empire, was not slow to seize the opportunity. He saw that his object was now within easy reach and entrusted the execution of his plans to Admiral Shih Lang (施琅), whom jealousy and injustice had recently expelled from Formosa. For some time the viceroy had tried to secure the Dutch as an ally, but their ships failed to arrive at the appointed time. A Chinese fleet of 300 ships with twenty thousand men on board, therefore, sailed alone from Amoy in 1683, and made for the Pescadores. Upon arrival, Shih Lang found his adversary, Liu Kuo-hsien, had made the islands well-nigh impregnable by fortifications and ships. For seven days and nights, a battle raged furiously, and terminated in the complete defeat of Liu Kuo-hsien, who had to seek safety in flight. This was the first and last fight Shih Lang had.

With the Pescadores in the hands of a hostile fleet, the hopelessness of Formosa was complete. Owing to the low tide, Shih Lang was unable to bring his ships close to land for twelve days; but on the thirteenth day an unusually high tide came to his assistance. A similar event had taken place when Koxinga made his descent upon Formosa, and drove out the Dutch. As that event was then regarded as an omen that Koxinga was to have Formosa, so

its recurrence now was accepted as evidence that fortune had deserted his house. At any rate, K'o Shuang surrendered without resistance on Aug. 16, 1683, and handed over to Shih Lang all seals as well as other insignia of authority that he or his father had had received from Kuei Wang. With his surrender, the independence of Formosa, after an existence of twenty-three years, came to an end. K'o Shuang was subsequently conveyed to Peking, where he was given the rank of a Duke and admitted into Banner citizenship; but Shih Lang, the Conqueror of Formosa, was rewarded with only a Marquisate.

The Government of Formosa.—What should the Government now do with Formosa, an island which had never appeared on the map of China? To the scholars and men of letters who made up the council of K'ang Hsi, the thought of holding such an island was, of course, foreign; and they did not hesitate to recommend its abandonment, although they insisted upon holding the Pescadores. But Shih Lang, the sailor and soldier, knew better. There was absolutely no reason why China should abandon this fine island to pirates, or even to the Dutch, so as to put them in a position to threaten the peace of Fukien and its neighboring provinces. His counsel prevailed at last, and Formosa was made a part of Fukien, with one prefecture and three districts, and ruled by officials sent over from the mainland. This form of government marked the beginning of a new era in the history of Formosa. The area that was thus brought under Chinese control was still very small as compared with the land occupied by the aborigines, or Shêng-Fan (生番), a branch of the Malay race. Moreover, the small percentage of Chinese population there was by no means made up of desirable colonists; and, owing to the channel that separates Formosa from the mainland, a great obstacle to the people of those days, the magistrates, as a rule, could do what they pleased. As a consequence, Formosa was nothing but a place of misgovernment, and a scene of the darkest crimes. The quarrels between the Chinese and the aborigines often ended in bloodshed and loss of property, and riots were very frequent.

The disturbances or uprisings, numerous and serious as they were, were but local in character, and caused by the misgovernment of magistrates rather than by the hatred of the Manchu yoke. Frequently troops had to be sent from the mainland before order was restored. Two of the more serious outbreaks demand our attention; one occurred towards the close of the reign of K'ang Hsi, and the other in the reign of the other great emperor, Ch'ien Lung. For the sake of convenience we shall briefly give an account of them here.

Rebellion of 1721.—The outbreak that took place in the last year of the reign of K'ang Hsi is known, in Chinese annals, as the Rebellion of Chu I-kuei (朱一貴). The blame for this uprising belonged entirely to Wang Chên (王珍), the prefect of Taiwan, whose extortions and bloodthirstiness had driven the people to take up arms against him. The riot broke out in May. The fact that in seven days the movement spread over the whole prefecture is enough to show the extent of the prevailing discontent. Chu I-kuei was chosen leader because he bore the same surname as the ruling house of the Ming Dynasty. The rebellion was as easily put down as it was started. The Chinese Admiral, whose headquarters were at Amoy, sailed for Formosa with what forces he could collect; and, in the following month, made short work of the whole trouble. After the restoration of peace in Formosa, the government was reorganized, along the line suggested by General Lan Ting-chên (藍廷珍), for administrative purposes. The then northernmost district, Chu Lo (諸羅), was divided into two districts, known as Chu Lo and Chang Hua (彰化), subject to the supervision of the Prefect of Taipeh Fu (台北府), resident at Samsui.

Rebellion of 1786.—The uprising that occurred in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, in 1786, was more serious than the one we have just described. Its leader, Ling Shuang-wên (林爽文), was a millionaire of Chang Hua and chairman of a secret society, known as Tien Ti Hui (天地會), or the Heaven and Earth Society. His wealth was itself a protection against arrest until an appeal was

made to the military head of the government of Taiwan. This was General Ch'ai Ta-chi (柴大紀), a *tsungping*, or brigadier-general. He decided to break into Ling's valley and arrest him; and, as a preliminary measure, he ordered all the neighboring villages to be sacked and burned, thus rendering hundreds of innocent people homeless. His cruelty gave Ling Shuang-wên new adherents and enabled him at the head of a great horde to seize the districts of of Chang Hua and Chu Lo. After hard fighting, Ch'ai regained Chu Lo in the following year; but only to be shut up a prisoner in the city. He made a most stubborn defence, for which the Emperor Ch'ien Lung created him an earl and changed the name of the district from Chu Lo to Chia-yi (嘉義). Relief had to come from without, but it did not arrive until Generals Fu K'ang-an (福康安) and Hai Lan-ch'a (海蘭察), two of the famous soldiers of Ch'ien Lung, had sailed over from Fukien. Ch'ai was liberated, the rebellion put down and Ling Shuang-wên, its leader, captured and put to death. Owing to a personal feud between Ch'ai and Fu Kang-an, the brave defender of Chia-yi was sent as a prisoner to Peking, where he was subsequently put to death, a victim of racial prejudice. An account of the rebellion from the pen of Ch'ien Lung himself may to-day be seen on one of the tablets in front of Nanput'o (南普陀), a temple at Amoy, commanding a view of the harbor, where a reception was given to the American Fleet in 1908. The cost of this last expedition alone amounted to Tls. 8,000,000. It is a matter of sincere regret that Formosa, which had been annexed and retained at a great cost in life and treasure to China, was on a later day deeded away by the depraved descendants of K'ang Hsi.

CHAPTER XLII

RUSSIAN ENCROACHMENTS UPON MANCHURIA AND THE TREATY OF NERCHINSK

Russian Expansion; The Founding of the City of Albazin.—When the Manchu empire was in the process of formation, a new dynasty of the Romanoffs ascended the Russian throne (1613). Russia was then largely an Asiatic power, and was not strong enough to assert herself against Turkey, Poland and Sweden, her western neighbors. In the East, however, there was no strong neighbor to stay her progress. The rich territory watered by the Amur was an inviting field to the adventurous Cossacks, or Lo Sa (羅刹), as the Chinese historians called them. In 1643, an exploring expedition descended this river to the Sea of Okhotsk. On its return, Poyarkoff, an advanturous Cossack, told the governor of Yakutsk that, with a few hundred soldiers, the rich Amur region could be made a Russian province. In 1650, the Russians drove out the Solon (索倫) tribes from their home; and the next year built a city known as Albazin, on the northern bank of the Amur. To dislodge the Russians from Albazin, a body of 2,000 Manchus was sent in 1652 from Ninguta to the aid of the Achan tribes; but they had to beat a hasty retreat. Knowing that the Manchus then had their hands full in China, the Russians busied themselves in making their position on the Amur as secure as they could. At the junction of the Nepchu and Shierha rivers, they also built a strong fortress and transferred their governor from Yeniseisk to this point.

Inroads of the Russians.—In 1654, Stepano, the new Governor of Albazin, descended the Amur on a plundering expedition, and was repulsed by the Manchus on the Sungari River with a heavy loss. Returning in 1656 to make another attempt, he met with a worse disaster and lost his own life. Of

the 500 Cossacks that were with him, only a small number returned to Yakutsk with the sad tidings.

Early Diplomatic Relations with the Russians.—While the conflict was going on along the frontier, two Russian trading embassies arrived at Peking (1654). Naturally they were treated as envoys bearing tribute from an inferior state. One of them was dismissed with a letter to the Czar, in which the Emperor Shun Chih expressed his gratificaton at the loyalty displayed by a nation "which had never before sent any tribute to China," commanded the Czar to receive with reverence the gifts his Imperial Majesty had been pleased to bestow on him, and concluded with a hope that he would continue to send similar missions in the future. This arrogant epistle, it seems, never reached its destination; or, if it did, it proved too difficult for Moscow to decipher.

In 1670, China sent her first Mission to Miscow. Owing to the frequent raids of the Cossacks on the border, this mission was specially instructed to demand from the Russians the surrender of a certain tribe that had crossed the Chinese frontier into Russia and settled in the region of the Inkuda. For this, the authorities of Manchuria had no one but themselves to blame. It was due entirely to their lack of hospitality that the tribe in question had decided to abandon their adopted home, having formerly come from the region of the Shierha.

Owing to the fact that there was no one at Moscow who was able to understand Chinese, the Russian government dismissed the mission, by appointing her own envoy to accompany the embassy back to China where they arrived in 1675. At Peking, where there were many Jesuit missionaries, no difficulty, such as had marred the success of the Chinese mission at Moscow, was encountered. The points the Russian envoy wished to gain were two, viz., the demarcation of the frontier and the extension of trade. But as the Chinese government would discuss no proposals from Russia before her own demand had been complied with, the Russian mission was also a failure.

K'ang Hsi Prepares for War.—By 1682, K'ang Hsi had no rebellion to tie his hands. He sent a hunting expedition across the Amur to ascertain the strength of the Russian position at Albazin, and having received an encouraging report a vigorous campaign was at once decided upon. A president of the Board of Revenue was sent from Peking to Ninguta to build a fleet of wooden junks for service on the Amur; and the post of military governor for the province of Heilungkiang (黑龍江) with residence at Aigun (愛琿) was created.* Matters now drifted rapidly into war. In 1683 a small party of Cossacks was captured by the Chinese in the vicinity of Aigun and taken back to Tsitsihar. A year later interpreters were sent to Albazin to demand its surrender.

Commencement of Hostilities.—The Chinese demand having been refused, an army of 10,000 men, with 200 guns, set out in 1685 from Tsitsihar; and a fleet of 100 ships manned by 5,000 soldiers and sailors descended the Sungari to the Amur. To hold Albazin with a garrison of 450 men against such tremendous odds, was out of the question. The city was bombarded in June; and Tolbusin, its commandant, after having lost about 100 in killed and captured, retired to Nerchinsk. Albazin was then razed to the ground, and the Russian prisoners were all conveyed to Peking, where they were liberated by the Emperor and incorporated into the Banner Organization. It is said that their descendants may be found to-day among the Manchus.

The Russians, however, soon returned with a fresh contingent of about 100 Cossacks under Perton, and entrenched themselves at the old site of Albazin. In July, 1686, they were attacked by 8,000 Manchus with 400 guns, and were obliged to live most of the time in underground shelters. These shelters gave them refuge from the

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* The towns of Tsitsihar and Mergan were both fortified, and ten postal "stages" established along the main route leading from Manchuria to the Amur, in order to facilitate the transportation of troops and military stores. The Khalkhas who had for years had commercial dealings with the Russians on the frontiers were told to close their trading posts.

fire, but afforded no protection against disease. Between the fire of the enemy and diseases, the brave garrison was gradually reduced to about 60 men; yet they refused to surrender. During an armistice granted by the Chinese, the military Governor of Aigun sent the Cossacks some medical aid; but Perton politely declined it, and sent some wheat in return as if to say that the garrison stood in no need of provisions. At last, word came from Peking that peace had been concluded; whereupon the surviving Cossacks were spared their lives and permitted to return home.

Opening of Peace Negotiations.*—Early in 1686 K'ang Hsi grew tired of the war, and had the wisdom to employ the Dutch as his intermediaries. He also addressed a letter to the Czar calling his attention to the hostile acts the Russian authorities had committed against the Chinese. The Czar of Russia at the time was Peter the Great, who was under the regency of his sister Sophia. As Russia was beset with internal troubles of every description she was quite ready for peace. She pleaded her ignorance of the hostile acts complained of, and asked for an armistice, which was readily granted by K'ang Hsi. In the following year the Russian ambassador, Feordore Golvin, arrived at Selenginsk, the place where the plenipotentiaries were to meet. But the Chinese representatives, with an escort of no less than 10,000 soldiers, did not leave Peking till May, 1688. On their march through Mongolia, it was discovered that, in consequence of a war between Dzungaria and the Khalkhas, the route to Selenginsk was blocked by hostile preparations. The Chinese not being able to reach their destination, the place of meeting was changed to Nerchinsk.

Restoration of Peace.—The plenipotentiaries met at Nerchinsk in 1689, and each side was backed by an army drawn up in battle array. As the claims of the Chinese and Russians were equally arrogant, it looked as if further bloodshed were inevitable. But

*See next Chapter.

through the services of the Jesuit missionaries Gerlillon (張誠) and Pereiva (徐日昇), who acted as interpreters to the Chinese, a treaty consisting of six articles was drawn up and signed on August 27, 1689. It provided for the retirement of the Russians from Albazin and vicinity where they had been for thirty-eight years, the defining of the frontier along the Hsing An Mountain Range and the Argun River, the regulation of trade, and the mutual surrender of fugitives. No mention was made of the tribe that had left Chinese territory. Its khan, Tumur, having been baptized and received into the Greek Church at Moscow, the Chinese wisely gave up their demand. The Treaty of Nerchinsk, as it is called, was written in Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Russian, and Latin* (the last named being the authoritative text), and was engraved upon two stone monuments erected on the banks of the Gorbitza (格爾必齊) and the Argun by order of K'ang Hsi. In 1692, Peter the Great sent Ysbrandf Ides to Peking to exchange the ratifications of the treaty. His overland journey occupied him a year and eight months. On his arrival at Peking, as he performed the *kowtow*, or prostrations before the Chinese Emperor, the exchange of ratifications was effected without trouble. After the conclusion of peace, a number of Chinese military colonists was sent by K'ang Hsi to reclaim land along the Zeya river; and for several decades nothing but peaceful relations existed between the two governments. Trading caravans continued to arrive at the Mongolian frontier from Russia; and many Russians were permitted to remain in Peking for the purpose of studying the Chinese and Manchu languages. The boundary as outlined in the Treaty of Nerchinsk remained unchanged until 1858. The most instructive factor in the whole proceeding is that diplomacy and strength go hand in hand. Right is maintained by might, which may some time take the form of diplomacy; and no treaty is binding unless a state is able and prepared to defend its frontier by force of arms.

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*See page 381.

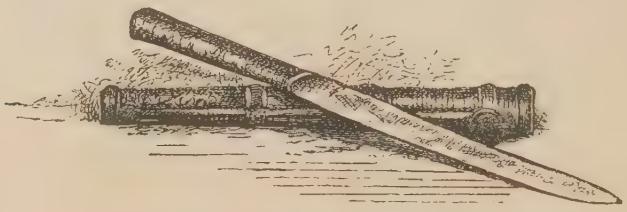
Great discrepancies exist between the Russian and Chinese texts. For the convenience of our readers, we shall here produce one or two of the articles in the treaty.

RUSSIAN	CHINESE
Article I	Article I
The river Gorbitza, which joins the Schilka on its left side near the river Tchernaya, is to form the boundary between the empires. The boundary from the source of that river to the sea will run along the top of the mountain chain (in which the river rises). The jurisdiction of the two Empires will be divided in such a way that (the valleys of) all the rivers or streams flowing from the south slope of these mountains to join the Amur shall belong to the Empire of China (lit. of Han); while (the valleys of) all the rivers flowing down from the other (or northern) side of these mountains shall be similarly under the rule of His Majesty the Czar of the Russian Empire. As to (the valley of) the rivers which lie between the Russian river Oud and the aforesaid mountains—running into the Amur and extending to the sea—which are now under Chinese rule, the question of jurisdiction over them is to remain open. On this point the (Russian) Ambassador is (at present) without explicit instructions from the Czar. Hereafter, when the Ambassadors on both sides shall have returned(? to their respective countries), the Czar and the Emperor of China (Han) will decide the question, on terms of amity, either by sending Plenipotentiaries, or by written correspondence.	The river Gorbitza, which is next to the Chorna (Tchernaya), or Wu-Lun-Mu River, and which enters the Amur from the north, shall constitute the boundary of the two Empires. The boundary line shall ascend the Gorbitza to the Shih-ta-hsing-an Range, and run along that range (eastward) to the sea. The country to the south of this range, with all its rivers and streams entering the Amur, shall belong to China; and the country to the north of the range with its rivers and streams shall belong to Russia.
Article III	Article III
The fortified town of Albazin, built by his Majesty the Czar, is to be completely demolished, and the people residing there, with all their military and other stores and equipment, are to be moved into Russian territory. Those moved can take all their property with them, and they are not to be allowed to suffer loss (by detention of any of it).	The walled town, in the Yacsa country under the government of Russia, shall be completely demolished, and the Russian settlers there shall remove all their property and effects to the Czar's country without let or hindrance.

CHAPTER XLIII

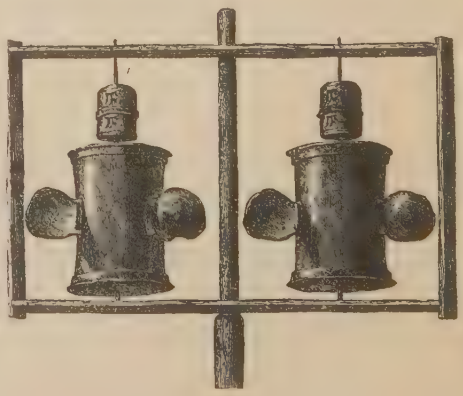
THE FIRST WAR WITH DZUNGARIA, OR CONQUEST OF MO-PEI

Brief Sketch of Mongolia.—The high plateau that separates the warm, fertile lowlands of China on the south from the cold Siberian depression on the north, is known as Mongolia, or the land of the Mongols; and comprises an approximate area of 1,300,000 square miles. It is walled in by mountains and covered in part by



Mongol knife and sheath. ("Among the Mongols")

a desert. The mountains rising to the snow-line intercept most of the moisture in the winds which sweep over its tablelands. This fact accounts for the extremely hot summer in Mongolia; while its elevation makes it bitterly cold in winter. Agriculture can be carried on at only a few favored spots; and its inhabitants, from time immemorial, have been obliged to lead a pastoral life, their wealth consisting chiefly of their flocks and herds.



Prayer-mills driven by wind. ("Among the Mongols")

Politically the country is divided into Inner and Outer Mongolia. Inner Mongolia is that portion which borders upon China Proper and Manchuria. Outer Mongolia bounds the

Inner section on the north by a vast semi-circular sweep, and extends to the territories of the Russian Empire. The Inner Mongols, as we have already seen, were foremost in submitting to the Manchus; but their cousins of the Outer region, the Khalkhas (喀爾喀) and the Eleuths (厄魯特), Northern and Western Mongols, respectively, remained outside of Manchu influence for a considerable time longer.

The Khalkhas.—By the time the Manchus came into power, the Khalkhas were divided into three tribes or khanates. Going from east to west, we find (1st) Tsetsen khanate (車臣汗), occupying the region of the Kerulun river (克魯倫河); (2nd) the Tushetu Khanates (土謝圖汗), the region of the Tola (土拉) river; and (3rd) the Dzarssaktu Khanate (扎薩克圖汗), the region along the western prolongation of the Khangai (杭愛) Mountain. Being the descendants of Jarlair (扎賚爾), the youngest son of Dah Yen Khan (達延汗), the Khalkhas, like the Inner Mongols, claim descent from Jenghis Khan. The introduction among them of the Tibetan form of Buddhism, or Lamaism, by Abatai (阿巴岱), the first khan of the Tushetu Khanate, and grandson of Jarlair, marked the turning point in their career. With the spread of Buddhism, they lost much of their restless spirit and fierce delight in war, qualities which had combined to uphold the arms of Jenghis Khan, and later of Dah Yen Khan. As a consequence, they were scarcely capable of defending themselves against their western neighbors, the Eleuths, whose depredations, as we shall see presently, soon compelled them to desert their own home and to seek hospitality at the hands of K'ang Hsi, the great Chinese Emperor. Even before this time, the Khalkhas were not altogether unknown in the Manchu court. They

Lama abbot of Weng Niu T'e, Hata.
("Tramps in Dark Mongolia")

had, on several occasions, testified their allegiance by a tribute of "Nine Whites" (九白), that is eight horses and one camel, all pure white in color. But the event of which we are to speak tended to make the relationship already established take on a permanent character.

The Eleuths.—Unlike their neighbors, the Eleuths could boast of no imperial lineage. During the Ming Dynasty they gave the Chinese no little trouble. After the death of Ya Sen (也先), their chief, who had carried home among his prisoners of war, one Chinese emperor, and had, on more than one occasion, threatened Peking with an invasion, their tribes split into four. The tribe living in what is now Urumtsi (烏魯木齊) took the name Khoshoit (和碩特); that on the upper waters of the Irtish (厄爾齊斯), the Turbet (土爾伯特); that of the Ili Valley, the Dzungar (準噶爾); and that in what is now the Tarbagatai Prefecture (塔爾巴哈台), the Turgut (土爾扈特). In the closing days of the Ming Dynasty, the Eleuths gave the world a famous leader in the person of Gushi Khan (固始汗), a prince of the Khoshoit tribe. His military fame was such that when a religious feud broke out in Tibet, he was appealed to by the Dalai Lama, as the defender of the Yellow Church (黃教). He responded with an army, which marched into Tibet by way of Kokonor (青海), occupied Kham (喀木), and killed Tsangpa Khan (藏巴汗), the temporal ruler of Tibet. From this time, the Khoshoit began to exercise a controlling influence in Tibetan affairs; and, by the order of their prince, Gushi Khan, they made Kokonor their new home.

In course of time, the Dalai Lama grew tired of the interference he had to endure from Kokonor. This time he looked to Galdan (噶爾丹), chief of the Dzungars, for his deliverance. Galdan himself had been a lama in his younger days and was the murderer of Cenghe (僧格), his brother and immediate predecessor on the Dzungarian throne. He had no trouble in finding an excuse for marching an army into the domain of the Khoshoit tribe which

he promptly annexed to his own in 1667. In the following year, he marched into Kashgaria (哈什噶爾), and restored Abak (阿巴克), chief of the White Mountaineers (白山黨), and a friend of the Dalai Lama, to the throne (伊士摩爾) and expelled all the Black Mountaineers (黑山黨), who opposed him. Thus within five years (1673-1678), Galdan had extended his influence not only over all Western Mongolia, including Cobdo (科布多) and Kokonor, but also over both routes of the Tien Shan. His frontier on the east had been brought up to the border of the Dzarssaktu Khanate, and he began to cast a longing eye over the vast territory lying still further east.

The Origin of the Alashan Mongols.—Owing to the depredations of Galdan, a portion of the descendants of Gushi Khan migrated to the region north of Ninghsia in the province of Kansu and along the western Bend of the Yellow River, extending as far as the western extremity of the Great Wall and the Desert of Gobi. Here they made their new home with the permission of the Chinese Emperor, and became the ancestors of the Alashan Mongols of the present day, or more particularly the Khoshoit tribes of Alashan.

Invasion of the Khalkha Country.—In 1684, a quarrel took place among the Khalkha tribes, which threatened to lead the three khanates into war. The Emperor of China, the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and the Khan of Dzungaria all sent delegates to a conference convened for the purpose of settling their differences. At the conference the Tushetu Khan became so incensed by the overbearing manner of Galdan's envoy that he lost control of himself completely, drew his sword and killed him on the spot. The danger of a civil war was for the time averted; but the thoughtless and barbarous conduct of the Tushetu Khan was destined to bring about a war that resulted in the temporary expulsion of the Khalkhas from their home. Four years after the tragedy, 30,000 Dzungarian soldiers were found on the south side of the Khangai Mountains, ready to avenge the death of their representative. Previous to this Galdan had several times given out that he was coming with the Cossaks to punish the Khalkhas; but his threats had always proved false. These false reports had tended to put the Khalkhas off their guard, and at the same time he had sent

many of his warriors disguised as lamas to attend flocks among the unsuspecting people. When the invasion actually took place, therefore, the Khalkhas were not only completely taken by surprise, but also found the enemy within their own ranks. Resistance was useless. The Mongols of the Tushetu Khanate fled in terror and were pursued by the Eleuths. On their way eastward, the Eleuths met the Chinese soldiers escorting their envoys to the Russian frontier, and this caused Galdan to desist; but as soon as their true destination was found, the plundering was resumed and even the inhabitants of the other two khanates were not spared. The whole of the Khalkhas now fled across the Desert into Mo-Nan, leaving their country to the mercy of the enemy. In Mo-Nan they found a friend in the kind-hearted K'ang Hsi; and by his orders they were provided with provisions and other necessities of life, and granted permission to use the pasture land of the Khorchin tribes for the rearing of their flocks.

The First Campaign against Galdan (1690).—During 1689 K'ang Hsi addressed several communications through the Dalai Lama to Galdan, asking him to evacuate the Khalkha country and to restore it to the rightful owners. This request only brought forth a counter demand from Galdan that China should surrender to him the Tushetu Khan, to answer for the murder of his envoy. To back up his demand Galdan even made inroads into Inner Mongolia, defeated the frontier guards, and clamoured for war at the very door of China. It was evident that diplomacy alone would not solve the problem; and K'ang Hsi was convinced of this fact. He promptly dispatched two armies to check the advance of the enemy; one led by Prince Yü (裕) went through the Great Wall at Hsi Fêng K'ou (喜峯口), and the other under Prince Kung (恭), at Ku Pei K'ou (古北口). A third army, led by the Emperor, went to the bank of the Pulo (博洛), where he thought he would be in a better position to direct matters than at Peking. Prince Kung, who engaged the enemy first, failed to check Galdan's advance. Having defeated this division of the Chinese army, Galdan now crossed the Shara Muren (西喇木倫), and was within 700 *li* of Peking.

The Battle of Ulangputung (1690).—The division of Prince Yü was next engaged, and on Sept. 3, 1690, a great battle was fought at Ulangputung (烏蘭布通). The enemy formed squares with his camels, behind which stood his soldiers ready for action. But the rifle fire of the Chinese was so destructive that many of the camels fell dead on the spot; while the rest, panic-stricken, broke through the ranks of their owners, and caused the greatest confusion. Before nightfall, the rout of the enemy was complete; and if the commanders had used the advantage thus gained, Galdan might never have reached his own country. Unfortunately, the Emperor, having fallen ill, had returned to Peking; and Prince Yü, on whom the chief command now devolved, was not equal to the situation. He did not pursue the enemy and prevented others from doing so; and thus let Galdan, with the remnant of his army, retire safely into Cobdo (科布多).

The Great Maneuver of Tolonor (1691).—Having temporarily crippled the power of Galdan, K'ang Hsi now applied himself to the task of organizing the Khalkhas. They had tasted China's kindness, and it was high time that they should see something of her strength. For this purpose a maneuver was held the next year at Tolonor (多倫諾爾), on the northern border of the Chihli province, where all Mongol tribes that had accepted the Chinese rule, including the Khalkhas, were assembled. After the Grand Review, the Emperor received the Khalkha khans according to military etiquette, conferred upon them titles of Imperial Nobility, organized their people into 37 banners (now 82), and permitted them to continue to use the pasture land of the Khorchin tribe. For the first time in their history, the Khalkhas received a banner organization similar to their brethren of the Inner region. As there were many lamas with the Khalkhas, K'ang Hsi constructed a large monastery at Tolonor, where they might practice their worship. From the year 1691 China, therefore, dates her suzerainty over the Khalkhas.

The Second Campaign against Galdan.—By 1694 Galdan, having sufficiently recovered from the effects of his last defeat, was

once more ready to measure his strength with K'ang Hsi. From Cobdo he wrote renewing his demand for the person of the Tushetu Khan, and sent his emissaries to preach sedition among the tribes of Inner Mongolia. Towards the fall of the same year, he returned with a fresh army of 30,000 men and entrenched himself on the bank of the Kerulun River. Since he was unwilling to come south to receive his punishment, K'ang Hsi was prepared to give it to him where he was. In the spring of 1695 a grand army marched in three sections; the Emperor taking command in person of the central division, which went by way of the Tu Shih K'ou (獨石口) Pass through the Great Wall and wound its way through the desert. In spite of the difficulties of the road, he arrived first. It was then rumored that a regiment of Cossacks armed with rifles was coming to the aid of Galdan;* but K'ang Hsi, undaunted by such reports, continued his advance in the direction of the Kerulun although most of his ministers and generals counselled a retreat. To his great surprise and disappointment, not a single tent was seen on the bank of the river where he had expected to meet his foe. Galdan had fled. For three days, the Chinese pursued the vanquishing enemy, and returned with rich plunder, which he had left in his flight.

Battle of Chaumuhtao.—But Galdan by his retreat from the Kerulun was only leading his men to destruction. At Chaumuhtao (昭莫多),† on the right bank of the Tula, his retreat was intercepted by a large Chinese army under the command of Fei Yang-ku. Galdan had still 10,000 men, and he began the battle by assaulting the Chinese position on a low hill. For several hours, the desperate battle was indecisive. Suddenly it occurred to one of the Chinese commanders to make a flanking movement. He had observed a

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*The Eleuths possessed no rifles and this fact evidently accounts for their defeats. In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1691 the King of Corea sent K'ang Hsi 3,000 rifles or "Birds-Guns." The Emperor was so pleased with them that he excused the King from paying other tribute that year.

†The place is also called Tung Kulun, or Eastern Kulun, being east of the city of Urga, the seat of the Mongol Lamaism. Through Urga lies the route leading from Kalgan on the Great Wall to Kiakta on the Russian frontier and Meai Mai Cheng on the Mongolian border.

crowd of non-combatants in the rear of the enemy. Thinking that these must be the women and children, he ordered a body of men to attack them. His guess was right. As soon as the movement was discovered, the Eleuths were seized with panic, gave up the contest, and flew to the rescue of their families. The Chinese bore down upon them with great slaughter, and Galdan himself barely escaped with his life. Hundreds of the Eleuths, among whom was Galdan's wife, were found dead on the field; and 3,000 laid down their arms and surrendered. When the news of this signal victory reached the Emperor on the banks of the Kerulun, he returned with his Division to Peking, leaving Fei Yang-ku to take possession of Mo-Pei.

Ts'ewang Arabdan Becomes Khan of Dzungaria.—After his defeat at Chaumuhtao, Galdan retreated into the valley of the Tamir (塔米爾河) to recruit a new army. He now found his power at the lowest ebb. His nephew, Ts'ewang (策妄) Arabdan, son of Cenghe, had taken advantage of his defeat and absence to become khan of Dzungaria, with the result that all the territory west of the Altai Mountains, as well as Kashgaria and Kokonor, was lost to him. Rendered homeless and threatened with hunger, he thought of seizing the provisions that the Chinese Government had gathered on the bank of the Ongin for the benefit of the western troops. His hope was to carry them into Hami (哈密) where he could wait for another opportune moment to come eastward. But his men, demoralized by repeated defeats, were no longer to be relied upon. They sought safety in flight even before the handful of Chinese soldiers who had been left to guard the provisions. When the helpless condition of Galdan was reported to Peking, K'ang Hsi went out to Kuei Hua, in the belief that he might induce his force to submit to him. He accordingly sent word to Galdan, assuring him of kind treatment and giving him seventy days to appear before him in Peking.

The Third Campaign; Death of Galdan (1697).—Galdan however never came. In the beginning of 1697, the Emperor once more made a trip to the west. This time, he reached Ninghsia,

where he busied himself in preparing for a third campaign against his foe. Before his plans were carried out word came that Galdan, forsaken by all his friends, had ended his life by suicide. When his remains were produced by an agent of Ts'êwang, the new khan of Dzungaria, K'ang Hsi was ready to return to Peking. Their enemy having disappeared, the Khalkhas now returned to their native country, which, as a result of the war, had been extended to the Altai Mountains. Thus the encounters with Galdan had terminated in the establishment of China's authority over the Khalkhas, who had known no authority other than that of their own khans. After the death of Galdan, K'ang Hsi came into possession of evidences showing that Sangji Gyamtso, the regent in Tibet, was really responsible for his ambition and depredations; and that discovery, as we shall see, was the cause of the conquest of Tibet.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE SECOND WAR WITH THE DZUNGAR MONGOLS; CONQUEST OF TIBET

Geographical Description of Tibet.—Between the K'unlun (崑崙) Mountains on the north and the Himalayas (喜馬利雅) on the south, and extending from the Chinese province of Szechuan on the east to the frontiers of Ladah and Kashmir on the west, is the highest tableland in the world. This high tableland is called Tibet, and its greatest dimensions are 1,240 by 740 miles. The high plateau north of the Tangla Mountains, ranging from 14,000 to 16,000 feet in elevation, is uninhabitable. The portion which borders upon China and India has an elevation of from 10,000 to 12,000 feet only, and is more or less inhabited. The principal divisions of Tibet, proceeding from east to west, are:—

i. Ch'ien Ts'ang (前藏), or Anterior Tibet. This is the easternmost part and is nearest to the Chinese frontier. It is also known as K'ang (康), or Khan (喀木), and as Chamdo (柴木多).

ii. Wei (衛), or Chung Ts'ang (中藏), or Central Tibet. This contains the capital, Lassa (拉薩) ("Throne of God"), where resides the Dalai Lama (達賴喇嘛), or "Prelate of the Ocean."

iii. Hou Ts'ang (後藏), Ulterior Tibet, or simply Ts'ang. This contains the city of Tashilumpo (扎什倫布), the residence of the Panshen Lama (班禪喇嘛), the second pontiff of Lamaism.

The lama house at So. ("Across Tibet")

iv. Ngari (雅利), or Western Tibet.

Tibet is famous as the principal seat of Lamaism, and for the fact that all the large rivers that water China and India take their rise there.

Its Early History.—The history of Tibet goes back to very ancient time. The Chinese annals begin to mention the nomads of the Kokonor region in the eleventh century B.C. During the Epoch of Division between the North and the South (420-581, A.D.), the inhabitants of Tibet became known as Tangut (唐古特), or Tubet (圖伯特), and also as Turfan (吐蕃). At the dawn of the seventh century the Turfan gave the Chinese much trouble and extended their authority into India and Upper Burmah. The most important event in the history of Tibet is undoubtedly the conversion of the whole nation to Buddhism. This also took place in the seventh century. One of the early kings named Srong Tsan Gampo took two wives, one the Chinese princess, Wên Ch'êng (文成), and the other a daughter of the King of Nepal. Both his wives were devoted Buddhists and soon Gampo's kingdom was dotted over with beautiful monasteries and flooded with Indian monks. Then the conversion of the country began. When Kublai Khan conquered the eastern part of Tibet in the thirteenth century, Buddhism was more firmly established than ever. Phagspa Lodoi Gyaltshan, the chief priest of the Sakya sect, by the authority of Kublai became the temporal as well as the spiritual sovereign. The Sakya priesthood, also known

Tibetan Marksmen

as the Red Church (紅教) from the color of the vestments and head coverings adopted by its priests, continued to rule in Tibet until the fifteenth century. Marriage was permitted among its members with the avowed object of securing hereditary transmission of power, and magic arts in infinite variety were professed by them, with the result that few traces of the primitive Buddhism remained. A revolt against such corrupt and licentious practices occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century under the leadership of Tsongkhaba (宗喀巴), who was born in Sining (西甯) A.D. 1417. He founded a new sect, known as the Yellow Church (黃教), from the color of the vestments and caps adopted by the reformer and his disciples to distinguish them from those of the condemned cult. Celibacy was strictly enforced by Tsongkhaba; and, in order to perpetuate his power, he invented the theory of the Hubilhan (呼畢勒罕), a Tibetan term for transmigration. According to his theory two of his disciples would be borne generation after generation to practice the Great Conveyance (大乘), or Mahayama, the esoteric form of Buddhism. These disciples were called Dalai Lama and Panshen Lama. The Dalai Lama, the Tibetans inform us, is the Bodhisattwa Avalokiteswara (the Chinese Kuan Yin 觀音) personified; and the Panshen Lama, the Bodhisattwa Manchusiri (文殊). These Lamas remain the joint pontiffs of the Lama Church to the present day. They never die, so they claim, but when they desert their old bodies they immediately enter new ones.

The Ascendancy of the Yellow Church and the Cheptsandampa Hulukhtu.—The first Dalai Lama belonged to the ruling house of the Turfan, and was the ruler in Lassa at the time of his election. Through his temporal position, which he did not give up, the Yellow Church, or Gulukpa, at once eclipsed the older sect, or Dukpa. Moreover it was the Yellow Church that was supported and patronized by the Ming emperors. They imitated their predecessors, the Mongols, and literally heaped titles upon the Dalai Lamas. By this means they sought to exercise an influence in

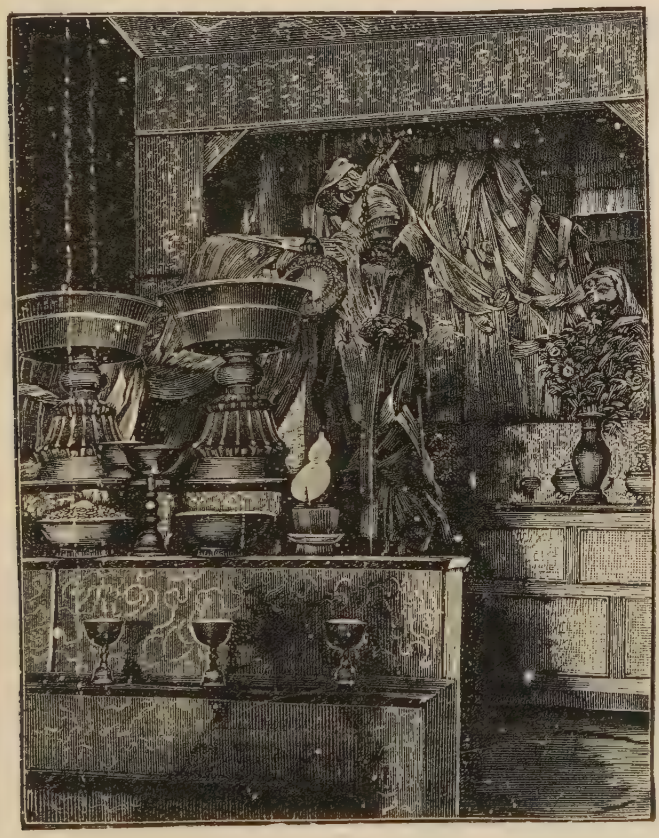
Tibetans affairs. The influence of the Red Church in Anterior Tibet was almost nothing, and so it retired into its stronghold in Tashilumpo.

Chinese fort at Litang. ("Across Tibet")

Because the Dalai Lama was also concerned with the government of Tibet, the Tibetans thought that the Panshen Lama or, to give him his full title, Panshen Erdeni Lama, who was burdened with no worldly cares, was worthy of a higher degree of adoration. But the second Dalai Lama introduced a system of regency which still prevails in Tibet to-day. By this system, the Dalai Lama is relieved of many of the cares of state, and his Diba (第巴), or regent, assisted by a number of lesser dignitaries, actually rules the country in his name.

During the time of the third Dalai Lama, Lamaism spread most rapidly among the Mongols. Even Yenta, the famous chief of the Ordos (河套) Mongols, went in person to pay homage to him and invited him to visit Kokonor and Mo-nan, with a view to bringing the word of salvation to his warlike subjects. This invitation the Dalai Lama gladly accepted, and the conversion of the Kokonor and Mo-nan Mongols followed. Having embraced Lamaism, the birth of a Dalai Lama among the Mongols was only

a matter of time; and the next (the fourth) one was no other than a great-grandson of Yenta himself. Lamaism had in the meantime invaded every corner in Northern Mongolia and the Ili Valley. Owing to the distance that separates the Khalkhas from Tibet, the former elected their own deity in 1604. This deity, called Cheptsandampa (哲卜藏丹巴) Hutukhtu (呼圖克圖), resided at Kurun (庫



A Lama Temple

倫), or Urga. (Cheptsan in the Tibetan language means *venerable*, Dampa, *sacred*. Hutukhtu is "one who returns again," an Avatar) (再來人). His authority is regarded as supreme by the Tushetu and Tsetsen Khanates. For a time, the office was always held by a younger brother of the Tushetu Khan. When the Dzungars invaded the country of the Khalkhas, many of the latter wanted to seek

protection from the Russians in the North; but the patriarch of Urga overruled their suggestion because he knew that his faith could never find sympathy with the Russians.

The Expulsion of the Red Church from Tibet.—In 1637, the election of the fifth Dalai Lama took place just before a crisis. There was a feud between this church and the Red Church, and he wanted foreign help. The Mings were then on the eve of losing their empire; and the Manchus, who were not unknown to the Lamas, were still outside of the Great Wall. The Eleuths were therefore the nearest power to which he could apply for help against his religious rival at Tashilumpo. The success of Gushi Khan, who took up the cause of the Dalai Lama, has been told elsewhere. After the death of Tsangpa Khan, the defender of the Red Church, the Sakya priesthood was no longer tolerated in Tibet. It took refuge in Bhutan and Nepal, where it remained in power till a very recent date. With an escort furnished by Gushi Khan, the Panshen Lama established for the first time his headquarter at Tashilumpo.

Death of the Fifth Dalai Lama; Duplicity of Sangji.—The Fifth Dalai Lama died in 1682. His death was kept a secret by Sangji, his Diba, who guarded the secret so successfully that agents sent into Tibet by K'ang Hsi were not able to find out the truth. K'ang Hsi wanted the Dalai Lama to use his good offices to induce Galdan to leave the Khalkha country, but the person to whom he appealed was dead. K'ang Hsi's communication eventually fell into the hands of Sangji, who forthwith revealed its contents to his friend, Galdan, and encouraged him to make further trouble in the Khalkha country. When Galdan met his defeat at the hands of Prince Yü, it was Sangji also that intervened in order to give him time to escape. Sangji was fully responsible for what Galdan did.

Lama Temple, Peking.
("China and her People," I)

When K'ang Hsi possessed himself of the facts he demanded an explanation from Sangji, upon whom he had a few years before conferred the title of Tubet Kuo Wang ("King of Tibet"). Sangji knew he could keep the death of the Dalai Lama a secert no longer and at once elevated a lad of sixteen to the vacant throne.

Death of Sangji; Two Rival Lamas.—Unfortunately Sangji's choice was not acceptable to Lhatsang Khan (拉藏汗), Gushi Khan's successor, who wanted to put his own man in the Palace of Potala. A feud arose between Lhatsang Khan and Sangji, which ended in 1705 in the murder of the latter. K'ang Hsi, always ready to have a voice in Tibetan affairs, now sided with Lhatsang Khan, and recognized his candidate as the loyal successor to the Dalai Lama, who had died some twenty years before. But the choice of Lhatsang Khan was in turn objected to by the Mongols of Kokonor. They asked K'ang Hsi to make a lama of Lhatsang, the Sixth Dalai Lama, by issuing to him a charter and an official seal. K'ang Hsi now found himself in a dilemma. The question that he had been called upon to decide was of little interest to him, but of vital importance to the Tibetans and Mongols. He was not ready to offend either; and accordingly he built the Lama of the Kokonor Mongols a temple at Sining, and tried to avoid the decision of the question. While matters remained thus unsettled, Tibet was invaded by the Dzungars under the lead of the ambitious successor of Galdan.

Ts'êwang Arabdan; His Invasion of Tibet.—Ts'êwang Arabdan was no less ambitious than K'ang Hsi. He wanted to rule a Mongol empire and knew as well as K'ang Hsi that he would have no chance unless he could exercise a preponderating influence over the Dalai Lama in Tibet. He had married a sister of Lhatsang Khan and had given his own daughter in marriage to this Khan's son, Danchung, during the latter's visit to Ili. In 1716 he sent Danchung and his wife home with an escort of 6,000 men. This was merely an excuse. His true object was to occupy Lassa, the capital of Tibet. To avoid arousing the suspicion of K'ang Hsi, the Dzungar army went first to Khobud. Creeping through

the passes in the Prejevalsky Range, they at length gained Tibetan soil, and proceeded as far east as Tangri Nor before their true mission was discovered. Lhatsang Khan did his best to expel the intruders, but was defeated. Lassa was besieged and upon its fall Lhatsang Khan was slain, and the Dalai Lama he had elected imprisoned. All this was done before K'ang Hsi had time to come to the rescue of his friend.

Annihilation of Galund's Party.—In February, 1718, a Chinese contingent under the command of Galund, Tartar General of Sian, set out from Sining for Tibet. The General was bold but careless. After a few skirmishes, he began to feel confident of victory and took absolutely no precaution to protect his rear. On the bank of the Hara Usu, his little army, cut off from retreat and communications, was virtually annihilated.

China Prepares to Invade Tibet.—Nothing was more detestable to the Chinese statesmen in Peking than the idea of carrying on a war beyond the frontier of China. They thought the Tibetans should be left to manage their own affairs, and could see no reason why China should shed any more blood, or waste any more treasure, on a country that was practically unknown. But their Emperor was more far-sighted than they. K'ang Hsi knew that he must make the Dzungars go, or suffer the frontier of China to be attacked and the vast territory of Mongolia to slip away from his grasp. So far he had failed to save Tibet; but he would try again. He was not fighting for the Tibetans alone, but for China as well. Having fully surveyed the situation, he ordered military forces to be gathered at Sining and Chengtu, and sent Yün Li, his fourteenth son, to the former place to superintend the warlike preparations.

The Kokonor Dalai Lama Enters Lassa Under Chinese Escort.—By 1720, everything was ready. As already stated, K'ang Hsi had his own reason for sending troops into Tibet. Nevertheless he took care to have it appear as though he was taking all the trouble on account of the young Lama whom he had permitted to reside at Sining. He knew the Tibetans would not object to the man now because they had no representative in Lassa. The Lama

was therefore permitted to accompany the army that set out from Sining in February, 1720. As the Emperor had expected, all the Mongol Khans gladly sent their contingents to escort their Lama to his capital. To oppose the army that had the moral support of Mongolia and Tibet was of course out of the question. The Dzungars' commander tried to make a stand in the neighborhood of Chumalha Nor; and twice was he badly routed. Before he had time to fall upon Lassa, that city had fallen into the hands of the second army which had penetrated into Tibet from Szechuan, by way of Tachienlu. The Dzungars had no alternative but to leave Tibet. Once more they crossed the Prejevalsky Range, and this time in the direction of their own country. The Sixth Dalai Lama at last found himself seated in the beautiful Palace of Potala. The Mongols were highly pleased; the Tibetans accepted their choice in silence; and, to guard against any unforeseen emergency, a garrison of 2,000 Mongol soldiers was left in Lassa by the orders of the Emperor.

Restoration of Peace.—When the Dzungars reached home they found Ts'ê-wang Arabdan their King busily engaged in defending his frontier against the Russians. Peter the Great was determined to absorb Little Bokhara, and Arabdan needed all his men in the west. As a consequence, the defence along his eastern frontier was weak. In 1722, a Chinese army, after having driven back his outposts along the Altai Mountains, advanced as far west as Urumtsi. Unable to carry on two wars at the same time, Arabdan promptly made overtures for peace, through the medium of the Cheptsandampa at Urga. K'ang Hsi was now nearing his grave, and was glad that the war was at an end. He left to his successors the more difficult work of conquering Dzungaria, and of breaking the Eleuth power once and for all time. K'ang Hsi's authority never extended beyond Hami, which was the farther frontier town north of the T'ienshan Mountains.

CHAPTER XLV

K'ANG HSI: THE MAN AND THE RULER

The Character of K'ang Hsi.—We have so far seen but one phase of the great Emperor K'ang Hsi. We have seen how he fought, and shall now see how he governed. With indomitable spirit and the fine physique that characterized the Manchus of his day, the Emperor was a Chinese by culture. "My only purpose," he declared in reply to a question from his grandmother the day after his accession, "shall be the tranquillity and prosperity of my empire in order that the whole nation may live and enjoy the blessings of peace." This remark shows how, at an early age, he fully realized the responsibilities of his high office. He kept his ideal before him, and lived to see his hopes realized. His indefatigable application to all affairs of state, his judgment and penetration in the choice of ministers, his economy in regard to himself and magnificent liberality in everything that tended to the good of the people, his steady and vigorous execution of law, and his continued watchfulness over the conduct of his officers,—all combined to make his reign an unparalleled success. In literary attainments, he proved an equal, if not the superior of the learned Chinese scholars of his day. He was a general, a statesman, a man of letters, a philosopher, and, more than all, an ideal man and ruler. A few of the things he accomplished require special attention.

His Patronage of Literature; Great Works Produced in His Reign.—When K'ang Hsi ascended the throne in 1661, there were many who resented the new order of things. Not a few of these men had held high offices under the Ming Dynasty, and they were leaders in thought, if not in action; and their writings, as a rule, were inimical to the interests of the new dynasty. To permit them to poison the minds of the people was dangerous, but to stop them by the arm of the law would have been a grave mistake. They must be won over to the side of the Emperor;

and this, K'ang Hsi accomplished most admirably. In 1678, he decreed that everyone, who had the privilege of addressing the Throne direct, should assist in bringing to the notice of his government the names of all the best scholars of the day. In this way, hundreds of them were brought to the notice of the Emperor, who held an examination for them in one of the imperial palaces. Fifty of the candidates who passed the examination were, without any further ceremony, admitted into the Hanlin Academy, and were appointed to work with others on the history of the previous dynasty and other works entailing much labor and research.

The treatises that were compiled during K'ang Hsi's reign numbered hundreds of volumes, and included dictionaries, reference works, mathematics, and books on literature and science, all of which are regarded as the standard authorities by Chinese students, and constitute an invaluable addition to Chinese literature. Many of these works came from the pen of the Emperor himself, who left several volumes of poems and "The Sacred Edicts of K'ang Hsi," which was, for a time, perhaps the most widely read book in China. By the decrees of his successors, a meeting was to be held in each village throughout the empire on the first and fifteenth of every month when the book which contains the germs of Confucianism was to be read aloud by some officials specially appointed for the purpose; and every candidate for the Hsiuts'ai (秀才) degree must be able to produce, word for word, from his memory, any given passage of the same work. The Emperor is said to have been the best read man of his day; and besides Chinese, he knew Latin,

Powder blue porcelain vase, K'ang Hsi period ("Chinese Art")

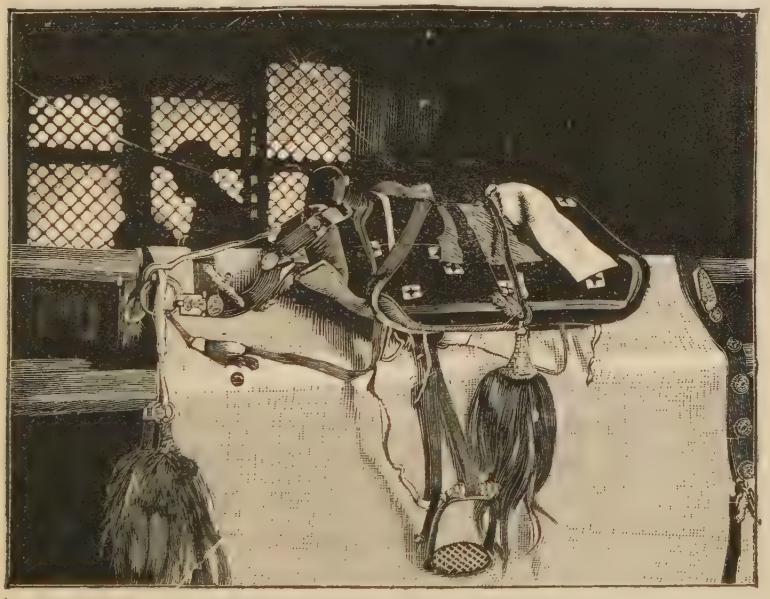
Mongolian, Tibetan, and surpassed most of his Chinese contemporaries in mathematics. According to him, the word "Algebra" signifies "an Eastern Process" (東來法); and through the principles of algebraic equation, he actually gave to a certain well-known Chinese mathematician the key to a Chinese book, which, up to that time, had remained a hidden treasure. Undoubtedly the emperor owed much of his knowledge to the Jesuit missionaries, who, during his reign, made a complete survey of the Chinese Empire. The maps they made form the basis of our modern maps. Up to that time, the Chinese knew nothing of the angular measurement of a place, and their maps had been anything but accurate.

K'ang Hsi never grew tired of the company of Chinese scholars and felt quite at home in discussing various subjects with them. He always took care to show them exceptional marks of favor and to appeal to their support. They not only admired him, but also felt that he was one of them.

Honors to the Sung Philosophers; Support of Lamaism.— For similar reasons, the Emperor did everything in his power to maintain the teachings of the Sung philosophers, or the form of Confucianism taught by Chu Hsi (朱熹) and his school. By his order, the tablet of Chu Hsi was raised to a position in the Main Hall of the Confucian Temple, and may be seen to-day among those of the Shihchê (十哲) (Ten Wise Men). But the Emperor was no more friendly to this form of Confucianism than to Lamaism, the Tibetan form of Buddhism. As a matter of fact, the former is to the Chinese what the latter is to the Mongols. In both cases, religion is used by the authorities to hold the vast multitudes in submission. The fact that the Emperor did not hesitate to speak of Li Kuang-ti (李光地), T'ang Ping (湯斌) and other adherents of Chu Hsi's school, who were members of his council of state, as liars, seems to show that he was not entirely blind to the defects of a religion, or philosophy, which teaches and encourages deception. And at heart, he was perhaps no less antagonistic to the absurd belief of the Mongols. Nevertheless, so far as his purpose as a ruler was concerned, he was entirely successful. His Chinese

subjects worshipped him as the greatest sage since the days of Confucius; while his Mongol subjects looked up to him as the greatest living Buddha.

His Travels.—During his reign of sixty-one years, K'ang Hsi made five tours of inspection through the provinces watered by the Yellow River. All these trips were undertaken in the interest of the conservancy work, which cost his government the sum of seven million taels annually, and for the purpose of personally studying the condition of the people, who had suffered considerably on



Bridle and Saddle used by K'ang Hsi

account of the repeated inundations. During his travels, the Emperor, through his tactful personality, made many friends among the farmers and other classes of the people, who would otherwise have never heard of his name, and obtained from them much information which proved of great value to his government. All his travelling expenses were defrayed out of his private purse, and did not, at any one place, amount to Tls. 20,000. Wherever he went, he met with a warm reception not only from the officials and

gentry, but also from the farmers. The latter often prevailed on him to make a prolonged stay, or to visit places not included in his original plan. He went as far south as Hangchow in Chekiang, where he visited the famous West Lake (西湖).* Among his gifts to the people was a library which contained duplicates of every volume which adorned his own library in Peking. In several cases, his visit was followed by a total exemption of that locality from the land tax for the year.

His Visit to the Tomb of Confucius.—In 1684, K'ang Hsi visited Chü Fou (曲阜) in Shantung, the native place of Confucius, and expressed great delight in seeing his temple and his tomb. He left his imperial umbrella in the temple with instructions to display it on the days of worship, and donated a set of bronze sacrificial vessels, said to date from the Shang Dynasty. About the same time, the estate of the Holy Duke (衍聖公) was greatly enlarged. The honor he had thus paid to the Great Sage enhanced his own popularity to a great extent.

The Exemption Decree of 1712.—The greatest monument to K'ang Hsi is undoubtedly his own decree of 1712, which attempted to settle the amount of land tax throughout the empire for all time to come. No amount in excess of that shown by the records of the previous year was to be permitted under any circumstances. This arbitrary settlement theoretically endures to this day and presents no small difficulty to those who desire to place the finances of the country on a more satisfactory basis. In order to understand the situation, it is necessary to explain the taxation system in force under the Manchu Dynasty. This system is that of the Mings, and consists of a poll tax and a land tax. The latter is paid to the government in return for the privilege of tilling the ground, all of which, in theory at least, is the property of the sovereign. The amount accruing under such a system rises with the increase in the population, and the taking of the census at regular intervals becomes

*All the 24 scenic places on the West Lake were named by him, and these names they bear to-day.

a necessity. During the reign of Shun Chih, this was done once in every five years; but during the greater part of the reign of K'ang Hsi, census returns were sent at the end of each year. They were, however, far from being accurate. The local magistrates, who were responsible to the government for the tax to be collected, had a strong tendency to underestimate the population. By virtue of K'ang Hsi's decree, all persons not included in the returns of 1711 were permanently exempted from the payment of a poll tax. This tax was later entirely done away with by his successor, so that no Chinese had any direct tax to pay, unless he was the owner of land. The decree of 1712 is evidence that, by his strict economy, K'ang Hsi was able to leave a surplus of revenue on hand; and this had been done in spite of his wars, public works, and imperial travels.

Reception of the Russian Embassy.—In 1719, a Russian Embassy arrived at Peking. It consisted of M. Ismaloff, the Ambassador, M. de Lange, his secretary, and Mr. Bell, an English traveller; and bore a letter from Peter the Great couched in the following terms:—"To the Emperor of the Vast Countries of Asia, to the Sovereign Monarch of Bogdo, to the Supreme Majesty of Khitay: friendship and greeting. With the design of holding and increasing the friendship and close relations long established between your Majesty and my predecessors and myself, I have thought it right to send to your court, in the capacity of Ambassador-Extraordinary, Leon Ismaloff, captain in my guards. I beg you to receive him in a suitable manner to the character in which he comes, to have as much regard for, and attach as much faith to, what he may say on the subject of our mutual affairs as if I were speaking to you myself; and also to permit his residing at your court in Peking until I recall him. Allow me to sign myself your Majesty's good friend, Peter." This letter was received in a most gracious manner by K'ang Hsi, who gave the Russian envoy a very honorable reception and set apart a house for his residence. When the question of the *kowtow* was raised, K'ang Hsi solved it in a very creditable manner. He had his principal minister perform the *kowtow* to

Peter's letter; while the Russian envoy rendered to him the same obeisance. Thus the audience took place without any delay. No foreign embassy had been received with greater honor in China.

K'ang Hsi Disinherits His Heir.—The closing years of K'ang Hsi were not at all happy. Like his contemporary, Peter the Great, K'ang Hsi had a rebellious and undutiful son to deal with. That son was Yünyin, or Prince Lisuih. Although Yünyin was the Emperor's second son in point of age, yet he was the eldest boy by the Empress, K'ang Hsi's wife, and hence was his father's heir. K'ang Hsi did everything he could to give his son an education becoming his position, and naturally expected to find in him a worthy successor. In this he was more than disappointed. Yünyin was base, wilful, untruthful, extravagant, cruel, vicious and rebellious. In fact he was just the reverse of his father. He was seen in the company of his father's enemies and was ready to shed his father's blood. The more the father remonstrated, threatened, or entreated, the worse the son became. At last the Emperor decided that this unworthy son should not be the heir

Fu Ling Mausoleum

apparent. In the state prison which was the only place for him, he was to spend the rest of his days.

But Yünyin's imprisonment brought no end to the Emperor's domestic trouble. Whom should he now appoint as his successor? Among the Manchus there was no law which seemed to regulate the question of succession in any way. K'ang Hsi could transmit his throne to any one of his twenty-one sons as he pleased. The brothers and half-brothers of Yünyin aspired and conspired for the place. During all this time their father was too sad and disappointed to announce any decision. This was quite natural. Many Chinese and Manchus preferred to think that so long as that question was not settled, there was danger to the throne and dynasty. They ventured a suggestion; but, to their regret, they only incurred K'ang Hsi's displeasure. Many of them were summarily dismissed, and others were banished.

Death of K'ang Hsi.—K'ang Hsi died on December 20, 1722, at the ripe age of sixty-nine. On his death bed he appointed his fourth son, who afterwards reigned under the name of Yung Cheng, his successor. His death removed one of the best rulers China ever had.

Some Estimates of K'ang Hsi.—That Chinese historians are all loud in their praise of K'ang Hsi, goes without saying. It is of interest to see what foreign writers on Chinese history think of him. They of course are under no obligation to give K'ang Hsi undue praise. One priest wrote of him:—"This prince was one of the most extraordinary men who are only met with once in the course of several centuries. He placed no limits to his desire for knowledge, and of all the princes of Asia there never was one with so great a taste for the arts and sciences. This prince was not put out by the expression of an opinion different from his own, rare as it is for princes of his rank to tolerate contradiction." Of his appearance, another says:—"There is nothing in his appearance which is not worthy of the throne he occupies. His air is majestic, his figure is excellently proportioned and above the middle height,

all the features of the countenance are regular; his eyes bright and larger than is usual with his nation; the nose slightly curved and dropping at the point; and the few marks left by the small-pox detract nothing from the charm which is conspicuous throughout his person." A laborious historian, who has translated Chinese histories from the earliest times to the death of K'ang Hsi, writes of him:—"Just posterity will beyond doubt assign to this distinguished prince a place among the greatest monarchs. Fully occupied between affairs of state, military achievements, and the study of liberal pursuits; beneficent, brave, generous, wise, active and vigilant in policy, of profound and extended genius, having nothing of the pomp, or indolence of Asiatic courts, although his power and wealth were both immense; the one thing alone wanting to this prince, according to the missionaries who have become the exponents of his eminent qualities, was to crown them all with the adoption of the Christianity of which he knew the principles and of which he valued the morality and the maxims, but which policy and the human passions prevented his openly embracing."

If one may question the opinions coming from the pen of European missionaries who had benefited by his patronage, we may quote from one more who has not received such favors. Boulger, in his "A Short History of China," writes: "The place of K'ang Hsi among Chinese sovereigns is clearly defined. He ranks on almost equal terms with the two greatest of them all—Taitsong (of the Tang Dynasty) and his own grandson Keen (Ch'ien) Lung—and it would be ungracious, if not impossible, to say in what respect he falls short of complete equality with either, so numerous and conspicuous were his talents and virtues."

Suffice it to add that had the Manchus produced more emperors of K'ang Hsi's type, the Manchu Dynasty might have endured to the present day.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE REIGN OF YUNG CHENG

1. Internal Administration

The Royal Brothers.—The new Emperor, Yung Cheng, was forty-five years old when he came to the throne. A rumor was current at the time that it was the fourteenth, and not the fourth son, that was named in the decree of K'ang Hsi as his successor. We are led to believe that this report was a mere fabrication of certain of the royal brothers who were disappointed at the decision of their father. These were Yünti (允禔), Yüni (允禩), Yüntang (允禟), Yüno (允禑), and Yüntih (允禵), the 1st, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 14th sons of K'ang Hsi respectively. They had conspired to secure the throne for the 8th son, or A'Ko (阿哥) (a Chinese rendering of the Manchu word "*Ageh*," by which a son of an emperor of the Manchu Dynasty is commonly designated, unless known by the princely title bestowed upon him). Yüni had been deprived of his titles by his father; but Yung Cheng, upon his accession, had all these restored to him, and also appointed him to a most responsible position in the government. But neither he nor his brothers were willing to submit to the new régime with that sympathy which their brother, now the ruler of the empire, had a right to expect from them. Some of them even went so far as to meditate an armed rebellion. For the first three years of the reign of Yung Cheng, the relations between the Emperor and the royal brothers were anything but pleasant, and a number of them had, in consequence, to be imprisoned. Yüni and Yüntang, who were considered more guilty than the

Porcelain vase painted in enamel colours. Yung Cheng period.
("Chinese Art")

rest, were even denied the privilege of retaining their personal names, the first character of which was the same as that in the presonal name of the Emperor. Henceforth they were to be known as Achina (阿其那) and Saissuheh (塞思黑); and death alone saved them from a worse punishment. The determination on the part of Yung Cheng in this connection is commendable. The interests of an empire intrusted to his care were certainly of greater importance than the family ties that bound him to his brothers. It was this feeling of duty towards the public that had led to Duke of Chou to sign the death warrant of his brothers. To permit a prince of the blood to break every form of law with impunity was courting the worst consequences; and the action of Yung Cheng stands out as a precedent and example for all his successors under similar circumstances.*

One of the Emperor's other brothers, Prince I (怡), the thirteenth son of K'ang Hsi, enjoyed his unbounded gratitude and confidence to the end of his life.

The New Mode of Appointing a Successor to the throne.—One of the first official acts of the Emperor after he came to the throne, was the appointing of his fourth son to be the next emperor. The sealed envelope containing this appointment, which was in the hand-writing of Yung Cheng himself, was placed, in the presence of the princes and ministers of state, behind the sign-board of the Chêng Tai Kuang Ming Throne Hall (正大光明殿), "the highest place within the palace." A duplicate of this appointment, likewise in a sealed envelope, "to be opened only at the proper moment" was filed in the archives of the palace. The novel manner in which a successor to the throne was made by Yung Cheng was in turn carefully followed by his successors; and the privilege of heir apparent was no longer in existence.

The Secret Service.—Owing to the agitation of Achina and Saissuheh, a most efficient secret service was developed during

* The Manchus have lost their empire because they failed to follow this precedent when circumstances demanded it.

the brief reign of Yung Cheng. It is said that the most trivial deeds of his ministers were in due time reported to him. One of them, according to a report, was one evening playing cards with a number of his friends, and in the midst of the game a card was found to be missing. A diligent search was made but without success. To his surprise, the missing card was returned to him the next morning by the Emperor. Thanks to the secret service, many publications of a seditious character were brought to light, and their authors and publishers were most severely punished. One of these books contained a libel on the Emperor himself, and called upon the Chinese to rise in rebellion and drive out the Manchus. In the course of his book, the author pointed out General Yoh Chung-ch'i (岳鍾琪), as best leader for this general movement, partly because he had distinguished himself during the Kokonor Campaign, and partly because he belonged to a family which had given to the world General Yoh Fei (岳飛). It was largely due to the personal efforts of the general himself that the author of the book was discovered and that he and those responsible for its publication and diffusion were put to death.

The Grand Council.—Of all the political changes with which the name of Yung Cheng is associated, the organization of the Grand Council claims the first place. This took place in connection with the campaign against the Dzungars; and hence its name, Chünchich'u (軍機處), may be translated "Committee of National Defence," or "Council of Strategy." In 1730, the temporary arrangement began to take on a permanent character, and its authority was gradually extended to other than military matters. The object Yung Cheng had for making the change was to secure strict secrecy; for, under the older system that required everything to pass through the hands of the Grand Secretariat, state secrets often leaked out.

The Members of the Chünchich'u usually held other substantive appointments. They were recruited in most cases from the ranks of grand secretaries, presidents, and vice-presidents

of the Metropolitan Boards. The clerical duties were performed by "Assistants," or Chang Ching (章京) (a rendering of the Manchu word, Chan-yin). The Grand Councillors (大軍機), never exceeding six in number, met every morning to transact business in the presence of the sovereign; and their chief duty consisted of the transmission of imperial commands to the government officials throughout the empire. These commands were handed to the Grand Secretariat if they were of general interest; but, as a rule, they were transmitted under sealed covers direct to the Board of War, which, under the older statutes, also had charge of postal affairs. This class of orders were known as "Secret Instructions" (寄諭). After the inauguration of this system, the Grand Secretariat lost much of its active importance. The new arrangement was only abolished during the last days of the Manchu rule, when, in deference to the weight of public opinion, the so-called cabinet system of Europe was adopted.

Another departure from old custom was an arrangement that required every official, permitted to address the Throne direct, to send his memorial in a sealed box to the Emperor, instead of filing it in duplicate with the Office of Transmission (通政使), as had been the usage under the preceding dynasties.

Abolition of Chinese Slavery in Its Worst Forms.— Yung Cheng is also famous for a series of decrees that dealt with several of the worst forms of Chinese slavery. The first attempt in this direction was a decree of 1723, declaring the Yoh Chi (樂戶), or "persons of the musical profession," of Shansi, to be free citizens. The Yoh Chi were the descendants of those who refused to submit to Yung Lo (永樂) of the Ming Dynasty. The male descendants were made bondslaves, while their wives and daughters became public women. This decree was followed by another in 1727 dealing with the Pan Tang (伴當) of Huichow (徽州), and the Shih Pu (世僕) of Ning Kuo (寧國); and still another in 1730, extending the privilege of citizenship to the Kai Hu (丐戶) of Suchow (蘇州), the Pêng Min (棚民) of Kiangsi, Chekiang, and Fukien, and also to all classes of persons along the coast who were not

permitted to live on land and whose wives and daughters could be kidnapped with impunity. Owing to the existence of these classes of people, it was customary for applicants before they could take part in examination for literary degrees, to declare themselves as belonging to "pure and white families" (身家清白), a legal phrase for those who had never been in slavery. The humane decrees of Yung Cheng removed many of the social inequalities that had come down from earlier times..

The Aborigines of China.—A very important event affecting the status of the Aborigines of China also took place in the reign of Yung Cheng. The Miao Min (苗民) of China, who take up no small area in the provinces of Yünnan, Kweichow, Kuangsi and Hunan, have for ages been permitted to retain their native institutions, by testifying their allegiance to the emperor in paying periodic tributes. In 1726, Ortai (鄂爾泰), Viceroy of Yünkuei, decided to bring them under the direct rule of the government, and his proposal was approved by the authorities. A sort of guerrilla warfare occupied the government for four years, at the end of which the viceroy was able to report to Peking that his work was done. But in the latter days of Yung Cheng a severe rebellion broke out, which was not put down until the next reign.

2. Foreign Relations

The Treaty of Kiakhta.—The first treaty was concluded between China and Russia in 1627; but another, known as the treaty of Kiakhta, had been made necessary by new circumstances arising out of the annexation of the Khalkha country. For years, a sort of barter trade had been carried on between the Mongols and the Russians at Kiakhta (恰克圖), Urga (庫倫), and other towns on the Mongol frontier; and it would have been useless for the Chinese to try to stop it. In 1692, K'ang Hsi gave permission to Russian merchants to come to Peking every third year to trade, although he took care to limit the number of persons who might come at any one time and also the length of time they might stay in Peking. As early as 1719, the Russian Government made known its desire to regulate this trade by a treaty, and sent to China an embassy

headed by Ismaloff. In 1727, the request was renewed by Catherine I. A Chinese commission consisting of three members was appointed to meet the Russian envoy, Counte Sava Wladislavich, on the Pula (布拉) River; and the result was the Treaty of Kiakhta. "This treaty provided for the delimitation of the frontier near Kiakhta, for the regulation of trade, for correspondence and embassies, for the extradition of criminals, and (in Article V) arranged for a permanent legation in Peking where four priests (Lamas) of the Orthodox Russian Church and four youths and two adults, "to study the languages," may live. It is interesting to know that during the early days of the Manchu Empire, Russian intercourse was maintained mainly through the Mongolian Superintendency (理藩院); and in that respect she had no advantage over any of the Mongol khans, so far as the Emperor was concerned.

Chinese Missions to Russia.—Russian annals record that two Chinese missions arrived in St. Petersburg in 1731. One of them had instructions to approach the Russian government with the request to observe strict neutrality in the Chino-Dzungar war, which was then in progress; and the other was charged with the duty of expressing the good will and congratulations of Yung Cheng to Empress Anna Ivanovna (1730-1740). Chinese records, however, do not mention them. A private account mentions one high Manchu official, who, after arriving at St. Petersburg, became a favorite of the Russian Empress, and did not return for many years. Unfortunately this account gives neither date nor the name of the empress. From its description of the court and the manner in which favorites were introduced, it suggests the court of Catherine the Great. The only mission to Russia, recorded by the state annals of China, was that of 1712. This was sent by K'ang Hsi to confer with the Khan of the Tourgouth (土爾扈特) Mongols (Russia) about their return to China. Tulishin (圖理琛), the envoy, after his return, wrote a full account of his travels through Siberia, which is the earliest description of that country in Chinese.

The Portuguese Embassy.—The year 1727 was a memorable one because of the arrival in Peking of an embassy from

Portugal under Alexander Metello Songay Menzes. It accomplished nothing beyond an exchange of presents with the Emperor. "In the eyes of the Chinese, an envoy came to do homage and bring tribute, and it was his duty to receive his orders, and not to claim to negotiate conventions." According to Hsieh Fu-ch'êng (薛福成), the only foreign envoy that was received by Yung Cheng after the European fashion was a legate from the Pope; but, like most Chinese annals, his account mentions no exact date.

3. The Third Dzungar War

Rebellion in Kokonor.—The remote cause of the third war with Dzungar was a rebellion that broke out in Kokonor in 1723. The rebellion was headed by one of the hereditary Daijis (台吉) of Kokonor, Lobtsang (羅卜藏) Tantsin (丹津) by name, a descendant of the great Gushih (固始) Khan. The Kokonor Mongols had been permitted to retain their tribal government, and many of their Daijis (Khans) had been made nobles by the Emperor. Now that the great Emperor K'ang Hsi was no more, Tantsin believed that he had nothing further to fear from China, and hastened to launch his ambitious plan of entirely extinguishing the authority of China and restoring the independence of Kokonor. He convened at Chahan (察罕) Tolo (多羅) Nor (海), a conference of his fellow Daijis, and told them to acknowledge him as their master instead of the Chinese Emperor. Two of them refused to do so and a civil strife ensued. Having been defeated, the dissenters left the country to announce the news to the Chinese Emperor. In the meanwhile, Tantsin had succeeded in gaining the representative of the Yellow Church in Kokonor; and the result was that no less than 200,000 men, lamas and laymen, flocked to his standard. Pillaging parties were sent to plunder Sining (西甯) and other cities, and imperial messengers arriving from Peking were thrown into prison. In a few months the rebellion assumed such alarming proportions that strong bodies of troops had to be posted at different points to guard the approaches to Mongolia in the north, and Tibet in the south; while a third

division of the army had to be stationed at Turfan to prevent any assistance from being given by the Dzungars. The campaign was intrusted to Nien Kêng-yao (年羹堯) and Yoh Chung-ch'i, who, by a series of battles, cleared the Kansu-Szechuan frontier of the rebels. Winter now came on rapidly and operations had to be suspended on account of the intense cold.

End of the Rebellion.—Before the mild weather returned General Yoh, the second in command, with 5,000 men, made a bold move which broke up the centre of the trouble and made him a national hero. He toiled day and night among his soldiers, now climbing up snow-capped mountains, now creeping along difficult paths over cliffs, and capturing here and there the scouts of the enemy, until he took the main body by surprise one morning, in the neighborhood of the Chadam (柴達木) River. Thousands of the rebels, who were not slain, were glad to lay down their arms and submit; and among the prisoners, Tantsin's mother, sister and brothers were found, but Tantsin himself, disguised as a woman, made good his escape into Ili.

The direct result of the rebellion was the establishment of a residency-general at Sining to watch the Mongols of Kokonor. Thus the ambition of Tantsin cost his countrymen the privilege of home rule; and their descendants of to-day are still placed under the control of the Sining resident.

The Expedition against Dzungar.—When the whereabouts of Tantsin became known, a messenger was sent to Ili to demand his surrender. With this demand, Tsewang Arabdan refused to comply; and the same was true of his son, Galdan (噶爾丹) Tseling (策零), who soon succeeded him at the head of Dzungarian affairs. Yung Cheng even wrote Tseling a personal letter, but it brought no better result. The Emperor became so enraged that he ordered two Chinese armies, one from the city of Cobdo and the other from Barkul (巴里坤), to advance on Ili in 1729. Taking advantage of the temporary absence of Generals Fuertan (傅爾丹) and Yoh Chung-ch'i, the commanders of the Northern and the Western Armies, as they were then called, Tseling made a

swoop upon Barkul, and carried away herds of horses and camels. In 1731 the enemy appeared before Cobdo, where the main army of General Fuertan was encamped. The Chinese were completely outgeneraled, and at Ho Tung Nor (和通泊), about 200 *li* west of Cobdo, Fuertan lost the greater portion of his army and had his officers slain on the field.

The Defence of Mongolia.—With the two armies temporarily disabled, the Chinese had to take the defensive. A fresh contingent led by the Commander-in-Chief, Prince Shih Pu, in person, was now sent to defend the city of Chahan (察罕) Nor (淖爾); and General Marsai (馬爾賽), a Manchu soldier, who had seen much of the Desert warfare, put in command of reserves at Kuei-hua-chen with instructions to go wherever his services might be required. Later, he was transferred from Kuei-hua-chen to the city of Baidarik (拜達里克).

The Sain Noin Khanate.—In spite of the line of defence thus established, the enemy invaded Mongolia. The credit for repelling them must be given to Tsereuf (策凌), Khan of the Sain (三音) Noin (諾顏) Tribe. Tsereuf was a brother-in-law of the Emperor Yung Cheng, and had seen much service during the former campaigns. With a well-disciplined little army of his own, numbering about 6,000 men, he made a stand at the Otenchul, inflicted a terrible defeat on the invaders and made them withdraw. For this signal victory, Yung Cheng made him an Imperial Prince of the First Order, and raised his tribe to the rank of an independent khanate in Mopei (Outer Mongolia). The name "Sain Noin" means "a good ruler" in Mongol. It had been given to one of Tsereuf's ancestors by the Dalai Lama. We therefore have four khanates in Outer Mongolia where there had been but three.

The Battle of Erdeni Chao.—In 1732 the Eleuths again invaded Mongolia. On the bank of the Tamir (塔米爾), they captured the family of Tsereuf, who was at that time absent from his tent. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the enemy, he returned at the head of 20,000 Mongols; and, by a forced march,

found the enemy on the bank of the Orhun. With the dawn of the day, Tsereuf dashed upon the field, routed the invaders, and drove them to Erdeni Chao, or the Temple of the Light (光顯寺), at the foot of a mountain. Here the Eleuths were forced to accept battle, and were once more defeated with fearful slaughter. Had Prince Shih Pu only been half a general, the Eleuths might never have seen their home again. Both he and Marsai could have cut off their retreat, had they so desired. Tsereuf even wrote to Marsai telling him what he should do; but, to his surprise, Marsai preferred to shut his 13,000 men in the city of Bardarik and permit the Eleuths to cross the frontier into their own country. These facts having been reported to Peking, Marsai was summarily decapitated before his own soldiers; and Shih Pu was superseded by Prince Fu P'êng (福彭).

Operations near Urumchi.—During all this time, General Yoh was not idle. Several times he moved in the direction of Urumchi, but fortune was against him; and, towards the end of the year, he was sent to Peking in disgrace, his command having been transferred to General Chang Kuang-ssŭ (張廣泗).

The Peace of 1733.—With the coming of 1733, both China and Dzungar began to feel tired of the long struggle. Under the new commanders, the Chinese made a better showing; but they realized that the time for the final conquest of Ili had not come. The war had already cost China Tls. 70,000,000 and was becoming more unpopular every day. As to the Eleuths, the war had been forced upon them by China. They signified their willingness to treat, and peace was readily patched up. The two armies on the Chinese frontier were disbanded, save such portions as were necessary to guard the approaches to Mongolia. The boundary question was left unsettled until 1737, or the second year of Ch'ien Lung, when it was agreed to make the Altai Mountains the dividing line between the Khalkhas on the east and the Eleuths on the west.

CHAPTER XLVII

CH'IEN LUNG'S WARS AND CONQUESTS (1736-1795)

Conquest of Eastern Turkestan

Accession of Ch'ien Lung.—The death of Yung Cheng occurred on Oct. 7, 1735. By virtue of the Imperial Decree of 1723, the fourth son of Yung Cheng came to the throne under the title of Ch'ien Lung (乾 隆). He continued to rule for sixty years, and was a worthy successor of K'ang Hsi. Ch'ien Lung manifested a thirst for conquest; and, under him, the Manchu Empire attained its largest extent. The first conquest was that of Chinese Turkestan. This term includes the two "Routes" of the Tienshan range, which, for the first time since the Yüan Dynasty, acknowledged the authority of the Chinese Emperor.

Ch'ien Lung

Death of Galdan Tsereng; Disorganization in Dzungar.—The death of Galdan Tsereng took place in 1745. For ten years there had been comparatively little of note in connection with the Central Asian question. The Khalkhas attended their herds in peace; the Eleuths had free access to Tibet for purposes of trade and pilgrimage; and the Chinese busied themselves in restoring order within their own empire. But with the death of Galdan Tsereng, the glory of Dzungar was lost. The first to occupy his throne was his second son, Namuchar (那木札爾), a man given up to all sorts of wantonness and vice. A civil strife cut short the life of the unworthy ruler, and gave the vacant throne to Darchi(達爾札), a lama, and an illegitimate child of Tsereng. Having put to death Namuchar's younger brother and such persons as questioned his claim, Darchi the usurper was in turn murdered, and the throne was left to one Davatsi (達瓦齊). Plots and counterplots became the order of the day. In the course of the Dzungar upheaval, Ch'ien Lung found all the help and men he needed to overthrow a nation which had so long defied the authority of China.

Emperor Ch'ien Lung hunting deer

Amusana, a Fugitive from Dzungar.—Among all the men that came to Ch'ien Lung from Dzungar, Amusana needs special mention. He was Khan of the Khoit (輝特) tribe, a grandson of Tsewang Arabdan, and a man of great influence in Dzungar. It was to him that Davatsi owed his throne. In course of time, however, Davatsi became suspicious of the ultimate object of his friend and thought it advisable to get rid of him. Now the home of the Khoit tribe at this time was in the neighborhood of the Irtish. To dislodge Amusana from this place an army of 300,000 men set out from Ili; and another one composed of 8,000 Ulianghai (烏梁海) soldiers was ordered to close in from the northeast. Resistance was out of the question. At the head of his own tribe, and in company with the chiefs of other tribes of the Eleuth Mongols, Amusana took to flight and came eastward in 1754 to submit to the Chinese Emperor. At Jehol (熱河) he and his party were received with due honor by Ch'ien Lung, who listened to their complaint, gave them new homes in the country of the Khalkhas, and vested Amusana with a princely title. It was clearly a piece of good fortune for the Chinese Emperor to have in his hands men whom misgovernment and personal jealousy had expelled from Dzungar. The invasion of Dzungar was now but a matter of time, Amusana and the other Eleuth chiefs having all urged it.

Overthrow of Dzungar.—In February, 1755, two armies each of 250,000 men set out from China for the conquest of Dzungar. One of them took the northern route, and the other, the southern. Amusana accompanied the northern army, and Sarlair (薩賴爾), another Eleuth chief, the southern. Neither army met with anything like resistance. The various Eleuth tribes, through whose territory the invaders passed, vied with one another in their expressions of friendliness, and placed at their disposal animals, milk, and other food. On the Polo Tata (博羅塔拉), the two armies effected a union and five days brought them to Ili. Davatsi, unable to offer resistance, fled with 300 men through the Muzart Pass to Uch Turfan (烏什), a Mohammedan town in Tien Shan Nan Lu; but was returned a prisoner to Ili by the Mohammedans. He was

subsequently sent to Peking under an escort, as was also Lobtsang Tantsin, the rebel of Kokonor. Instead of putting him to death, Ch'ien Lung treated Davatsi with consideration, giving him a Manchu girl for a wife and a palace in which to live. Welded into a strong nation, Dzungar had proved a formidable foe of K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng; but, broken into pieces by internal quarrels, it was easily subdued. Five months only sufficed to add the vast country of the Tarim Valley to the Chinese Empire, and this was done without a single battle. Who could have dreamed that in another three months, all this work would be lost, and that every foot of the territory would have to be reconquered with great cost in life and money?

Amusana Turns a Rebel.—Ch'ien Lung's plan was to revive the tribal system as it had existed in Dzungar before the time of Galdan. In other words, he wished to apportion the land among the four tribes of the Eleuths, substituting the Khoit for the Tourgut (土爾扈特), who had migrated into Russia. This plan was not acceptable to Amusana, who had hoped to receive the whole country for himself. When Ch'ien Lung found out his treacherous character, he ordered him to be brought to Jehol, and gave General Pan Ti (班第), at Ili, instructions to put him to death, if necessary. To the Emperor's surprise and dismay, Amusana evaded the Commissioner, Alintsin (額林沁), a Mongol prince, who was to take him to Jehol, escaped to the Polo Tata, and did everything he could to organize a rebellion. In the course of the rebellion, General Pan Ti and the Chinese garrison of 500 men were put to the sword by the treacherous Eleuths. For having permitted Amusana to escape, Alintsin was ordered to commit suicide.

Failure of the Chinese Generals.—In 1756 a fresh army under Generals Chereng (策楞) and Yü Pao (玉保) was despatched from Barkul to restore order. These Generals had Amusana shut up in a fort, and were on the point of capturing him, when they permitted themselves to be duped. Amusana caused a report to be sent to them representing that he himself had fallen a prisoner in the hands of a certain neighbouring tribe, and that the chief was going to deliver him to the Chinese. The generals waited as Amusana

expected, and in the meantime he fled across the frontier into the country of the Kazaks. The Chinese generals then wrote to the Kazaks to surrender Amusana; but being the old friends of the fugitive, they would do nothing of the kind. The incompetent commanders were soon replaced by Tartonha (達爾黨阿) and Hatashan (哈達善), but they made no better showing. Amusana returned, plundered the country and once more made his escape.

Insurrectionary Movement among the Khalkhas.—About this time, matters were no less grave to the east of the Altai. The Khalkhas had refused to furnish the necessary quota of men and animals for the postal stages throughout their country and threatened to throw in their lot with the Eleuths. The line of communication between Peking and the seat of war was completely broken. Neither reinforcements nor supplies could be forwarded from Peking, unless they were prepared to fight their way from the Great Wall to the Altai Mountains. The immediate cause of the general strike was the putting to death of Alintsin, one of the Khalkha princes. The great name of Jenghis Khan had at last failed to protect his descendant from the wrath of the Chinese Emperor! This was too much for the Khalkhas who maintained the courier service. They could see no reason why they should submit to an Emperor who had no regard for their great ancestor. Owing to the agitation of the secret agents of Amusana, the discontent threatened to break out and envelop the whole of Mongolia in a great flame of national indignation. Amusana himself had returned with a fresh army and several of the Eleuth tribes on the border, who had hitherto been the allies of the Chinese, now joined him. The two generals, who were on their way to Peking to answer for their credulity and incompetence, had been killed by brigands while travelling through the now hostile country of the Khalkhas. A general uprising in Mongolia might speedily have undone all the work of Ch'ien Lung and his predecessors with the most dreadful results. At this juncture, two friends came to the aid of Ch'ien Lung. They were the Lama of Urga and Chenkungchap, the son of the famous Tsereng. It was the peaceful influence of the former which

prevented a general uprising of the Khalkhas; and the military strength of the latter that put down all signs of disorder. If the name of Nurhachu had at times failed to protect his descendants from the just penalties of law, why should that of Jenghis Khan be a shield to those who were no longer upon the throne of China? Was not Ch'ien Lung the successor and grandson of that monarch who had provided the Khalkhas with a new home, and afterwards restored their original territory to them at a great sacrifice of men and money? Was it not the enemies of the Khalkhas that Ch'ien Lung was now fighting? By this line of argument the Living Buddha soon brought the Khalkhas to their senses. They returned to work and the courier service between Peking and Cobdo as well as the places beyond was restored. Thanks to the effort of Chenkungchap, the ringleader of the agitation was arrested and the brigands were dispersed. A great danger had been averted.

Success of General Chao Hui; Death of Amusana; and Massacre of the Eleuths.—With the restoration of peace on the Eastern side of the Altai, Ch'ien Lung was able to prosecute the war in Dzungaria with his usual energy. He also had found a man who could carry out his policy. That man was General Chao Hui (兆惠), who in the winter had found it necessary to return with his own command of 2,500 men from Ili in order to avoid annihilation. He had fought all his way through a hostile country to Urumchi, where he had been able to hold his ground against overwhelming odds until succor came from Barkul. In 1757, Chao Hui was given the supreme command, and a fresh army under Chenkungchap was sent by the Northern Route to his assistance. As if to hasten the end of the Eleuths, smallpox, a disease hitherto unknown among them, now broke out in an epidemic form, and rapidly thinned the rebel ranks by carrying away thousands of victims. They were in no position to oppose the advance of the vigorous Chinese; and, after a series of defeats, Amusana began to see the hopelessness of his situation. Once more he took to flight, and crossed the frontier into Siberia. As Chao Hui had been instructed not to stop with anything short of the capture of Amusana, dead or alive, he continued to pursue him

towards the Siberian frontier. Amusana was saved from a worse fate only by the dreadful disease which overtook him at Tobolsk. It was not until Chao Hui reported that he had seen the dead body of Amusana, that Ch'ien Lung consented to end the campaign in Dzungaria. Then followed a general massacre of the Eleuths. During the next two years, the unfortunate men, women, and children were hunted down from place to place like wild beasts; and the work of wholesale slaughter was continued even after General Chao Hui's transfer to Kashgaria. Ch'ien Lung preferred an uninhabited Ili valley to having it filled with a people unresponsive to kindness and full of treachery. It is estimated that, of a population numbering more than 200,000 families, 40% died of smallpox, 20% found their way into Siberia, and 30% lost their lives at the hands of the victors. The remaining 10% consisted of the tribes who had been incorporated in the population of Jehol, and therefore had taken no part in the general uprising.

Spread of Mohammedanism in Kashgar. — With the Eleuth tribes wiped out of existence, there was nothing to arrest the tide of Chinese conquest until it had rolled over the "Route South of the Tienshan Mountains," or Kashgaria. For two centuries after the death of Jenghis Khan, this part of Chinese Turkestan formed part of the khanate ruled by the descendants of his second son, and the dominating element of its population was Mongolian. With an influx of Mohammedans from Samarkand, which took place in the 15th century, everything was changed. The Buddhist Mongols were gradually crowded into Turfan, Hami, and other towns to the east, leaving their original home to the followers of Islam. In time the house of Jenghis Khan became extinct, and the ruling power fell into the hands of the Khoja family. Towards the close of the next century Dzungaria suffered from religious rivalry between the White and the Black Mountaineers which laid the country open to foreign interference. With the rise of Dzungaria, Kashgar lost her independence and became a sort of dependency of the northern power.

Kashgar's Attempt at Independence.—The conquest of Dzungaria liberated two brothers of the Khoja family who had been imprisoned in Ili. The royal brothers, Brunit and Hodjichies, believing that they had nothing to fear from the Chinese, made a bold attempt to proclaim the independence of Kashgaria, and caused the death of the agent whom Chao Hui had sent to negotiate terms of submission. All hope of a peaceful settlement was at an end. Dzungaria must be conquered or permitted to set up a government entirely independent of China. Ch'ien Lung, of course, was not a man who would agree to the latter course; and so war was declared. After the first expedition had proved a failure, the great general, Chao Hui himself, received orders to march into Dzungaria in 1758. For a time it looked as if his effort was also doomed to fail. Intoxicated with his success in Dzungaria, he boldly advanced towards Yarkand with 4,000 men: and, on the Hara Ossu, was completely surrounded by hordes of Mohammedans. For three months, his brave men behind the line of earthworks depended solely upon dead horses and camels, and such prisoners as they were able to take, for food. Even this supply was threatening to run short, when succor came in 1759. Chao Hui was then extricated from his perilous position, and went to Aksu to await reinforcements. With the coming of the next year the end of the campaign was in sight. Not only had reinforcements arrived in sufficient numbers at Aksu to enable operations to be resumed simultaneously against Kashgar, Yarkand and Hotend, the three strongest centres of opposition; but the old relegious feud had also revived among the Mohammedans. City after city fell, and the two brothers were pursued across the frontier. Through fear of the Chinese, the Badashan tribes into whose territory Brunit and Hodjichies had fled for shelter, killed them and sent their heads to the conquerors. The Kirghis, the Kazaks, the Brunit, and the Khokedians, awed by the strength of China, all gladly enrolled themselves among her vassals. When Chao Hui and his colleagues, Generals Akuei (阿桂), Chu Heteh (舒赫德), Futa (富德) and others, returned to Peking

with their commands, Ch'ien Lung out of gratitude went to Liang Hsiang (良鄉) to receive them, and ordered artists to paint their portraits on the wall of Tze Kuang Ko, one of the Imperial Throne-halls in Peking.

The Government of Chinese Turkestan.—The government established in Turkestan after the conquest was necessarily one of the pure Manchu type. The highest authority was a military governor, residing at Ili; or, to be more specific, in a fortified town adjoining the site of Kuldja on the Ili River, and known in Chinese as Hui Yüan Ch'êng (惠遠城). In the Ili region, five divisions of military colonists were established. These were drawn from the following sources: viz., Manchus from the Capital, Solon (索倫) Manchus from the region of the Amur, Sibê (錫伯) Mongols from the Jehol region, and Chahars and Eleuths, each under the commander of a division. Towards the close of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, in addition to the batches of Chinese criminals, large bodies of Chinese settlers were also secured from the Mohammedan population of Kansu and Shensi. The Military Governor was assisted by three deputy governors, located at Ili, Tarbagatai and Yarkand.

The authority of the Deputy Governor at Yarkand covered the whole of the southern province or Kashgaria. In civil matters, he was assisted by a number of Begs (伯克), or local Chieftains, who acted as civil magistrates, tax collectors or judicial officials. The Mohammedans of the Hami and the Turfan regions, being of Mongol descent, have no Begs among them, but live under an organization similar to that of their brethren in Mongolia proper. Their chiefs have the titles of the Imperial Nobility. In 1764 a rebellion against misgovernment and extortion took place in Uch Turfan; and, when peace was restored, the Deputy Governor was transferred from Kashgar to that city.

Government of the Ulianghai Mongols.—After the breaking up of the Dzungar power, a number of Mongol tribes, occupying a stretch of territory called Ulianghai, gladly submitted

to the Emperor. They were organized into three divisions, viz., the Tangnu (唐努) Uliangliai (烏梁海), the Altai (阿爾泰) Uliangliai (烏梁海) and the Altai (阿爾泰) Nor (腦爾) Uliangliai (烏梁海). They were governed through the Military Governor of Uliasutai and the Deputy Governor of Cobdo. The former had under him four other deputies in the persons of a prince from each of the four khanates of the Khalkhas. Each of these, in turn, resided for three months at Uliasutai.

The Return of the Kalmucks.—The term, "Kalmucks," by which the Eleuths are known to the Russians and other Europeans, is not found in Chinese. Their migration into Siberia, as already mentioned, dated as far back as the time of Galdan; when, on account of the aggressions of their neighbors, they were obliged to quit their home in the Tarbagatai region. They settled in a vast stretch of territory close to the Caspian Sea, between the Ural and the Volga, and soon had every reason to regret the change. The Chinese records show that as early as 1712, their Khan contemplated a return to China. Being aliens in both race and religion, their life in Russia was miserable. Their men were pressed into service to defend the border against the frequent incursions of the Lesghians, who lived beyond the Kisliar. Besides the number of men and horses they were required to furnish the Russian Government, they were subjected to all sorts of extortion at the hands of the local tax collectors. Even their chiefs were treated with indignity. Finally, their Khan, Ubashi (渥巴錫), decided to quit his adopted country and return to the land of his ancestors. Preparations for this journey were made with a secrecy which concealed them from Russia's knowledge; and on the 16th of December, 1770, about 170,000 men, women, and children left the Volga, with an immense number of cattle. In the course of their long journey the Kalmucks were frequently obliged to defend themselves against the Cossos, the Kirghis and other hostile tribes. When they reached their old home in the following August, they had lost more than half of their number, by incessant warfare,

fatigue, and sickness. . To their delight an abundance of food and clothing were given to them on their arrival, and tracts of land were assigned them in both Ili and Cobdo. In the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, they had found a true friend, who, it is claimed, spent no less than Tls. 200,000 for their comfort. They were organized into two divisions; the adherents of Ubashi were to be known as the old Tourgut, and those of Sereng, who had left the country more recently, as the new Tourgut.

Catherine was indignant when she heard of this unexpected event which left such a large empty tract in the Russian Empire; but she had only the local governors to blame. As Russia was then at war with Turkey, she could not afford to have trouble with China at the same time. Catherine therefore quietly accepted the explanation of Ch'ien Lung, that the Kalmucks were not fugitives within the meaning of the Kiakta Treaty.

CHAPTER XLVIII

CH'IEN LUNG'S WARS AND CONQUESTS—(*Continued*)

Establishment of China's Authority in Tibet

Introductory.—The position of Tibet in Chinese history is truly unique. As a rule, China's policy in regard to her dependencies was to interfere as little as possible with their internal administration. But in the case of Tibet, her policy has been quite different. In temporal as well as religious matters, the hand of Peking has been directly felt since the time of Ch'ien Lung. During his reign there took place in Tibet a series of events all of which combined to tighten the hold of China upon her. The policy adopted by Ch'ien Lung and faithfully adhered to by his successors has, as a matter of fact, been forced upon China. In order to understand the situation, it is necessary to mention a little incident that had occurred before Ch'ien Lung came to the throne.

Annexation of Tibetan Territory.—In 1724 Tibet, or more particularly the Anterior Section, was the scene of a civil strife. The outcome of this internal trouble was the appointment of two Chinese to reside in Tibet; and the annexation by China of a part of the territory. In the territory annexed, the two important towns of Batang (巴塘) and Litang (裏塘) have been made part and parcel of Szechuan province; and the two sub-prefectures of Chungtien (中甸) and Weihsi (維西) have been added to Yünnan province.

Rebellion of 1750.—Twenty-six years after the annexation, the Tibetans made a further attempt at revolt. The rivalry between the Emperor in Peking and the Khan of Ili was then very acute. The latter had spared no effort to undermine China's influence in Tibet and to make the people believe that her suzerainty was really a curse instead of a blessing. As a consequence, an uprising took place and the two Chinese residents

and their retinue were mercilessly butchered.* This tragedy naturally incensed Ch'ien Lung, who soon hurried his soldiers into Tibet. When peace was once more restored, the Chinese garrison in Tibet was greatly increased, and all roads between that country and Dzungaria were guarded by Chinese soldiers.

Effect of the Overthrow of Dzungaria.—The complete overthrow of Dzungaria in 1757 left Ch'ien Lung in undisputed possession of Tibet. The great temples of Ili, rivalling those of Peking, Tolon Nor (多倫泊), and Urga (庫倫) in architectural splendour and wealth, could no longer become the centres of intrigue against him. The famous monastery (固爾札), in which had been housed so many hostile lamas, was now a heap of ruins. The Tibetans had ceased to be a warlike people. Without foreign instigation, the people were as peaceful and submissive as the Emperor could find in any part of his empire; and they no longer looked upon him with feelings of mistrust. As evidence of the esteem in which he was held by the Tibetans, we may mention the visit of the Panshen Lama to China in 1780.

The Death of the Sixth Panshen Lama in Peking.—This Panshen Lama was the sixth since the creation of that office. He came to China for the purpose of attending the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of Ch'ien Lung's birthday, and was received with royal honors at Jehol, where a monastery built on the plan of the Potala Palace, was set apart for his residence. So pleased was the Emperor with his modesty, that he invited him to come to Peking and make a prolonged stay. This invitation, the Panshen Lama accepted, and accompanied his generous host to Peking. To the regret of Ch'ien Lung, he had an attack of smallpox in the Hsihwangssŭ (西黃寺) Temple, Peking, and died. In the following year, his remains, together with the gifts with which he had been loaded by the Chinese court and by the faithful of Mongolia and China (representing a market value of not less than a million taels), were conveyed into Tibet.

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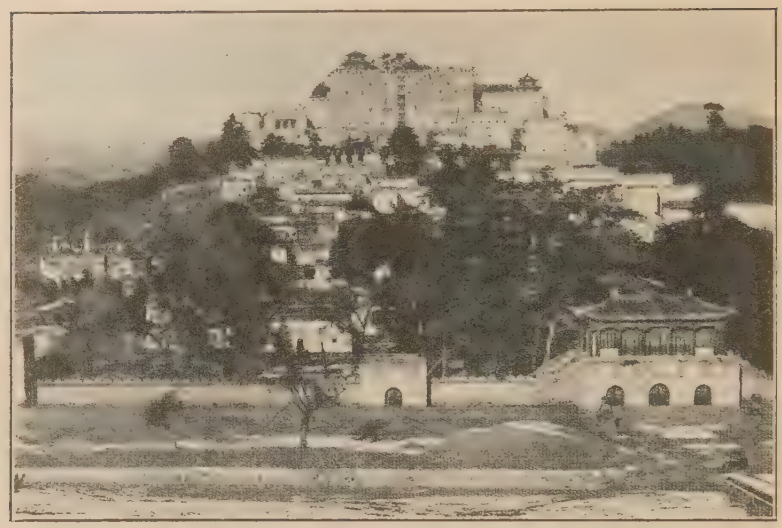
*The residents were Fu Ching (傅清) and Laptung (拉布敦), both Manchus. To commemorate their death, a temple known as Shuangchungtzu (雙忠祠) was built in Tibet by order of Ch'ien Lung.



Potala Miao, Jehol (Fac-simile of that at Lhasa.) ("Tramps in Dark Mongolia")

The Goorkhas in Nepal.—Tibet is separated from Nepal by the mighty Himalayas. Nepal was ruled by three separate kings until the year 1769 when the Goorkha Chief, Prithi Narayan, established his supremacy. The Goorkhas were good fighters, and cared little for trade, but had a strong desire for plunder. They made frequent raids into both Tibet and India. The Tibetans could never take care of themselves. Fifty years before their danger had come from the northern side of the Prejevalsky Range; but now it came from the southern side of the Himalayas.

First Invasion of Tibet by the Goorkhas.—When the great wealth of the Panshen Lama was safely conveyed into Tibet, a question arose as to its proper disposition. As the gifts had been conferred on the deceased Lama personally, his two surviving brothers were unwilling to have them go to the Church. One of the brothers was the state treasurer in Tibet and naturally had the advantage over the other who belonged to the Red Church. In dividing the deceased brother's estate, the former not only received the lion's share, but also tried to deprive the latter of his just portion. They could not agree. At length he who had been cheated left the country for Nepal. He told the

Goorkhas how weak the defence of Tibet was and what an incalculable amount of wealth the monasteries contained. In short, he furnished them with the plan for invading Tibet. Encouraged by his representations, the Goorkhas crossed the Tibetan frontier in 1790, and drove the frontier guards before them. The commandant of the Chinese garrison, instead of taking measures to prevent their inroad, began to negotiate and promised the invaders an annual tribute of 15,000 taels. He never intended to keep his word.

Second Invasion of the Goorkhas.—The first year's tribute fell due in 1791, but no money was forthcoming. The Goorkhas enraged by bad faith, and spurred by their desire for plunder, now came in great numbers to overrun Tibet. Through the Kirong and Kuti Passes the highlanders advanced and carried every thing before them up to Teshilumbo. No resistance was attempted by the Tibetans or by the Chinese garrison. The Panshen Lama fled at the first sign of danger to seek shelter at Lassa, and every monastery of note in Farther Tibet was mercilessly looted. Even Lassa was thrown into a great panic. In the hour of excitement, the chief Amban even proposed to transfer both the Dalai Lama and the Panshen Lama to Sining, and thus leave the whole of Tibet to its fate. Fortunately his proposition was overruled by Ch'ien Lung who, upon the receipt of the news, ordered General Fu K'ang-an to the scene of trouble with an army of 70,000 men. This army arrived at its destination in 1792. The Goorkhas had come thinking that China would not fight; and, after having gratified their desire for plunder, had sent one half of their men to carry their loot home. The first thought of the remaining half, in the presence of a superior Chinese force, was their home. They retreated, but before they gained the passes, the Chinese overtook them. On the plain of Tengri Maidan, outside the northern entrance of the Kirong Pass, a battle took place. Although the Goorkhas fought with their usual courage, the result was a Chinese victory.

Invasion of Nepal.—It was now the turn of Nepal to experience the horror of a foreign invasion. General Fu K'ang-an followed up his success with such swiftness that the Goorkhas suffered much loss during their flight. The forts guarding the mountain defiles were one by one captured, and the Goorkhas who defended the passage over a chasm at Rassoa, halfway between Kirong and Daibung, were once more put to flight. At lengh General Fu at the head of 40,000 found himself within 20 miles of Khatmander. To his surprise, the Goorkhas, after so many defeats, had still courage to make a final stand. With their fragments of an army, the Goorkhas King took up a strong position on the Sadi. In order to drive his men to assault the Goorkha position, it is stated that Fu K'ang-an had to turn his guns upon them, with the result that a large number of the enemy as well as many of his own soldiers were swept over a precipice. After this defeat, the Goorkha King asked for peace. As General Fu had to return before the mountain passes were closed up by snow, he was also ready for peace. The Goorkhas took an oath not to molest their Tibetan neighbors again, to acknowledge the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain by sending periodical tribute, and to restore the plunder they had carried home from Tibet. Until a very late date, the Rajah of Nepal has faithfully carried out the obligations of the treaty by sending an embassy with tribute to Peking. The gratitude of the Tibetans was unbounded, and they willingly surrendered their home rule to the Manchus.

Chinese Administration in Tibet.—The form of government that was instituted in Tibet after the Goorkha war has continued until recent years. At the head of this system stood the Imperial Resident and Assistant Resident, selected commonly from the superior officers of the Manchu Banners. They were allowed the privilege of addressing the Throne direct, of acting as the medium of communication between the Chinese Government on the one hand and the Tibetans and Nepalese on the other, and of discharging duties under the direction of the Li-Fan Yüan,

or Mongolian Superintendency. The Viceroy of Szechuan, owing to the proximity of his province, was also responsible for the government in Tibet and for all expenses in connection therewith. These were defrayed from the provincial treasury of Szechuan. His advice was always eagerly sought by the residents who corresponded with him on a footing of equality. Appointments to the principal civil and military offices of the Tibetan Government and Hierarchy were made on the nominations submitted by the Residents, who were also invested with the supreme command of both the Chinese garrison troops and Tibetan soldiery, the latter being designated in the Imperial Institutes as Fanping (番兵). The Residents also provided for a corps of 1,500 Chinese troops and a force of 64,000 native soldiers, of whom 14,000 are described as cavalry. The native soldiers were chiefly undrilled, and poorly armed village militia.

The civil government was administered by a council of four Kablons under the immediate supervision of the Residents. These were usually not soldiers; but superior officers of the Tibetan army were eligible to the office. Below the Kablons there were Treasury, Justice and Police departments and other minor offices held by Tibetans nominated by the Residents.

Abuses in Choosing Avatars; The Drawing of Lots.— The most important duty of the Residents was perhaps in connections with the election of the Dalai and Panshen Lamas. As already explained, the succession in each case is governed by a process of "re-embodiment." According to a very old tradition, when Tsongapa commanded his two disciples to be born again generation after generation, he predicted that the process of re-embodiment would cease after the sixth generation. Nevertheless the practice has been kept up, and the relatives, or members of the household of each successive pontiff, contrive, by acts of more or less open fraud, to indicate the individual whom they wish to elect as the new Avatar. Under such circumstances the intervention of the Chinese Emperor became necessary, and has gradually extended so as to include the cases of all the lesser

dignitaries of the Tibetan church. At one time, the Tsep-tsandampa of Urga died when the wife of the Tushektu Khan was pregnant; and his relatives caused it to be announced that the child to be born, according to miraculous signs, would be the Avatar. To their disappointment the child turned out to be a girl. Evidences of fraud were so glaring in this case that even the thoughtless Mongols began to question the theory of re-embodiment. An opportunity had at last come to the Chinese Emperor to

Tibetan Prayer Mill

assert his authority in the ecclesiastical affairs of both Tibet and Mongolia, and Ch'ien Lung was not slow to grasp it. In 1792 he ordained that in the future the ecclesiastical officers of the Tibetan church should be determined by the drawing of lots, the Dalai and Panshen Lamas not being excepted.

In pursuance of this decree, at the demise of each Dalai Lama, enquiries are made by the priesthood to ascertain if any miraculous signs have been observed at the birth of children about that time. Particulars of the required kind are transmitted to the Residents, and by them to Peking. On the day appointed

for the purpose, the names of the candidates are inscribed on pieces of wood, carefully sealed and deposited in the "golden urn" (金奔巴瓶) provided by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. The name drawn forth from this urn in the presence of the Residents is hailed amidst universal rejoicing as that of the new incarnation. The Lama thus declared to have come forth in re-embodiment is necessarily a child. After a short period of instruction, he is solemnly "enthroned" (坐床); and during his long ensuing minority, he remains, as a matter of course, a puppet in the hands of the Residents. No person hostile to the interests of the Chinese government could ever hope to secure the appointment.

The same device is used in the case of the Panshen Lama and other spiritual dignitaries. With such dignitaries as do not fall within the jurisdiction of the Tibetan Government, the drawing of lots is performed, under the regulations prescribed by Ch'ien Lung, in the Yung Ho Kung (雍和宮), at Peking. This palace was occupied by his father, when a prince, and afterwards converted into a gorgeous monastery. Here resides the Chang (章) Chia (嘉) Hutukhtu (呼圖克圖), the Metropolitan Lama and head of the Lamaist Organization at Peking. The first Chang Chia Hutukhtu, a disciple of the Fifth Dalai Lama, came to visit K'ang Hsi towards the close of the 17th century. He had been assigned a residence at Tolon Nor; but by a decree of Ch'ien Lung his successor was removed from Tolon Nor to Peking.

The only spiritual dignitary that is exempted from the operation of the decree of 1792, is the Chakhan (察汗) Nomen Han (諾們汗) of Kokonor, who is also the hereditary dzassak (扎薩克) of one of the Banners of the Tumeds (土默特), claiming descent from Manchusri Hutukhtu. By virtue of Ch'ien Lung's decree of 1794, the line of succession in his case is allowed to be restricted to members of the same family.

Government of the Lamas.—According to statistics compiled by the Mongolian Superintendency in 1737, there were 3,150 monasteries, 302,500 lamas, and 121,438 families of laymen, subject to the jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama; and 327 monasteries, 13,700

lamas and 6,752 families of laymen, subject to the jurisdiction of the Panshen Lama. The number of hutukhtus recognized by the Imperial Institutes, and registered with the Mongolian Superintendency, is 160, distributed as follows: in Tibet 30, including 12 who are known by the distinctive appellation of Shaburung (沙布隆), in Northern Mongolia 19, in Southern Mongolia 57, in the Kokonor region 35, and in Chamdo (on the Szechuan Border) 5. In and about Peking there are finally fourteen representatives of this class. Members of the Peking organization were liable to be sent under orders from the Throne for service at monasteries in Mukden, Tibet, Jehol, Tolon Nor, Ili, Wutaishan (五台山) in Shansi, and Moukung T'ing (懋功廳) in Szechuan. The Dalai and Panshen Lamas and Tseptsandampa have to send tribute to Peking every year, and have to pay a personal visit whenever required. The lamas of Mongolia are arranged in six classes and must present themselves for audience every year; while those of Szechuan, are in four classes and present themselves every three years. Lamaseries are established at the Imperial Mausolea at Peking and Mukden where services are continually performed in honor of the deceased sovereigns. Lamas may be promoted or degraded like officials. When one is accused of an offence he loses his status as lama, but it may be restored to him only upon the establishment of his innocence.

The Policy of Isolation.—Since the year 1792, a policy of isolation has been successfully maintained in Tibet. Until a very recent date, no foreigners have been allowed to penetrate into the country. The movements of lamas and pilgrims are all regulated by passports. Before 1792 strangers had been permitted to go freely through the passes that lead into Tibet. In the first half of the fifteenth century, a friar went to Tibet from China and resided at Lassa. A Portuguese missionary penetrated twice into Tibet in 1675 and 1676, and was

Tibetan Lamas

well received by the Buddhist priests there. In the following century other missionaries visited the capital from India. A Catholic mission was even founded at Lassa under the direction of Orazio della Penna, who resided in the country no less than 22 years. A Jesuit missionary, who was in Lassa from 1716 to 1721, records his admiration for the order and restraint of the Chinese soldiery who took possession of the city in 1720.

Lassa.—Lassa is at once the capital of Tibet and the "Buddhist Rome." As already stated, the residence of the Dalai Lama is fixed at Mount Potala, which is one of their Sacred Mountains. According to the Buddhist legends, the original Sacred Mountain being situated in India, while a third is off the coast of Chekiang. On the two tree-lined avenues leading from the city to the Lama's palace, the faithful may constantly be seen counting their long rosaries between their fingers; while prelates of the court, magnificently clothed and mounted on richly caparisoned horses, pass proudly in the midst of the multitudes. The palace of Potala is itself an assembly of fortifications, temples, and monasteries surmounted by a dome which is entirely covered with gold plates. It is surrounded by a peristyle whose columns are also gilded. The present edifice was reconstructed by K'ang Hsi to replace the one destroyed by the Eleuths. It is filled with treasures accumulated since the days of Srongtsam Gampo and representing the gifts of the faithful of Tibet, Mongolia and China. The most famous places in Lassa, after the Potala Palace, are the two temples of Ta Chao (大招) and Hsiao Chao (小招), or Greater and Lesser Temples,* both of which date from the time of the Chinese alliance in the seventh century. Ta Chao, in particular, is celebrated for the image of the Princess of Wên Ch'êng (文成) which it contains. The image and her companion from Nepal are now worshipped as among the chief divinities of the Lamaist pantheon. For a long time after 1724, this monastery was used as a place of conference between the Chinese Residents and the Lamas.

* The word "Chao" signifies in Tibetan a temple.

Some Tibetan Customs.—Undoubtedly the most interesting custom among the Tibetans is the practice of polyandry. The eldest son presents himself at the house of his bride in his own name as well as in the name of all his brothers. As soon as a piece of butter is placed on the foreheads of the pair to be married, the ceremony is valid for all the groom's brothers. This ceremony is necessarily a civil one, for priests are obliged to remain at a distance from women and can take no part in it. Polygamy is also practiced. If a man marries the eldest daughter of a family all her sisters become his wives. If he marries the next to the eldest, all her younger sisters become his wives, and so on down the line.

When a person dies, his remains are kept for days and even weeks if the family is rich. Priests must be consulted and they decide as to whether the deceased shall be buried, burned, thrown into the current of a stream, or exposed on a rock to feed dogs, birds and beasts of prey. The greater portion of the property of the deceased goes to the church. A Tibetan pays more to the Lama than to the State. The people are very polite, and when two meet they salute each other several times by sticking out their tongues and scratching their right ears. Sometimes they even exchange scarfs of white or pink silk, covered with embroidery representing flowers and a sacred formula of six magic syllables. These are "Om Mani padome houm," which have been translated as "O jewel in the lotus, thus may he be." This sacred inscription is found almost everywhere, on the walls of houses and temples, on colossal statues rudely hewn in the rocks, and on prayer wheels. It is also found in the Yung Ho Kung at Peking and other monasteries in China and Mongolia. According to the Tibetan belief, whosoever turns the prayer wheels will have marks of merit entered to his credit, as if he had said the prayer as many times as he turns the wheel. He who makes them also gets special credit for his work. At places even the forces of nature, the wind and the water, are made to repeat in a similar manner the words of prayer in behalf of man.

CHAPTER XLIX

CH'IEN LUNG'S WARS AND CONQUESTS—(*Continued*)

China's Relations with the Aboriginal Tribes

Who the Aboriginal Tribes Are.—As stated in a previous chapter, the present race of China, the "Sons of Han," is supposed to have come into this country four thousand years ago. The Chinese were not the first occupants of the rich valleys of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. Through ages of fighting and assimilation, they succeeded in driving the aboriginal tribes into the inaccessible fastnesses in the south and southwest of China Proper, and into the Indo-China Peninsula. The representatives of the former inhabitants are now found, for the most part, in Kueichow, Szechuan, Yünnan, Kuangtung, Kuangsi, and the Island of Hainan. Some of them are very warlike and make constant head-hunting raids upon their more peaceable neighbors. They have their own chiefs, languages, customs, and manners. For thousands of years, the hilly nature of their country has kept them separated from the Chinese civilization which flourishes in the surrounding plains. It must be remembered that in Yünnan and Kueichow there once existed the Nan Chao Empire, and that when it was broken up, the aboriginal tribes merely retired into the mountain fastnesses and left the rich valleys to their conquerors. They have never ceased to be a source of trouble to the Chinese.

A Chinese Shan Soldier

The aboriginal tribes are generally known in Chinese history as Miaotzŭ (苗子) and Mantzŭ (蠻子); and the difference between

them is that the latter have some form of settled government while the former have none. The Tung (獞) and the Li (黎) of Kuangtung and Kuangsi, the Yao (猺) of Kueichow and Hunan, the Po (狹) and the Shêngfan (生番) of Szechuan, and the Lolo (猓玀) and the Pai-i (擺夷) of Yünnan, all belong to the family of the Miaotzŭ. The branches of the Mantzŭ are more numerous, and first appear in the history of the Han Dynasty about the time of the Martial Emperor (漢武帝).

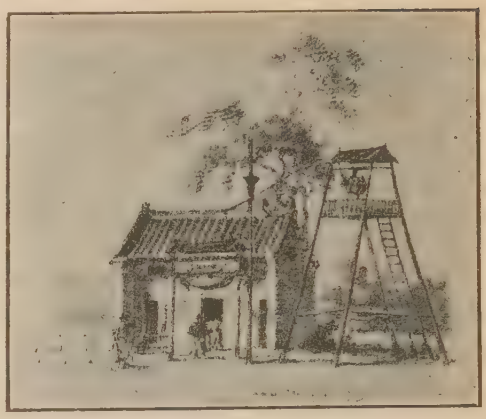
Jingal-men. (Mt. tribes of Szechuan). (Birch)

The Tussŭs.—In most cases, the aboriginal tribes are placed under hereditary Tussŭs (土司), or native governors. These are of two classes; Hsüan Wei (宣慰), Hsüan Fu (宣撫), Chao T'ao (招討), and An Fu (安撫) form the military class, while Tufu (土府), Tuchow (土州), and Tuhsien (土縣) make up the civil. All of these are called Tussū, and the system dates as far back as the Yüan (元) Dynasty. Most of their governors, however, are not members of their own race, but Chinese from distant provinces. It is stated that these are either the descendants of Chinese officials who were banished to their country, or of the early conquerors. The Tussŭs testify their allegiance to the Chinese Emperor by paying nominal tribute. The government makes no attempt to interfere with their internal administration so long as they do not become troublesome.

Their Territory and Number.—The Imperial Institutes give the total number of Tussŭs in China as 557. Szechuan heads the list with 269. It is estimated that in the provinces of Hunan, Kueichow, Kuangsi, Yünnan, and Szechuan, the Miaotzŭ and other tribes occupy an area of country fully equal to that of France, and have a population extending into the millions.

Their Kinship to the Burmese and Siamese.—Some people think that these aborigines have come into China from Burma and the surrounding territory. At any rate, their features are so similar to those of the inhabitants of the Indo-China Peninsula that they may all be considered as belonging to one family.

The Question of the "Bestowal of Rights of Citizenship."—When the Manchus came into China, they had no time to give the aborigines much serious thought. Consequently the Tussŭ system was continued, and all Miaotzŭ and Mantzŭ tribes were placed under the jurisdiction of the Princes of Ping Hsi (平西) and Ching Nan (靖南). In 1726, the fourth year of the reign of Yung Chêng, the viceroyalty of Yün-kuei was in the strong hands of Ortai (鄂爾泰), a Manchu, who enjoyed the full confidence of the Emperor. He told his sovereign that the administrative plan of the empire, so far as the aboriginal tribes were concerned, was badly in need of revision. As the case was then, several districts (Tufu 土府) where the aborigines abounded were subject to the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Szechuan, although they were far removed from Chêngtu. Ortai argued that they should have been placed under him, and that as far as possible all aborigines should be under the direct control of the government. The change he advocated was known as Kai Tu Kuei Liu (改土歸流), or the bestowal of the rights of citizenship. As his advice was followed, the districts in question were added to the province of Yünnan; and he was also given full powers over the province of



A Military Outpost. (Gorst)

Kuangsi. The different districts to be conquered were then assigned to different commanders. The work of reconnoitering was first begun in the province of Kueichow. There, after years of guerrilla warfare, all the country around Kuchow (古州), then a strong centre of aboriginal population, was brought under the direct rule of the Government; and more than 2,000 forts scattered along the eastern, southern and western borders of the province, accepted the new condition of affairs without much struggle. The greater half of what is now the Kueichow province was thus conquered in the name of the Tach'ing Dynasty. In Yünnan province, all the country along the banks of the Lants'ang Chiang (瀾滄江) was cleared of hostile tribes; and many Tussŭs of Kuangsi were made to give up their fiefs. In 1731, Viceroy Ortai was created an earl and summoned to Peking, where he was appointed Grand Secretary. His new appointment necessarily kept him away from the field of his recent labours.

The Miaotzŭ Trouble of 1735.—In 1735, the last year of the reign of Yung Chêng, the aborigines of Tai-kung (臺拱), Kueichow (貴州), showed signs of unrest. The immediate cause was the exactions of the local officials. The case of the Miaotzŭ had become so desperate that most of them killed their own wives and children before they raised the standard of rebellion, and were ready to die in defence of their homes. In a short time, the rebellion spread over what is now the prefectures of Li-p'ing (黎平) and Tu-yün (都匀). The commanders sent to cope with the situation were not able to agree upon a policy; and many of the ministers in Peking were inclined to grant the insurgents all their old territory,

provided they would lay down their arms. Such was the state of affairs when the Emperor Ch'ien Lung came to the throne. He would listen to no advice which tended to show the weakness of the Government. He dismissed all those who had been sent to suppress the rebellion, and ordered General Chang Kuang-ssŭ (張廣泗), a commander who had served under Ortai with credit, to the scene of trouble. Soldiers from seven different provinces poured into Kueichow, and in less than a year the rebellion was at an end. At Niup'i-Ta-Ch'ing (牛皮大箐), a fearful massacre took place. Here the insurgents, after their various unsuccessful encounters with the government troops, had gathered together for a final stand, thinking that the unhealthful condition of the place would make it impossible for the Chinese to follow up their advantages. But General Chang's orders were peremptory; and it is estimated that as many as eighteen thousand were slain and twelve hundred forts, small and great, were destroyed. Four years later

A Mantzŭ Village

another outbreak occurred in Hunan and Kuangsi, and the same general once more distinguished himself, although the work of suppression, as in the former case, was attended by much bloodshed.

The First Campaign Against Tachinch'uan.—In 1746 the next outbreak of importance took place in the western part of the province of Szechuan. This part of the country, marked as Moukungt'ing (懋功廳) on our recent maps, had once formed an integral part of Tibet,—a fact which accounts for its Buddhist population. The leading tribes were the Ts'uch'in (促浸) and the Tsuanla, (讚拉), signifying, respectively, the Large and the Small River. The streams referred to are the Tachinch'uan (大金川) and the Hsiaochinch'uan (小金川), the latter being one of the affluents of the former. Hence the tribes are known in Chinese by the names of the rivers. By matrimonial alliances, and by constant intertribal wars, Solopan (莎羅奔), chief of the Tachinch'uan, gradually extended his sway over all the neighboring tribes of Tachienlu (打箭爐), and had several times defeated the government troops sent to their rescue. Even General Chang Kuang-ssŭ found himself at his wits' end. The trouble was that the Chinese had to march into an unknown country, full of treacherous foes, and defended by hundreds of towers (碉) built on solid rocks. To capture one of these towers often meant the death of great numbers of brave men; and many of General Chang's best officers lost their lives in this new kind of warfare. The further the Chinese advanced, the more numerous were the towers that awaited them. There was no pitched battle and no supplies to be obtained locally for the vast number of men that had been assembled. To crown all, the man whom General Chang had for his guide and in whom he implicitly trusted, was a traitor; and through him all his plans were revealed to the enemy, so that the latter knew exactly where to concentrate their forces. A Manchu general named Nachin (訥親) was sent from Peking to investigate matters; and the result was a quarrel between the two commanders, which led to further disasters. As a consequence, both of them were put to death, and in 1749

General Fu Hêng (傅恆), Grand Secretary, Grand Councillor, and brother-in-law of the Emperor, and General Yoh Chung-ch'i (岳鐘琪) were sent to take their places. The traitor having been put to death

Chinese Commissioner arriving to discuss frontier matters. (Scott—"Burmah")

by order of General Fu, Solopan was no longer able to find out the movements of the Chinese, and knew that in the long run his chance of success would be very small. As he had served under General Yoh during the Kokonor campaign, he at once sent

messengers to him asking for pardon. The question was referred to Peking and Solopan was granted his request on condition that he return to his former allegiance. This he was willing to do, and after he had been sworn, according to the Tibetan form, to support the Tach'ing Dynasty, General Fu returned to Peking. The Dzungar war, that has already been described, gave Solopan a rest and enabled him to recover his strength.

Group of Chins. (Scott—"Burmah")

Civil War in Burmah; Burmese Invasion of Yünnan (1752-1766).—The year 1752 marked a great upheaval in Burmah, and resulted two years later in the establishment of a new government by Alompra (麥籍牙) at Ava. The semi-independent tribes between Yünnan and Burmah, with the exception of the Muhpan (木邦) and Kuei Chia (貴家), gladly accepted the new king as their overlord. During the long struggle that ensued the chief of the Kuei Chia was obliged to seek protection from the Viceroy of Yünnan in 1761. He came into Chinese territory, but being unable to pay the price

of the protection he sought, he was put to death by the Viceroy. The king of Burmah was not informed of his death; and in 1765 he came with a large force to demand his extradition and also to collect tribute from some tribes on Chinese territory, which had been in the habit of acknowledging the former king as their overlord. The provincial garrisons, being unprepared for this invasion, were easily defeated; but an epidemic came to their aid in the following year, when the Burmese, after much plundering of the country, gradually returned to their own land. However, a sort of frontier war in which the Burmese were the victors, was kept up during the remainder of the year.

First Expedition Against Burmah.—When Ch'ien Lung heard of the defeat of his soldiers by the Burmese, he was greatly incensed. In the fall of 1767 two divisions of the Chinese army set out from Yünnan with the object of capturing Ava. The main division under General Ming Sui (明瑞), consisting of 17,000 men, took the route leading through Muhpan; while the smaller force marched by way of Manmih (猛密). General Ming, having vanquished the enemy at Muhpan, and having left there a garrison of 5,000, continued his advance to within 70 *li* of the Burmese capital, when provisions began to fail. He was evidently not provided with an accurate map of the country; for, instead of falling upon Ava, he turned from this point northward in the hope of meeting the second division. The difficulties of the way were so great that ere long he found it necessary to retreat; but even this was undertaken with the gravest peril. The Burmese, who had been slowly augmenting their forces, now came in great numbers in pursuit of the Chinese. At the same time, word was received by General Ming that his garrison at Muhpan had been dislodged by the enemy, and that a hostile army was also approaching from that direction. After days of continuous fighting, the General could see no way of deliverance, and gave out orders that his men should save themselves the best way they could. Thereupon the whole army disbanded save a small number of his bodyguard who gathered around their commander. "We must show the enemy how the Manchus can

fight in the face of death," said the General; and, in response to this, his last call, the guards rode into the ranks of the enemy with undaunted bravery until everyone of them was virtually cut to pieces. After being severely wounded, General Ming ended his life by his own hand. The news of this disaster fired the Emperor with such wrath that he put the leader of the second division to death for his failure to co-operate with his chief.

Second Expedition Against Burmah.—In 1769 Ch'ien Lung redoubled his efforts to wipe out the shame that had been brought upon the arms of China. A fresh army of no less than 60,000 men was assembled on the border and General Fu Hêng, the chief reliance of the government, was once more sent out of Peking to take the direction of military affairs, with Generals Alikuan (阿里衮) and Akuei (阿桂) as his assistants. The plan of the Chinese was to invade Burmah from three directions. One detachment was to sail down the Irrawaddy, while two others were to go overland by different routes. General Fu would not wait until the hot season was over but insisted upon a general advance in the middle of the Chinese seventh month. His imprudence was paid for at great cost. After three months of marching through an unknown country, and enduring all kinds of privations and hardships, the Chinese were so decimated by tropical diseases that both overland columns returned to Bhamo without seeing the enemy. The only hard fighting was done along the banks of the Irrawaddy, where General Akuei greatly distinguished himself. General Alikuan died at Bhamo, and General Fu Hêng passed away the next year in Peking.

While severe fighting was taking place on the Irrawaddy, Burmah was burdened by a war with the Siamese; and the king found it to his interest to ask the Chinese for peace. The result was the conclusion of a treaty in which it was agreed that Burmah should pay tribute to China, and restore all the land she had taken. China was to liberate all her prisoners of war. This treaty was not entered into by either party in good faith, and was never carried out. But when China was ready to renew the war,

her forces were required elsewhere, for the prolonged Burmese struggle had given the tribes on the Szechuan border an opportunity to return to their usual calling of head-hunting.

Second Campaign against the Tachinch'uan.—When Akuei was sent into Szechuan, he found the condition of things anything but satisfactory. The two tribes of the Golden River were in open revolt and had on more than one occasion inflicted severe defeats on the Chinese troops that had been sent against them. During the next few years, 1772-1776, all the energies of the administration were again absorbed in the West. After months of hard campaigning, Akuei succeeded in driving the chief of the Hsiaochinch'uan out of his stronghold at Mina (美諧). This chief had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the chief of the Tachinch'uan, and now that his fortune had reached such a low ebb, he naturally fled to his friend. A demand for his surrender being refused, Akuei could not do otherwise than advance; but the task before him was beset with almost insuperable difficulties. There were even more towers to be taken than in the first campaign; and everything had been planned to make the places inaccessible. As if to increase the difficulties, at this juncture a fresh outbreak took place among the tribes of Hsiaochinch'uan, with the result that General Wên Fu (溫福), the Commander-in-Chief, and his detachment were massacred at Mukumu (木果木). Once more Akuei, who was now given the chief command, had to do the work over that was thus undone. This having been accomplished, he united his forces for a final struggle with the Tachinch'uan tribe. In spite of their strength, tower after tower fell and each month the Chinese drew nearer the end of the campaign. Alarmed by their persistency, Solopan poisoned his friend, produced his remains, and asked for peace. But Akuei would listen to no terms. The siege was so pressed that in the beginning of 1776, Solopan led his family out of his castle and surrendered to Akuei. They were afterward conveyed to Peking. Out of gratitude, the Emperor came to Liang Hsiang (良鄉) to meet Akuei, as he had

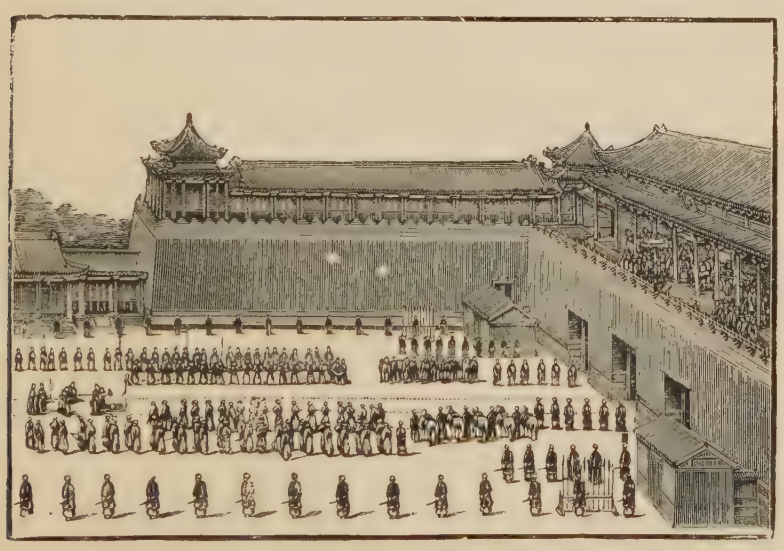
done on the occasion of the return of General Chao Hui from Ili, and conferred upon him the title of a hereditary duke.

Burmah Accepts Chinese Suzerainty.—The latter part of the year, Akuei was returned to Yünnan where much reconnoitering was to be done. Misfortunes now fell upon Burmah. Weakened by civil strife, she found herself completely at the mercy of her neighbor and historic enemy, the Siamese. Inasmuch as Siam had sent missions with tribute to China, Bhodon Phra, the new king of Burmah, thought that the cheapest way for him to get out of the trouble would be to follow her example. In 1788, he, too, sent an embassy to China to pay tribute and to ask for pardon; and two years later, a second was sent to attend the celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the Emperor's birthday. On the latter occasion, Ch'ien Lung issued a patent which conferred on Bhodon Phra the title of King of Burmah,—a title he had long assumed, without the Emperor's sanction—and agreed that Burmah should pay her tribute once every ten years. The practice of sending decennial tribute has been faithfully observed ever since, and was confirmed by the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1886.

The War with the Annamese.—In consequence of a revolution which broke out in Cochin China in 1788, the King of Annam, Li Wei-chi (黎維祈), fled to China to ask for aid against his rebellious minister, Yüan Wên-hui (阮文惠). Annam, once a province of the Ming Empire, had been paying tribute to the Ta Ch'ing Dynasty ever since the overthrow of Kuei Wang. The government, therefore, felt that it was her duty to do something for the unfortunate prince. Sun Shih-i (孫士毅), the Viceroy of the Liang Kuang, was sent with an army to replace Li Wei-chi on his throne. The Viceroy went by way of Liangshan (諒山) and met with no opposition whatsoever; but while he was celebrating the Chinese New Year festivities in Hanoi, the capital, the rebellious minister Yüan took him by surprise, and his retreat was converted into a rout. After crossing the Fuliang Chiang (富良江), Sun had the bridge destroyed, and thus

left most of his men to their fate on the enemy's side of the river. General Fu K'ang-an (福康安), son of Fu Hêng, was next sent. But as Yüan did not wish to continue the war, he sent his nephew to Peking to announce his submission, and came in person to pay his respects to the Emperor on the occasion of the celebration of his eightieth birthday. The Emperor was so pleased with his conduct, that he actually made him King of Annam instead of Li Wei-chi, who, by his orders, was now a Manchu citizen living quietly in Peking.

Some Lessons of the Wars.—The wars with the aboriginal tribes and half savages of the border, gave an apt illustration of China's need of better equipment in the matter of roads and medical knowledge. These are more important factors in the building up of an empire than an efficient army. In their absence, China not only could not conduct wars, with any



Dzungarians paying homage to Ch'ien Lung, Peking

degree of success, in such places as Burmah or Annam, but could not hold the turbulent element within her own borders in subjection. Many of the mountains and deep swamps could have been made into inhabitable lands, capable of supporting an industrious

and enlightened population, if the government had had the knowledge and the means at her disposal to do the work.

Another fact in this connection that forces itself upon our attention is that the energy of the Manchu seems to have spent itself after a century of Peking life amid the enervating influences of Chinese civilization. The Chinese army was not half so great or efficient as the contemporary historians, poets, and other writers, blinded by national vanity and scholarly pride, would have us believe. In many cases the commanders had to be spurred into action by an emperor who was quite as willing to sign their death warrants as their patents of nobility. It was the numbers and resources rather than anything else that counted in the end. With a less energetic and able ruler to direct affairs, with insufficient funds, or with a foe other than half savages to contend with, the armies certainly could not have accomplished what they did. The war of Tachinch'uan alone, extending over five years, cost the government more than 70,000,000 taels. This sum is two and a third times the cost of the conquest of Turkestan. As will be pointed out elsewhere, signs of national decline were not wanting during the latter years of Ch'ien Lung.

CHAPTER L

CH'IEN LUNG AS A CIVIL RULER

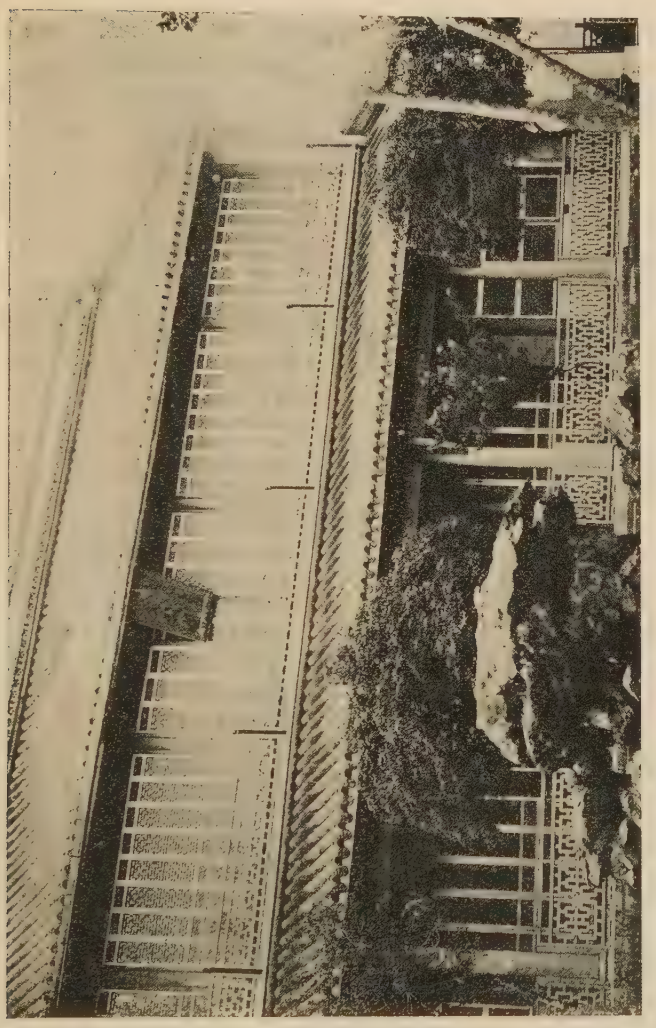
Chinese Absolutism.—Apart from the military glory for which it is celebrated, the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, viewed as a whole, is a complete success from the Chinese standpoint. If his government was absolute in form, he represented the best type of Chinese absolutism. Well educated, enlightened, energetic, and having the welfare of his people at heart, he exercised the power which was centered in him to the best advantage of the nation. No detail of government ever escaped his attention and his best and highest ministers were mere clerks, "whose sole duty it was," to use the Emperor's own words, "to transcribe faithfully the imperial commands." It was only towards the end of his reign, when burdened by age, that his grasp upon the government somewhat slackened. Then it was that Ho K'un (和坤) was permitted to abuse his powers to a certain extent, and to amass great wealth for himself. If a Chinese ballad affords an illustration of the esteem in which a ruler was held by his subjects, our annals happily preserve one that is worth reproducing. The ballad is a rustic air and laconic, but is very suggestive. It runs thus; "Ch'ien Lung Pao, Tsêng Shou K'ao; Ch'ien Lung Chien, Wan-wan Nien" (乾隆寶增壽考乾隆錢萬萬年). (O the cash of Ch'ien Lung, may it be the sign of the emperor's long life; O the cash of Ch'ien Lung, may he live millions of years!)

Whatever excuse there may be for the continuation of the imperial form of government, as best suited to the conditions in China, it must be remembered that history has given us but very few emperors like Ch'ien Lung, a man who was able to fulfil the trust reposed in him and to discharge the obligations he owed to the people.

The Manchu and Chinese Factions.—The feud between the Manchus and Chinese in political circles never assumed such

an alarming form as it did during the earlier part of the reign of Ch'ien Lung. The last decree issued in the name of his father recommended to him certain high ministers as worthy of his trust. They were mostly princes of the blood, excepting Ortai and Chang Ting-yü (張廷玉), who were both Grand Secretaries, and the former a Manchu, though the latter was a Chinese. All the Manchu ministers of the court soon began to gather around Ortai as their leader, while their Chinese colleagues rallied around Chang Ting-Yü. Thus two factions at once sprang up, and their rivalry became so acute that the situation brought forth many decrees of censure from the Throne, and caused many scholars to be put to death for their offensive writings. These drastic measures prevented disastrous consequences to the nation.

The Honor of P'ei Hsiang in the Imperial Ancestral Hall.—Under the regulations of the Manchu Dynasty, sacrifices were offered in the Imperial Ancestral Temple to the spirits of ministers who distinguished themselves under their respective emperors. This offering was called P'ei Hsiang (配享) (literally signifying "the mate of sacrifices"), and was considered an exceptional mark of honor. The tablet of Chang Ting-yü was the only one of a Chinese minister that was ever admitted into the Imperial Ancestral Hall. His services to the ruling dynasty, however, were of a rather unimportant character. At least, they do not admit of comparison with those of Tsêng Kuo-fan (曾國藩), or Li Hung-chang (李鴻章), to both of whom the honor was denied. In the case of Chang Ting-yü the honor had been promised him before his death by the Emperor Yung Chêng. Even Chang himself was not so sure that he merited this mark of imperial favor and at one time he incurred the serious displeasure of Ch'ien Lung by seeking to obtain from his new master a confirmation of the promise in the form of a poem bearing upon this subject. When he died, Ch'ien Lung, however, carried out the promise of his father. Chang Ting-yü was a native of Tung Ch'êng (桐城), Anhui.



Ch'ien Lung Library at West Lake, Hangchow; now opened as a Public Library

The Golden Age of Literature.—The age of Ch'ien Lung must be regarded as the Golden Age of Chinese literature so far as the Manchu Dynasty is concerned. There were more standard works issued by the government during this period than in the period of K'ang Hsi. Every known work of antiquity, as well as everything in print, from the pen of well-known authors or poets, was collected, revised and reprinted at the expense of the government. The entire collection comprising thousands of

volumes, was issued under the name of Ssŭ K'ŭ Ch'üan Shu (四庫全書), or "The Complete Set of the Four Libraries." The "Libraries" thus referred to were the "Libraries of the Classics (經), Histories (史), Philosophy (子) and Miscellanies (集)," into which the set is divided. A set of this rich literature was by imperial order placed at each of the following cities, for the benefit of the general reading public: viz., Hangchow, Yangchow and Chinkiang,—the Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces being then the literary centre of the empire. The Emperor was himself no mean author, and also had ability as a painter and a poet.

Chi Yün of Chihli.—In this connection mention must be made of Chi Yün (紀昀), the editor-in-chief of the famous Ssŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu, who wrote a synopsis of each book for the information of his studious master. In its condensed form this is now issued in a separate volume, and is considered an invaluable key to the vast masses of Chinese literature. No one who turns over its pages can help thinking of the great Emperor for whom it was written. Having glanced over the entire field of Chinese literature up to his time, he felt that there was no room for any book he might write himself, and he left us no books of his own save a novel. He compares favorably with Liu Hsiang (劉向) of the Han Dynasty.

Egg-shell Saucer-dish of Imperial Ch'ien Lung porcelain. ("Chinese Art")

The Southern Tours of Inspection.—Like his grandfather, Ch'ien Lung travelled extensively. During his reign he made six trips or "Southern Tours of Inspection," as they are called, into the Yangtze valley. He visited both Soochow and Hangchow and his visits undoubtedly added much to the fame of the West Lake of the latter city. Soochow, however, had more

fascination for his mother. In one of her palaces in Peking, a place was constructed on the model of this city and called Soochow Chieh (蘇州街), or the street of Soochow. After Ch'ien Lung no emperor honored the Yangtze region with a visit.

Chinese Currency.—During the early part of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, a "cash" famine occurred in China. The cause of it was that many persons had found it profitable to melt coins, minted during the earlier reigns, for the copper they contained. To put a stop to this practice, it was decided in 1740 to use more alloy in the coinage of copper cash. In the cash put into circulation after that year there was 50% of copper and 50% of alloy, instead of being in the proportion of 6 to 4, as had formerly been the case. This new standard of proportion was kept up during the next two reigns.

About this time, China, or more particularly the southern part of it, was flooded with the K'uan Yung (寬永) cash, which was coined in Japan and resembled that of China in design. K'uan Yung was the name under which a Japanese emperor reigned (1624-1643).

Ch'ien Lung in His Chair of State

Besides the two mints at Peking, one of which was connected with the Board of Revenue and the other with the Board of Works, there was then in each of the eighteen provinces a provincial mint. The practice of having two raised Manchu characters on the reverse side of the cash, one denoting the name of the province and the other the equivalent of the word "currency," dates from 1723, the first year of the reign of Yung Chêng.

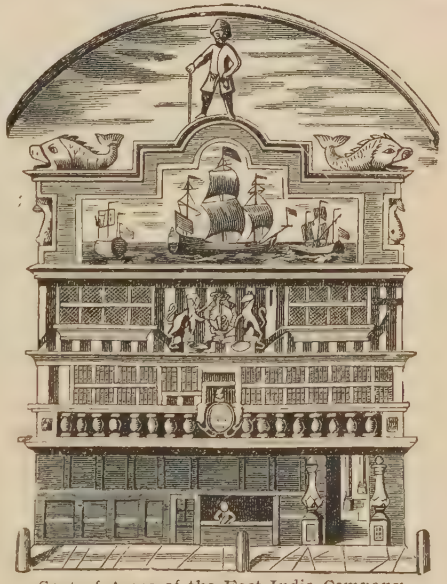
National Prosperity and Extravagance.—The finances of the Ta Ch'ing Empire were probably never in a better condition than during the reign of Ch'ien Lung. In the year the Emperor came to the throne, the treasury showed a surplus of Tls. 30,000,000. In spite of his costly wars, expensive conservancy work on the Yellow River, and the immense outlay entailed by the frequent transportation of the Imperial Court from place to place, Ch'ien Lung was enabled to remit the land tax during four separate years throughout the empire. In 1795 the population of China reached 296,978,968. In the same year there was stored in the different government granaries 39,753,175 *shih* (石) of rice. The wealth of Ho K'un (和珅), who is said to have made 2,000,000,000 taels within twenty years, also speaks well for the prosperity of the time. The successor of Ch'ien Lung often referred to this time as a period of extravagance.

Agriculture made much progress during this reign; and in many localities, especially in the northern provinces, land was for the first time brought under cultivation and watered by a system of canals. In artistic workmanship, both porcelain and lacquer reached their highest perfection, and began almost immediately to decline. The same thing is true, to a certain extent, as regards Chinese painting.

Russian Trade at Kiakhta.—In 1737 at the suggestion of the inspecting censor of the Russian Legation at Peking, Russian caravans were made to stop at Kiakhta. Until Russia was granted permission to employ the sea route,—a privilege conceded in 1858,—Kiakhta continued to be the centre of frontier trade. The

Tushetu Khan was *ex officio* the superintendent of trade; but in 1772 the matter was taken out of his hands, and two Imperial Residents were for the first time stationed at Urga, and charged with the supervision of the foreign trade. According to the law, one of them was to be appointed from amongst the Manchu or Mongol dignitaries of Peking; and the other from amongst the Dzassaks of Outer Mongolia. No custom duty was charged at the frontier by either the Chinese or the Russian government. Trade, however, did not continue uninterruptedly, and in the years 1764, 1769, and 1785, it was entirely stopped by orders from Peking, pending the settlement of certain questions that had arisen out of the treaties.

Two treaties between China and Russia were signed during the reign of Ch'ien Lung. The first one, supplementary to the treaty of 1727, was signed in Kiakhta in 1768 and was made for the purpose of defining more carefully the procedure to be pursued in extraditing and punishing criminals; and the second one was signed in 1792 between the Governor of Irkutsk and the Chinese frontier authorities, and was intended to regulate the trade at Kiakhta and across the frontier. The principal exports that found their way through Kiakhta into Russia were tea, tobacco, and silk.



Coat of Arms of the East India Company

English Trade at Canton; The Co-Hong System.—While Kiakhta occupied an enviable position in the North, so far as the frontier trade was concerned, all China's maritime trade gravitated to Canton in the South. As a result of the persistent efforts of the East India Company, the English had succeeded, in

spite of the Portuguese opposition, in establishing a factory in Canton, and in carrying on trade with other ports. The object of sending goods to Amoy, Ningpo and other places was to avoid the exactions of the Canton authorities. In 1757, the attention of the government was drawn by the Viceroy of Minche to the attempts on the part of the East India Company to open up new channels for English trade; and the reply was a decree, issued in the name of the Emperor, making the tariff of Chekiang a good deal higher than that at Canton. A complaint, in the form of a memorial, was prepared by one of the foreign merchants, and submitted to the Government through the Tientsin authorities in 1759. This brought no relief. On the contrary, the author of the memorial, who had the audacity to speak of the extortions of the Canton authorities, was imprisoned in Macao for two and one half years before he was released and permitted to return to England.

The year 1720 saw the birth of the Co-Hong System in Canton. It was at first an organization of native merchants to regulate the prices of commodities in their own interest. It soon received official backing; but, in 1771, it was found that many of its members were bankrupt and the system was dissolved. When the plan revived some ten years later, the Co-Hong was entirely a government organization, composed at first of "The Twelve," and subsequently of "The Thirteen Merchants." They were to assume sole control of the foreign trade, to ensure due obedience to the orders of the government, and to serve as the sole intermediaries between China and the foreign traders. In one particular way, the Co-Hong made itself very useful to the officials. It was the channel through which flowed a stream of wealth into their private purses; and it continued to exist until the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 dealt it a death blow. "Pigeon English" is a remarkable relic of the Co-Hong days. It was the language of the Co-Hong merchants, or Shih San Hong (The Thirteen Hongs) as it is called in Chinese. It was formed at Canton by taking words from all

European and Asiatic languages and corrupting them sufficiently to suit the Chinese taste and grammar.

Trade with Other Nations.—About the same time, trade was also carried on at Canton with the Americans, French, Danes, Prussians, Mexicans, and other foreign nations; but it was not so important as that of England. The Americans began to have direct trade with China in 1784.

Jurisdiction over Foreigners.—When foreigners first came to Canton, they enjoyed no extraterritorial privileges. In Macao, the Chinese allowed the Portuguese no jurisdiction even in cases where one European killed another. In 1754, a Frenchman was tried and punished by the Chinese court for the murder of an English sailor at Whampoo. In 1773, an Englishman, charged with the murder of a Chinese in Macao, was surrendered to the Chinese by the Portuguese authorities, retried, and executed. Seven years later, a Frenchman was strangled to death for the murder of a Portuguese. No foreign ladies were allowed in the factories at Canton.

Reception of Lord Macartney by Emperor Ch'ien Lung. (Gorst)

Macartney's Embassy to China.—With a view to redressing the existing grievances at Canton and to placing the trade upon a more satisfactory basis, the British government sent Lord Macartney as her ambassador to China. He sailed from Portsmouth in September 1792, and arrived at Taku in the following

August. He was well received by the Viceroy at Tientsin, and a representative was appointed to accompany him to Peking. Under the provisions of the Imperial Institutes, as soon as a foreign envoy bearing tribute landed in China, his travelling expenses were to be defrayed by the government, and his movements watched; hence the appointment of officials to accompany him. The Chinese could see no difference in the case of Lord Macartney, especially since the boats and carts, conveying the members of his embassy, bore flags inscribed with characters signifying, "An Ambassador bearing tribute from England." "This was known to the envoy but he made no protest, preferring to have his ignorance assumed." At Peking, he agreed to kneel on one knee when approaching the Emperor, but knelt on both knees when the audience actually took place. Of business, not a single point was discussed or settled. The net result of the mission, as has been ably summarized, was that "the ambassador was received with the utmost politeness, treated with the utmost hospitality, and dismissed with the utmost civility."

Its Effects Upon China.—Viewed in the light of subsequent history, it must be admitted that the manner in which Macartney was received at Peking, had a good deal to do with the national vanity of China. It confirmed the belief of the Chinese scholars that their emperor was the universal sovereign. For this self-conceit, China has paid dearly ever since.

Ch'ien Lung Abdicates in Favor of His Son.—Two years after the departure of Macartney from China, a unique event took place. In pursuance of a solemn declaration that he had made while offering sacrifices to God, Ch'ien Lung abdicated his throne in favor of his fifteenth son, Prince Chia (嘉親王). The ceremony took place on the Chinese New Year day. The Emperor gave as his reason for the abdication that he did not wish to surpass the record of his great-grandfather who had ruled sixty years. Ch'ien Lung was then eighty-six years old and it was quite natural that he should wish to be relieved of the cares of the

government. He had issued a decree appointing his second son heir to the throne, but the latter died in the third year of his reign. Ch'ien Lung was very proud of his age; and, in 1785, he gave a banquet, known as "The Thousand Old Men's Banquet" (千叟宴), in honor of the old men of his day. He gave another of these in 1796. Every one who was above sixty years of age was permitted to partake of these banquets with the Emperor. On the former occasion there were 4,000 persons present; and, on the latter occasion, the number reached 6,000, several of whom were over 100 years of age. The only banquet of this nature before his day was the one given by K'ang Hsi. Ch'ien Lung lived another three years after the second "Old Men's Banquet."

THIRD PERIOD:—THE ERA OF DECLINE

CHAPTER LI

AN AGE OF INSURRECTION

Introductory.—When Ch'ien Lung abdicated, he evidently thought that he had bequeathed a legacy of peace and prosperity to his son. Had he not secured the frontier of China on every side against the attacks of the savages? Had he not won the love and support of the most influential part of Chinese society, the literati, and given to his son an empire much larger than the one he had received from his father? The military strength of the empire had been increased by 65,000 men, and its population, which, according to the census of 1735, was only 27,350,000, was now 297,000,000. During the three score years of their greatest strength, the Manchus had been so busy in their efforts to secure the throne to their posterity that nothing could now disturb the peace of the empire. If such were the thoughts of Ch'ien Lung, he was greatly mistaken. The truth was that the Manchu power had reached its zenith; and beneath the smooth surface of political affairs there existed many elements of disorder. To all outward appearances, their power was as great as ever; but in reality it had reached the period of decline. With few exceptions, the whole reign of Chia Ch'ing, embracing a period of 25 years, was occupied with the work of restoring peace within the empire. Before one rebellion could be put down, another would break out in a different part of the country. It was indeed an age of insurrection; and the first in the long train was the Miaotzŭ trouble.

Home of the Miaotzŭ and Their Relations with the Government.—On the Hunan-Kueichow border there is a high mountain range called the La Êrh Shan (臘耳山). From time immemorial, the La Êrh Shan has afforded a home to the Miaotzŭ tribes who are commonly believed to be the descendants of the first occupants of China. Under the Ming Dynasty, this part of the

country formed a military district, with the name of Yung Shun Hsüan Wei Ssŭ (永順宣慰司), subject to the control of a military governor appointed from Peking. The Manchus continued this form of government as late as 1704; and then, as a result of military conquests, the southern half of the district was converted into the two Independent Sub-Prefectures of Ch'ienchow and Fênghuang (乾州鳳凰兩直隸廳). The chiefs of the northern half, when they saw the campaign conducted by General O Êrh-tai (鄂爾泰) against their brethren in the Kueichow province, voluntarily applied for annexation. Their request was readily granted; and out of the land they surrendered were carved the four districts that now compose the Prefecture of Yung Shun (永順), and the two Independent Sub-Prefectures of Yung Sui (永綏) and Sung T'ao (松桃),—the last of these forming a part of Kueichow province. Thus, for the first time, all the Miaotzŭ territory on the Hunan-Kueichow border had been brought completely under the civil government of China. The change, however, brought the Miaotzŭ no happiness. They were looked down upon, deceived, and misgoverned. Gradually they were made to withdraw into the mountain fastnesses, leaving the more thrifty Chinese to bring their land under cultivation. By the year 1795 the limits of human forbearance were reached.

The Miaotzŭ in Open Rebellion.—In February 1795, the Miaotzŭ tribes of T'ung Jên (銅仁), Yung Sui, Fênghuang and Ch'ienchow, under their respective leaders, declared war upon their Chinese neighbors. They took possession of the city of Ch'ienchow, which they at once proceeded to fortify; and gave up to pillage other cities that fell into their hands on the borders of Hunan, Kueichow, and Szechuan. Thousands of Chinese homes were sacked and destroyed; and hundreds of people, who had migrated thither on account of the richness of the soil, were mercilessly massacred. That the Viceroys of Hukuang, Yün-kuei, and Szechuan accompanied their armies to the scene of trouble, shows the seriousness of the situation.

The Work of Suppression.—However it may have appeared at the outset the work of suppression was no easy matter. This was due to the character of the country, which for the most part was covered with almost impenetrable forests; and also to the half-heartedness with which the work was undertaken. In March 1795, the armies of Viceroys Fu K'ang-an (福康安) (Yünkuei) and Ho Lin (和琳) (Szechuan) made a joint attack on the stronghold of Shih Liu-têng (石柳鄧), the Miaotzŭ leader in T'ung Jén. The disparity between the numbers was so great that the result was an easy victory for the imperial troops. Shih Liu-teng was chased across the border into Hunan, and there was no further trouble on the Kueichow side of the La Êrh Shan. But the work in Hunan was the most difficult. The Miaotzŭ knew their country better than their assailants, and a handful of men often sufficed to hold the mountain passes against an overwhelming force. Month after month passed, and the two armies were still at a great distance from Ch'ienchow. Nor had Viceroy Fu Ning (福寧), of Hu Kuang, met with better success. After his reverse at Lu Ch'i (瀘溪), he had practically given up all hope of attacking Ch'ienchow; and the best he had been able to do was to prevent the Miaotzŭ from breaking into the heart of Hunan. The Emperor lavished exceptional honors upon the Viceroys by making Fu K'ang-an an Imperial Prince of the third order (貝子), and Ho Lin an Earl of the first order, in the hope that these honors would stimulate them to better efforts. Undoubtedly they did, but the renewed efforts on the part of the leaders came to nothing in the face of the physical obstacles in the country.

In the meantime Wu Pa-yüeh (吳八月), one of the Miaotzŭ leaders, advanced the preposterous claim that he was a descendant of Wu San-kwei (吳三桂), and that it was his purpose to recover the Chinese Empire from the Manchus. This claim brought him new adherents and the other Miaotzŭ leaders all agreed to join him. To strengthen the position at Ch'ienchow, Wu Pa-yüeh now built a city at P'ing Lung (平隴) about 10 miles to the West. These places were so strong that it was not until the end of the first year of Chia

Ch'ing's reign that both of them had succumbed and all the Miaotzŭ leaders of the rebellion had been either killed or captured. Even then the work of suppression was not finished; and, as an insurrection had broken out elsewhere, a part of the troops had to be withdrawn. Both Fu K'ang-an and Ho Lin had died before the campaign closed, and what credit there was for putting down the uprising belonged to General Galehtengpo (額勒登保) and Ming Liang (明亮), who had been sent to take up the unfinished task. For many years after, the Miaotzŭ continued to persecute the Chinese on account of the land question. This question was finally settled by Fu Nai (傅鼐), Sub-Prefect of Fênghuang, in 1799, when the Miaotzŭ were induced to give up their arms, and schools, for the first time, sprang up among them. It required the influence of the Chinese classics to do what the Manchu arms had failed to accomplish.

Origin of the White Lily Society.—Of all Chinese secret societies, the White Lily, or Pai Lien Chiao (白蓮教), was the oldest. The organization dates as far back as the time of the Mongolian Dynasty in China, and from the very outset was a political society under a religious mask. Religiously, the Pai Lien Chiao had much in common with both Taoism and Buddhism. As a political organization, its avowed purpose was to expel the Mongols. Han Lin-êrh (韓林兒), under whom Chu Yüan-chang (朱元璋) served for a brief time, was a member of this sect. After the power of the Ming Dynasty had fallen into the hands of its eunuchs, the White Lily sect once more showed enough activity to produce the Rebellion of Hsü Hung-ju (徐鴻如) in Shantung. This rebellion resulted in disaster and its leader was captured and put to death. After his death his adherents were soon dispersed.

Revival of the White Lily Society.—The Manchus having established themselves in China, the Society of the White Lily soon revived. It had secret agents in all the principal cities in Honan and the neighboring provinces preaching sedition and

enrolling new members. In retired woods, in lonely houses, and in the deserted burial places of the ancient emperors, these new members went through all sorts of ceremonies; and, by solemn vows, pledged themselves to advance the ends of the movement, and to divulge none of its secrets. Thousands upon thousands of men and women thus became bound to maintain an organization which had for its purpose the final expulsion of the Manchus. But it was impossible for a society of this character to continue to grow without causing a stir. In the year 1775, the suspicion of the Honan authorities was fully aroused, and by taking prompt action, they succeeded in arresting one Liu Sung (劉松), said to be the head of the anti-dynastic movement. He was banished to the border of Kansu, and for a time nothing was heard of the White Lily Sect.

Eighteen years later, however, a new plot was discovered. It was now learned that during all these years, disciples of Liu Sung had worked with remarkable success among the masses of Hupeh, Shensi, and Szechuan; and that they had decided to proclaim a boy, by the name of Wang Fa-shêng (王發生), as heir to the Ming throne. Some of these were arrested, but one of them, Liu Chih-hsieh (劉之協), a native of Anhui province, managed to escape from the hands of the authorities at Hu Kou (扶溝), Hunan, and remained a fugitive. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung at once promulgated an order requiring all the civil and military authorities throughout Honan, Anhui and Hupeh, to make a search for the fugitive and bring him to justice. This was the time of the great harvest for the local officials. They broke into the houses of the rich, where no suspicion ever existed, and would not leave until they had robbed the inmates of as much as they pleased. At times innocent persons were thrown into prison in order to make them tell the whereabouts of Liu Chih-hsieh,—something they did not themselves know—and were only released upon the payment of large sums of money. Ch'ang Tan-kuei (常丹葵), the official charged with the execution of the order in the Prefectures of Chingchow (荊州) and

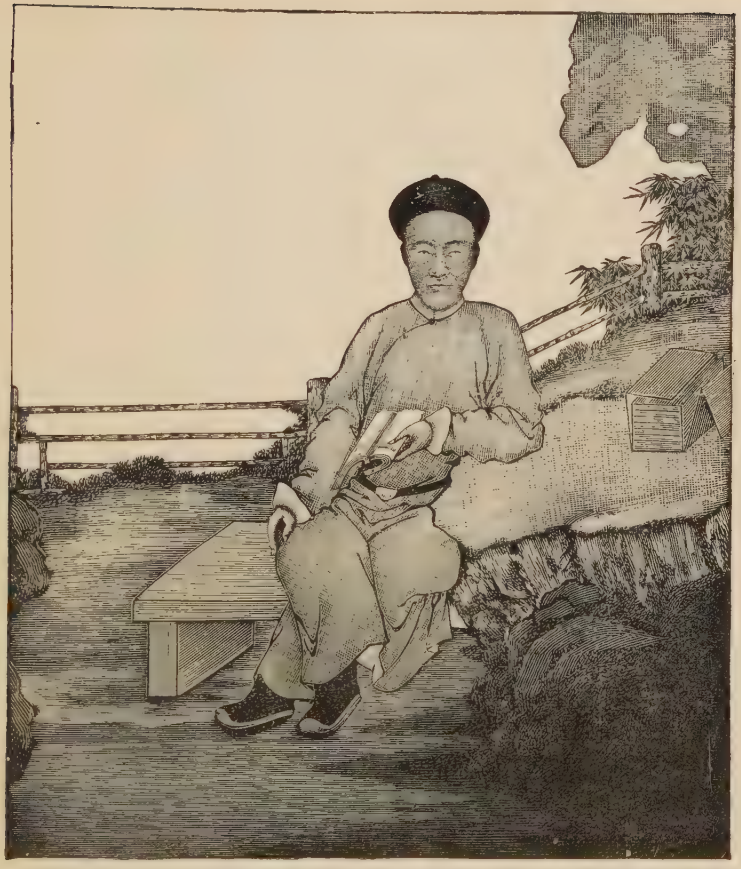
Ichang (宜昌), was a wretch of the worst type, and his deeds actually hastened the coming of the great storm.

Beginning of the White Lily Rebellion.—With the beginning of Chia Ch'ing's reign in February 1796, the White Lily Rebellion, which taxed to the utmost the resources of China for nine years, broke out. It began in the districts of Chikiang (枝江), Itu (宜都), Changyang (長楊) and Changlo (長樂), where the work of Ch'ang Tan-kuei (常丹葵) had hastened its coming. Hundreds of persons who would otherwise have had no sympathy for the White Lily movement now openly cast their lot with the rebels. Before the news of the outbreak had time to reach Peking, all West Hupeh (the Department of Chingmen (荊門) and the Prefectures of Hsiangyang (襄陽), Yünyang (鄖陽), Chingchow (荊州), Shihnan (施南), and Ichang (宜昌)), as well as the cities of Têngchow (鄧州) and Hsinya (新野) in Honan, and Yuyang (酉陽) in Szechuan, had gone over to the rebels. The situation was far more serious than the Miaotzŭ trouble in the south.

When the seriousness of the situation was realized at Peking, troops poured into Hupeh from neighboring provinces, until there were no less than 20,000 men, including both Chinese and Manchus, upon the scene of trouble. In spite of this large force, the rebels, under the leadership of Yao Chih-fu (姚之富) and Chi Wang-shih (齊王氏), a widow, left Hsiangyang in June to make a rapid descent upon Wuchang (武昌), the capital of the province. They got as far as Hsiaokan (孝感), a short distance from Hanyang (漢陽); but, owing to a sudden rise in the Yangtze, were obliged to retrace their steps. During the next three months, desultory fighting took place at different points in West Hupeh, victory, for the most part, remaining with the imperial troops. But just when the rebels were reduced to the strongholds of Hsiangyang in the north, and Kueichow (歸州) and Ichang in the south, news of an alarming character began to arrive from East Szechuan, the mountainous country adjoining the province of Hupeh.

Uprising in Szechuan.—The magistrate of Tachow (達州) (the place is now known under the name of Suitingfu (綏定府)) was no less wicked than Ch'ang Tan-kuei. In his eagerness to make a fortune, he did exactly what the latter had done in Hupeh. Persons who had no connection with the society were frequently imprisoned because they were too poor to pay his demands; while the real offenders, the men whom the government was after, were released upon the payment of sufficient money. One of the men thus released was Hsü T'ien-tê (徐天德). The magistrate could have committed no worse blunder. He supplied the White Lily confederates in East Szechuan with a leader. These confederates included a good many disbanded soldiers and highway robbers, who had long been a terror in the mountain region. By order of Hsu T'ien-tê, they now flew to arms, drove out the authorities and spread destruction far and wide. From Taiping (太平) they forced their way into the province of Shensi, burning, plundering, and killing as they went. Neither the soldiers of Szechuan nor those of the Governor of Shensi, concentrated at that time at Hsingan (興安), moved a finger to stop them.

Spread of the Rebellion.—In the first month of the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1796) the rebels broke out once more from Hsiangyang, and this time marched in the direction of Honan. From Honan they turned to the northwest and entered Shensi by way of Wukuan (武關). Confronted by the Ch'inling (秦嶺) mountains, they then turned to the southwest and followed the bank of the Han River as far as Tzŭ-yang (紫陽). Here they seized a number of boats, crossed the river, and soon effected a junction with the Szechuan rebels. During the remainder of the year and the whole of the next, the borders of the provinces of Shensi, Szechuan, and Hupeh, or more particularly that part of the country bounded on the north by the Ch'inling mountains, on the west by the Chia Ling Chiang (嘉陵江), on the south by the Yangtze, and on the east by the Han, enjoyed but little peace. They crossed and recrossed the Han several times. At one time



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the rebels were within a short distance of the city of Sian (西安) itself. As soon as they were chased out of one place they seemed to gather strength in another; and, as soon as one leader was killed, or captured, his place was immediately taken by some one fully as able and influential.

Incompetency of Imperial Commanders: The Corrupt Mandarinate.—Imperial commanders were numerous, but most of them were either incompetent, or corrupt. Some of them took care to keep their armies away from the seat of war, and spent the greater part of their time with actors and mistresses

who were regular camp-followers. Others were not anxious to terminate the war because it meant to them a short cut to wealth. Of the enormous sums of money appropriated for the purposes of the campaign, very little was properly expended, the greater portion finding its way either into the pockets of the commanders, or into those of the powerful Ho Shen (和珅), at Peking. Whenever there was any fighting to do, the commanders often made the volunteers from the villages bear the brunt of it. On going into battle, the volunteers always formed the van; next to them came the "Green Camp" soldiers, and then the Manchus. The reason for this order of battle was simple. The law required the commander to report the death of every Manchu soldier to the throne; but no such report was necessary in the case of a volunteer, or a "Green Camp" soldier. In case of a victory, the Manchu got full credit, the "Green Camp" only on rare occasions, and the poor village volunteers never. The great provincial armies, with one or two exceptions, existed only on paper; and the soldiers generally looked little better than beggars. Nothing was more eagerly sought by a young Manchu in Peking than an appointment in one of the armies. In a few months he either became a rich man, or a higher officer. Wholesale massacres of prisoners of war were of frequent occurrence, merely to make material for the report of an imaginary victory. Viceroy Fu Ming was once rewarded with the much coveted title of Grand Guardian to the Heir apparent (太子太保), when the fact was that he had mercilessly put to death some two thousand men and women who had surrendered to him. His fraud was not discovered for several years. It is hardly necessary to add that these appalling crimes only served to further the cause of the rebellion. Under these circumstances is it surprising that a trouble, which could have been nipped in the bud with comparative ease, had developed into a most embarrassing situation?

Ho Shen's Fall from Power.—Ho Shen was a Manchu who owed his high position in the government to his tact and

ability rather than to his birth. Tradition says that he was a bearer of the Imperial Sedan-chair when he first saw the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. The Emperor, so the story goes, fell into conversation with him one day, and was so pleased with his knowledge of the Chinese classics that he gave him an appointment in the civil service the next day. From that time, his promotion was most rapid. In a few years, he became Grand Secretary and the most influential member of the Grand Council. His son married one of Ch'ien Lung's daughters and his protégés had important positions throughout the empire. In point of both power and wealth he was second to none,—the imperial princes not being excepted. Yet he regretted that he was not a member of the Manchu aristocracy. The great wars of Ch'ien Lung had all ended before his day, and under the laws of the Manchu Dynasty, titles of nobility were never conferred in time of peace. The outbreak of a civil war was, therefore, most welcome news to Ho Shen. He encouraged the commanders to send in exaggerated accounts of battles, in the hope that his great friend and patron, the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who, notwithstanding his abdication had not given up his power, might some day be induced to ennoble him. His hope was realized in 1798. In the fall of that year, General Lohpao (勒保), the Commander-in-Chief, by false promises induced one of the ringleaders of the rebellion named Wang San-huai (王三槐) to come to see him, when he had his guest seized and carried a prisoner to Peking. In his report Lohpao told his sovereigns how he had fought, how his enemies had been driven from their ground and how the prisoner had fallen into his hands. This report, which contained not a particle of truth, was forwarded from Peking to Jehol, where the Emperor Chia Ch'ing and the ex-Emperor Ch'ien Lung were holding a reception for the Mongolian Khans of the desert, and was read with great delight. Without stopping a moment to investigate the truth, Ch'ien Lung had both Lohpao and Ho Shen made Dukes. Ho Shen had now attained his end in life, but he did not have long to live. On February 7, 1799, Ch'ien Lung

died, leaving Chia Ch'ing for the first time a free hand in the government. Four days later, the fate of Ho Shen was sealed. He was sentenced to die by the silken cord; and his estate, worth Tls. 2,000,000,000, was confiscated. His death was followed by the removal of the guilty commanders, many of whom also lost their estates. Ho Shen's fall from power was, therefore, the turning point in the White Lily War.

General Galehtengpo Becomes the Commander-in-Chief.—Of all the imperial commanders, General Galehtengpo was the most efficient, faithful and honest. Ever since the close of the Miaotzŭ campaign, he had been chasing the White Lily rebels from place to place, and from province to province; but, owing to his poor knowledge of Chinese characters, was not given the chief command until the latter part of 1799. From the date of his appointment the active part of the war really began. General Têoutai (德 鄂泰), another Manchu soldier, who had distinguished himself in the Miaotzŭ war, became his assistant. Galehtengpo pointed out, in his memorial to the Throne, the fact that the mountain range between Hupeh and Szechuan on the east and the Chia Ling Chiang on the west both afforded excellent natural defences. These natural advantages, he went on to explain, should be utilized to prevent the rebels from escaping into the rich country on either side; for they must be cut off from retreat before the different armies could gradually close in upon them in the Han Valley, where the cavalry could be employed to the best advantage. Thus he told the Government what he aimed to do, and he did it.

Spread of the Rebellion into Kansu and West Szechuan.—Unfortunately, the men entrusted with the defence of the Chia Ling Chiang were not equal to the task imposed on them. As a consequence, the rebels, in the beginning of 1800, broke into Kansu in the north and West Szechuan in the south. In Kansu they advanced as far as Kung Ch'ang (鞏昌), and in West Szechuan, as far as Sung Fan (松 蕃). But towards the close of the summer they were all driven back into the Han Valley, where destruction awaited them. In West Szechuan, a rich country hitherto

undevastated, the severest fighting of the war occurred. By skilful maneuvers rather than by the weight of numbers, General Têoutai gained many a brilliant victory.

Closing Scenes of the War.—In August 1800, Liu Chih-hsieh, the principal leader of the rebellion, was discovered at Yeh Hsien (葉縣), Honan, whence he was sent a prisoner to Peking to receive the punishment that was in store for him. By November 1801, all organized opposition was at an end, and the numerous rebel leaders had either been killed, or captured. But the broken fragments, and later the disbanded volunteers, kept both Generals Galehtengpo and Têoutai busy for two or three years longer. It was not until October 1804 that peace once more smiled upon the afflicted regions. Two Chinese soldiers distinguished themselves during the closing years of the campaign. They were Generals Yang Yü-ch'un (楊遇春) and Yang Fang (楊芳), both natives of Szechuan. It is estimated that the cost of the war was no less than Tls. 2,000,000,000. The destruction of life and property was fearful, but no record is available as to the actual extent.

The Ningshen Mutiny.—At the close of the White Lily War there were in the provinces of Hupeh, Szechuan, and Shensi thousand of volunteers who had fought side by side with the imperial troops. It was decided to retain some of them in the service of the Government and to employ them to garrison strategic points throughout the region of the recent rebellion. Accordingly 3,500 were added to the "Green Camp" of Hupeh, 6,000 to Shensi, and 1,000 to Szechuan. Of the new commands created, mention may be made of the Titu (Lieutenant-General) of Hsiang Yang, the Ts'ung-ping (Brigadier-General) at Yüanyang and Ningshen, and of the Fuchiang (Colonel) at Tachow, henceforth to be known under the name of Suitingfu. Ningshen, the gate to the Nanshan region, was perhaps the most important of all the new military stations. This place being a new town, living was exceptionally expensive even for the soldiers. For this reason, the soldiers there were each allowed a sum of 5 *mace* a month in addition to their regular pay, with the understanding that a

reduction of one *mace* was to be made at the end of every three years. The first period of three years came to an end by the middle of August 1806. But the Provincial Treasurer of Shensi, instead of carrying out the agreement, stopped the extra pay altogether. This evidence of bad faith on the part of the Government caused no little murmuring among the soldiery; and the attempt made by the acting Brigadier-General, of Ningshen, to punish those who ventured to protest, only added fuel to the smouldering fire. Suddenly some 200 soldiers threw off all restraint, murdered their commander, the acting Brigadier-General, set the prisoners in the city prison free, and then destroyed the citadel. In a few days, the mutineers gathered up thousands of men who loved plunder better than work, and were ready to follow in the footsteps of the White Lily rebels. The situation looked so grave that Generals Têoutai, Yang Yü-ch'un, and Yang Fang were all ordered to Shensi at the head of their armies. In the meanwhile the mutineers had moved on to Hu Hsien (鄠縣) in the north. At this point General Yang Fang appeared upon the scene. To the astonishment of those whom it was his mission to exterminate, Yang Fang, unarmed and unaccompanied, rode one morning into their midst. He pointed out to them what punishment was in store for them and, by persuasion and threats, was able to convince them that the best they could do was to lay down their arms. The mutineers returned with him to the barracks, leaving their friends who had cast their lot in with them to return home. What a service had Yang Fang performed in the interest of humanity and of peace! Had it not been for him the borders of Shensi, Szechuan and Hupeh might have once more witnessed the horrors of the White Lily War. Yet Yang Fang was accused of cowardice by Chia Ch'ing, who did not hesitate to banish him and the 200 mutineers to Ili, where the latter were one night all massacred in cold blood! But Yang Fang was permitted to return after a year and was again employed in the army. In the following year, mutinies also broke out in several other places in Shensi and in Szechuan. In each case the trouble was attended by

much bloodshed, and was suppressed with the usual cruelty which characterized the Manchu race.

Piracy on the Coast.—During the years China was engaged in a civil war, piracy was rife on the coast of Canton, Fukien and Chekiang. It seems that for this state of affairs on the Chinese coast, the Annamese government was to blame, for some of the pirates were armed with high military commissions in their national army. At any rate, the pirates were a constant source of danger to shipping, and all trading junks had to pay a toll in order to escape capture. The leader of these pirates was a man named Ts'ai Ch'ien (蔡牽), a native of Tung An Hsien (同安縣), Fukien. Up and down the coast, Ts'ai Ch'ien preyed upon the commerce of China with impunity; for the provincial authorities, as a rule, would not trouble themselves about any thing that happened on the sea. The only man in whom Ts'ai Ch'ien found an enemy was another native of Tung An Hsien, named Li Ch'ang-kêng (李長庚), who, at that time, held the post of Brigadier-General of Tinghai (定海), off the coast of Chekiang. Li was not only a soldier but also a sailor. He had several encounters with the pirate fleet and each time Ts'ai Ch'ien barely escaped with his life. In January 1808, another engagement took place near Nanao, and Li had captured all of the pirates' ships but three, when a cannon ball struck him on the throat and killed him almost instantly. Owing to the confusion that prevailed throughout the fleet, the pursuit was given up, and Ts'ai Ch'ien allowed to sail away with his shattered ships. Two years later, Ts'ai Ch'ien was surrounded by war junks near the Island of Yushan off the coast of Chekiang. Having lost all hope of escape, he jumped into the sea and drowned himself. After his death the pirates were not heard of for some time.

Rise of New Secret Societies.—If Chia Ch'ing succeeded in putting down the White Lily Rebellion, he never succeeded in rooting out their Society. It is true that no organization existed under that name; but fragments of the old society under a score of different names and at different places soon developed into separate and independent societies, such as the Eight Diagrams

(八卦), the Heavenly Reason (天理), the I Ho Ch'üan (義和拳) (the Boxers of 1900), etc. These societies, with one exception, threatened future trouble, rather than constituted any immediate danger to the throne. To grapple with them all, was of course an impossibility, and Chia Ch'ing actually acknowledged this fact, when he decreed that membership in a secret society should not in itself constitute a crime against the Government.

The Heavenly Reason Rebellion.—In 1811, to the consternation of the superstitious Chinese, a comet appeared. The Imperial astronomers in Peking pronounced the event an augury of war and proposed to counteract the evil influence by taking out the intercalary month which was to fall between the 8th and 9th moons of the 18th year of Chia Ch'ing (1813), and placing it between the 2nd and 3rd moons of the next year. The proposed change having been adopted by the Government, a report gained circulation, especially in the northern provinces, that the Manchu rule would come to an end on the 15th day of the 9th moon of the 18th year of Chia Ch'ing (Oct. 9th, 1813). This, we observe, would have been the 15th day of an intercalary 8th moon, but for the change. The people became so agitated that two leaders of the Heavenly Reason Society thought it an opportune moment to make an effort to overthrow the Manchu government. These men were Lin Ch'ing (林清) of Tahsing Hsien (大興), Chihli, and Li Wên-ch'êng (李文成) of Hua Hsien (滑縣), Honan. Each of them had a large number of adherents in their respective provinces. According to the plot agreed upon, Lin Ch'ing, with the help of the eunuchs, who were members of the society, was to take possession of the Forbidden City on Oct. 9th; while Li Wên-ch'êng was to attack Peking from without.

The eventful day at last arrived; and, the Emperor being absent from Peking on a hunting trip at Jehol, everything promised to go off smoothly. With the help of the eunuchs, about 80 of Lin Ch'ing's adherents gained admittance into the Forbidden City before their presence was noticed. Finding the

gate to the living apartments of the palace closed, several of them with white flags in hand climbed up the wall. Before they had time to jump down, the second Prince, afterwards the Emperor Tao Kuang, seized a gun and shot two of the intruders dead, while a shot fired by his cousin, Prince Mien Chih (綿志), killed a third. The sound of the firing immediately attracted the attention of the imperial guards, and during the night and the next day the survivors and the conspiring eunuchs were hunted down like rats. Lin Ch'ing himself also fell into the hands of the authorities at Huang Ts'un (黃村), a village not far from Peking, where he had been in hiding pending the result of his bold enterprise. When the Emperor returned on the 12th, peace and order once more prevailed throughout the Capital. Chia Ch'ing was so pleased with Prince Chi, his second son, who had acted with such coolness in the hour of excitement and danger, that he made him, instead of his elder brother, heir to the throne.

Li Wên-ch'êng also failed to carry out the part he had agreed to play. In fact, he had fallen into the hands of the authorities long before the appointed day. His friends, however, broke into the prison and carried him off. They then killed the magistrate and set up the standard of rebellion. Several cities in Chihli and Shantung, where there were many members of the Heavenly Reason Society, went over to him; but, on the approach of the imperial troops, they were easily recovered. The city of Hua Hsien, having stood a siege for several months, succumbed in January 1814; and Li Wên-ch'êng, in order to avoid capture, burned himself and family to death by setting fire to his house outside the city.

Christianity under the Ban of a Secret Society.—The frequent uprisings of the secret societies had a very disastrous effect upon the Christian work in China. In 1805, a Cantonese was arrested in Shansi while trying to dispose of religious books for a Catholic priest. The case brought out an Imperial Decree, ordering the destruction of all such books wherever found. The priest in question was also arrested afterward and sentenced to

imprisonment at Jehol. At the same time a number of Chinese converts and officers of the Catholic Church were banished to Ili, to become slaves of the Eleuths. In 1815 another priest was arrested at Lai Yang Hsien (來陽縣), Hunan, for having remained in the interior of China without express permission from the Throne, and was sentenced to die by strangulation. The Catholic Church, once the recipient of so many favors from the first Manchu rulers, had indeed received no special attention from the recent emperors; but under Chia Ch'ing it came under the ban of a secret society. This was not removed until the day of the first French Treaty with China.

The Amherst and Goloyken Missions.—In the year 1802, the English occupied Macao in order to prevent the French from taking it from the Portuguese. The nature of the lease under which the Portuguese were permitted to remain at Macao was not at that time understood in Europe. As the Treaty of Miens restored it almost immediately to the Portuguese, the occupation was too brief to attract the attention of the Chinese Government. Six years later similar circumstances made the re-occupation necessary from a military standpoint, and this time the indignation of Peking was fully aroused. The Viceroy at Canton, under instructions from the capital, protested, withheld supplies, and threatened to suspend trade. Admiral Drury not only paid no attention to the threats, but on several occasions also made a display of force before the forts at the Bogue. Although the incident was closed a few months later by England's evacuation of Macao, the unfavorable impression that had been created by the unwarranted conduct of Admiral Drury at Canton remained unchanged. As a consequence, the trade at Canton was subjected to many unreasonable restrictions in 1814. In view of the unsatisfactory state of things, the English Government decided to send a second embassy to China. Their choice fell upon Lord Amherst, who, like Lord Macartney, had held the important Viceroyalty of India, prior to his appointment. In August 1816, this second English embassy arrived at the mouth of the Peiho;

and after months of negotiations respecting the ceremony to be performed before the Chinese sovereign, Lord Amherst was forwarded to Peking. Upon his arrival at the capital, the English envoy was without a moment's rest driven to the Emperor's Summer Palace at Yüan-ming-yüan, where, he was informed, Chia Ch'ing was expecting him. He tried to excuse himself on the ground of fatigue and the non-arrival of his uniforms ; but his refusal to present himself at once offended the Emperor to such an extent that he ordered the embassy to leave China without delay. Thus the second English attempt to establish better relations with China had utterly failed to accomplish its end. There was no improvement in the relations between the two nations ; but, on the contrary, the importation of opium continued to increase, and finally caused war.

Long before the Amherst Mission left England, the Russian Emperor had thought it proper to send a mission to China with a view to establishing a diplomatic base at Peking. In 1805, Count Goloyken, loaded with rich and numerous presents, started for China, and arrived safely at Kalgan on the Great Wall. Before he was permitted to enter the pass, he had to reveal to the officials the nature of his mission, and have his case referred to Peking. To his surprise, the instructions from the capital stated that he was to be allowed to come to the Chinese Court only upon his promise to perform the *kowtow*. This promise Count Goloyken could not consistently give, and consequently he had to return to Russia with all the presents that the Czar had sent to his brother in Peking. This was not the only occasion when Russia received a rebuff from Chia Ch'ing. One of her naval officers tried to secure a share of the maritime trade at Canton ; but his efforts were circumvented by the authorities.

The fact was that both Russia and England knew very little of the true state of affairs in China.

CHAPTER LII

TAO KUANG'S WAR WITH THE MOHAMMEDANS

Accession of Tao Kuang.—On Sept. 2, 1820, the Emperor Chia Ch'ing died at Jehol, where he had gone on a hunting trip. His death left both his throne and his misfortunes to his second son, Prince Chi, who on his accession took the name Tao Kuang (道光),

TAO KUANG

or Reason's Light. His reign covered a period of thirty years (1821-1850); and was quite as full as that of his predecessor had been of internal insurrections. There was a formidable uprising in

all the Mohammedan cities of Chinese Turkestan, and also an invasion of South China by foreign soldiers. Between the years 1821 and 1847, there was little peace in that part of the country known as Kashgaria, or the Southern Route of T'ien Shan (天山南路).

The Government of the Mohammedans in Kashgaria.—Kashgaria had long been the scene of misgovernment; and owing to the great distance from Peking the officials there could generally do as they pleased with impunity. They treated the people with contempt and their chief concern was to enrich themselves. Every man from the highest Amban (安邦) down to the humblest Beg (伯克) had his price. The garrisons, which consisted exclusively of Manchus and Mongols, were also sources of terror. Their discipline was neglected and the soldiers often indulged in all sorts of excesses. While the poor people were cheated and robbed on every hand, the fate of their women was worse than death. Where complaints were useless, insurrections became necessities in course of time.

Mohammed Ali, King of Khokand.—About this time the Mohammedans of Khokand, the near neighbors of Kashgaria, had a very ambitions King, named Mohammed Ali. As early as 1812, he refused to send any more tribute to China, a custom that had been kept up ever since the time of Ch'ien Lung's conquest of the New Dominion. The Tartar General at Ili knew that his government was in no position to carry on hostilities in Central Asia, and accordingly accepted the change without protest. This first concession was soon followed by others, and Mohammed Ali was even allowed to send consuls, or *Akasakals*, to collect duty on Mohammedan merchandise sold in the bazaars of Kashgar and Yarkand. These *Akasakals* at once became the centres of intrigues. Apart from the collection of custom, they considered it their duty to further all seditious plans against China. Before they appeared on the scene, the Manchus had a peaceful colony, but after their arrival troubles soon arose.

Jehangir's First Attempt to Gain Possession of Kashgaria.—At the time of Ch'ien Lung's conquest, most of the

members of the old Khoja (和卓木) family of Kashgar were put to death. Sarimsok was the only surviving boy, who succeeded in making good his escape into Khokand. He became a guest of the Khan of Khokand whose hospitality he enjoyed as long as he lived. One of the sons who survived him was Jehangir. Though his father had been contented to live a pensioner in the court of the Khan, Jehangir was not satisfied with such a quiet life. He could not forget the misfortunes of his family, and would not rest satisfied until he had made an effort to drive the Chinese out of Kashgaria. In Mohammed Ali, he found a most sympathetic friend. In 1822, the Khan having given him money and arms to make a descent upon Kashgaria, Jehangir secured the support of the Kirghis, or the Purut (布魯特); and, with what followers he was able to enlist, advanced toward Kashgar. But as the Manchus kept a better guard than Jehangir had expected, he was obliged to beat a hasty retreat to Lake Issik Kul. In 1825, General Baryenbatu (巴彥巴圖) set out with his contingent to locate the enemy; but for a hundred miles beyond the border, the Manchu General could find no trace of Jehangir. He finally come upon a party of the Kirghis; and, to vent his anger, he caused the unfortunate men, women and children to the number of one hundred to be put to death. Out of this appalling crime Baryenbatu evidently had intended to make a report of an alleged victory, but his brutality brought about his own destruction. Before he reached home, he was overtaken by the Chief of the Kirghis at the head of an overwhelming force, and he and all his men were slaughtered. This defeat gave Jehangir new hopes and brought him new adherents and new friends. Among these may be mentioned the Mohammedans of the cities of Kashgar, Yanghissar, Yarkand, and Khotand, who showed their sympathy by taking up arms against the frightened Chinese officials.

When Tao Kuang found out the state of affairs in Kashgaria, he ordered Ch'ing Hsiang (慶祥), the Tartar General of Ili, to Kashgar, and sent Grand Secretary Chang Ling (長齡) to take the place made vacant at Ili.

Jehangir in Possession of Kashgaria.—In July 1826, Jehangir paid a visit to his ancestral tomb a short distance from the city of Kashgar. Although he had to retire on the approach of the Manchus, he came again in September; and was this time supported by a large army which Mohammed Ali had sent to his aid. Ch'ing Hsiang made a mistake in leaving the citadel to accept battle. The result was a crushing defeat, which was followed by the capture of the four cities of Kashgaria. Upon the fall of Kashgar, Ch'ing Hsiang committed suicide. This city now became the headquarters of Jehangir, who was proclaimed Sultan under the name of Seyyid Jehangir. His first act was to dismiss the Khokand soldiers and to inform Mohammed Ali that his assistance was no longer required. This over-confidence in his own strength, as we shall see presently, was the cause of his downfall.

Jehangir Once More an Exhile.—While Jehangir busied himself with the organization of a government in Kashgar, no effort was spared by the Chinese in gathering a formidable army at Aksu. Not only did the neighboring provinces of Shensi and Kansu send their contingents; but also the remote regions of Kirin and Heiiungkiang sent detachments of cavalry. Of this motley force, Grand Secretary Chang Ling was given the chief command, and instructed to send a flying column through Ushih and the mountain ranges to cut off the retreat of the enemy, while the main force marched towards Kashgar. He found it impossible to send the flying column because of the extreme difficulty and the little knowledge of the route. After a council of war the idea was given up. Leaving necessary reinforcements for the garrisons of Ushih and the neighboring cities, the main army, numbering about 22,000 men, set out in March, 1827, to recover the lost territory.

Jehangir, still confident of his own prowess, marched his army to Yangabad, where he decided to make a stand. The combatants were about equal in numbers and the battle was most desperately contested; but the result was a signal defeat for Jehangir. Towards midnight on March 26th, the victors encamped before the walls of Kashgar; and on the next day they carried the city by storm. Some

4,000 persons, among whom were two Khokandian officers and some near relations of Jehangir, were either put to death or made prisoners. Jehangir himself, however, made good his escape into the Kirghis country; but by this single blow the prowess of Jehangir had totally disappeared. The other three cities could offer but little resistance and were one by one re-taken by the Chinese. Had General Chang Ling carried out his instructions it would have been impossible for Jehangir to escape; and for this failure he was severely censured by the Emperor. To atone for his conduct, he sent Generals Yang Yü-ch'un (楊遇春) and Yang Fang (楊芳) with 8,000 men to seek the ambitious fugitive. The two generals took different routes. General Yang Fang encountered a large army of Khokandian soldiers, and in the skirmishes that ensued, he lost more than one half of his men. When this became known both generals were recalled and Jehangir was permitted to remain at large. General Yang Yü-ch'un was now ordered to take the Shensi and Kansu soldiers back to their homes; while General Yang Fang was made the second in command, and with 8,000 men was to guard Kashgar against any surprises.

Capture of Jehangir.—Jehangir, in spite of his misfortunes, was still hopeful. By February 1828, he was as active as ever, and with 500 adherents he was once more ready to fight. When he reached the town of Arku (阿爾古), he found that he had been deceived by being told that the Chinese army had been completely withdrawn, and that the garrison of Kashgar was as weak as ever. This information which General Yang Fang had caused to be carried to him, was now the cause of his death. Jehangir decided to retrace his steps into his mountain retreat but it was too late. On Mount Kaitiehkai (喀爾鐵蓋), he was captured by a superior force sent out by General Yang Fang and brought back to Kashgar a prisoner. From Kashgar, he was sent to Peking where, after a series of indignities, he was sentenced to die by the slicing process. Tao Kuang was so much gratified with the result of the Kashgarian campaign that he made Chang Ling a Duke of the Second Order (二等公) and Yang Fang a Marquis of the Third Order (三等侯).

Invasion of Kashgaria by the Khokandians (1830).—In those early days, there was considerable overland trade in Chinese tea and medicine with Khokand. The Chinese thought that by stopping this trade entirely and by confiscating all the property of Khokandian merchants found in Kashgaria, they might ultimately bring the haughty Khan, Mohammed Ali, to terms. Nothing was more erroneous. Mohammed Ali would never suffer such indignities quietly; and, as soon as he heard of the return to Peking of both Generals Chang Ling and Yang Fang, and the withdrawal of the main portion of the Chinese army, he hastened to attack Kashgar with a strong force, and put forward Yusuf, the elder brother of Jehangir, as his successor on the Khoja throne. The invaders not only took possession of the Mohammedan towns of Kashgar, Yanghissar and Yarkand; but also laid siege to the Chinese quarters at all these places, and cut them off from communication with Ili. Ili, however, tried to send relief; but the commander of the detachment, Yung An (容安) by name, was a coward. Instead of marching to meet the enemy, he led his 4,000 men to Khotand, which was not in danger, and left the besieged garrisons to hold out as best they could.

China Makes Peace with Khokand.—Once more Generals Chang Ling, Yang Yü-ch'un and Yang Fang led troops back to Kashgaria in haste. On their arrival they found that the enemy had quitted Chinese soil. The truth was that Mohammed Ali needed his men at home, as he was on the point of breaking peaceful relations with Bokhara. In 1831 General Chang Ling, after months of negotiations, concluded a treaty with Khokand. China agreed to restore the previous arrangement respecting trade, and to return to the Khokandian merchants their property which had been confiscated. Khokand promised to return all Chinese prisoners of war and to restrain the Khoja princes in her territory. China wanted her to give up the latter as well as the prisoners of war, but was too weak to use force. The age of Ch'ien Lung had passed. Commissioner Na Yen-ch'êng (那彥成), who had confiscated the property of the Khokand merchants, and placed the embargo on

trade, was cashiered. The arrangment effected by Chang Ling secured peace to Kashgaria for a period of 15 years.

The War with the Seven Khojas.—In the year 1847, Kashgaria was once more the scene of trouble. At this time there were seven Khoja pretenders instead of one, hence the event was recorded in the Chinese annals as "the war with the Seven Khojas" (七和卓木之亂). Only desultory fighting took place. The Akasakals, as usual, had done their best to incite the Mohammedan population to rebel; but the latter, having lately enjoyed a milder form of government, did not respond with eagerness. For a short time, success seemed to favor the invaders, but upon the approach of reinforcements from Ili, they quit the country without making a stand. "The war with the Seven Khojas" was, therefore, of brief duration. Thus within the brief period of twenty-seven years, Kashgaria had been three times invaded, all on account of the claims of the Khojas. The Mohammedans had the same respect for their Khojas as the Tibetans have for their Dalai Lamas. So long as there were representatives of the old Khoja family of Kashgar in Khokand so long was there cause for trouble.

The remaining years of Tao Kuang were occupied by a war with England, the details of which will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER LIII

CHINA'S FIRST FOREIGN WAR

Causes of the War.—During the years 1840-1843, China was for the first time at war with England. This is commonly known as the Opium War, a term which is somewhat misleading. That China's determination to stamp out the opium trade was the immediate cause of the war, there is no room to doubt. But there were other causes. For ages it was the custom of China to look down upon all foreigners as *barbarians*, who had no right to come to her shores, save for the purpose of paying her tribute. This war was waged by England for the avowed purpose of breaking down this high wall of ignorance and seclusion, as well as to demand compensation for damage done to English merchants. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, England was undoubtedly to blame for forcing a baneful trade on China. On the other hand, China's arrogance, it must be admitted, afforded England a just cause for taking up arms against her.

Early Introduction of Opium.—Opium is mentioned in Chinese annals as early as the eighth century, and was presumably brought into China for medicinal purposes by the Arabs. Its Chinese name, *A Fu Jung* (阿芙蓉), is thought to be the corruption of the Arabian name, Afion. The next mention of opium is found towards the close of the Ming Dynasty. The customs statistics, compiled for the year 1859, show that ten catties of opium were, in those days, worth two "silver bars."

As early as 1729, or the 7th year of the reign of Yung Chêng, laws were made interdicting the use of opium. It is safe to conclude that the habit of smoking opium had, by this time, begun to work great havoc among the Chinese, or it would not have aroused the attention of the Imperial Government. These laws, however, failed to stop the evil at which they were aimed, and increasing quantities of opium continued to pour in from India under the fostering influences of the East India Company, an English company which

had the monopoly of the China trade. Canton, then the center of this trade, was the doorway through which opium found an entrance.

Opium Smuggling at Canton.—In 1800, the Imperial Government made renewed efforts to suppress the use of opium. Stringent decrees were issued in rapid succession. China, indeed, can boast of many good laws, but not always of good men to enforce them. So it was in this case. As long as the demand for opium existed, the supply came; and if it could not be brought into the country openly, it was done clandestinely. By means of systematic bribery, opium smuggling, therefore, went on at Canton without hindrance. Large receiving ships were stationed at Lingting (伶仃) and vicinity, while numerous smaller craft under the English and other foreign flags plied back and forth on the Canton River in their attempts to land opium. To the officials and their subordinates, to the foreign capitalists, to the local bad characters, and to the pirates along the coast, opium smuggling meant a short cut to wealth. It is estimated that 3,210 chests of opium valued at $3,657,000 (Spanish) were consumed in China in 1816; and 18,760 chests valued at $12,900,031 (Spanish) in 1830. In other words, the consumption had more than trebled every three years. All this quantity found its way into China through the smugglers.

Lord Napier Appointed First Superintendent of Trade.—In April 1834, the Charter of the East India Company expired. Thereupon the English Government undertook the protection of the China trade by the appointment of a superintendent. Hitherto this trade had been controlled, on the one side, by the East India Company, represented at Canton by a supercargo; and on the other, by the notorious system of co-hong,—a committee of Chinese merchants, who guaranteed all debts due to the foreigners, the amount of fees, or "squeezes," to be given to the provincial authorities, and the customs dues to be paid to the Hupu (戶部). It seems that the object the English Government had in appointing a superintendent of trade was to put a stop to this state of affairs. Lord Napier, who had the honor of being the first occupant of the

newly-created office, was not only expected to foster and protect the trade; but also to extend it to other parts of the Chinese Empire, and to open direct communication with the Central Government.

In compliance with his instructions, Lord Napier proceeded from Macao to Canton, without first obtaining permission from the Viceroy through the hong merchants as had been the custom, and reported his arrival to the same high authority by letter. Unfortunately Lu K'un (盧坤), the Viceroy, was ready to grant "a barbarian eye" (夷目), as Lord Napier was called, no right, or

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privilege, other than those enjoyed by the supercargoes. As Napier insisted upon his right to address him on terms of equality, he became very much offended, suspended the English trade, and ordered native servants to leave their employ. At this juncture, Lord Napier's health gave way, and he had to return to Macao where he soon died, leaving Viceroy Lu K'un to boast of his triumph. Upon the new Superintendent's departure from Canton, permission had at once been given for trade to be resumed, but it was subjected to more restrictions than ever.

Napier's Successors.—The situation at Canton remained practically unchanged during the régime of Sir George Robinson as superintendent. He never resided at Canton, and had no direct communication with the Viceroy.

In 1836 Sir George was succeeded by Captain Elliot, who was very conciliatory in his dealings with the Chinese authorities; and went as far as to style his communications "Ping" (稟), a form of document that an inferior officer in China has to use when addressing a superior. Elliot was permitted to reside at Canton, and to re-open communications with the authorities, otherwise there was no improvement in the relations between the Chinese and English.

Discussion of the Opium Question.—About this time, the opium question suddenly took on a new phase. It was discovered that for many, many years millions of taels had been taken out of China, and now she was brought face to face with a specie famine. According to the officials, China had received no benefit whatever for all this vast wealth, except the baneful opium. Thus the opium traffic at Canton became at once the great financial question of the day, and the Imperial Court at Peking was much troubled as to how the great efflux of silver could be stopped. Officials both within and without the capital were invited to express their opinions on this important subject, and many able arguments were consequently advanced against the traffic. One of the authors of these arguments was Lin Tsê-hsü (林則徐), a native of Foochow. He was as energetic as he was outspoken; and as Viceroy of Hukuang, he had inaugurated with success a general crusade against the use of opium.

Lin Tsê-hsü's Appointment as Imperial High Commissioner.—The Emperor Tao Kuang thought that he had found in Lin Tsê-hsü the man he needed to carry out his anti-opium policy at Canton. Accordingly he appointed Lin Imperial High Commissioner, and clothed him with ample powers to deal with the situation. On March 10, 1839, Commissioner Lin arrived at Canton. It is claimed that opium smuggling had actually stopped before his arrival. His name was such a terror to the corrupt Canton officials that they found it to their interest to desist, for a

time at least, from participating in a crime which depended largely upon their help and support for its commission.

Surrender and Destruction of Opium at Canton.—Six days after his arrival, Commissioner Lin ordered the English merchants to deliver to him all the opium in their possession. At first they were willing to give up a small portion only, but he was not satisfied with their partial compliance. He surrounded the factories with soldiers, deprived the foreigners of their native servants, and stopped their fresh supplies. This severe measure had the desired effect. By May 4th, more than 20,000 chests of opium, representing a market value of not much less than $9,000,000, were delivered to him through Captain Elliot. This vast quantity of opium, which the Commissioner wished to send overland to Peking as evidence of his triumph, was by the Emperor's orders to be destroyed at Canton. The work of destruction was done at the Bogue in a very thorough manner. The opium was first mixed in trenches with lime and salt water and then drawn off into the sea. One man was decapitated for attempting to steal a small quantity. Who can accuse the Chinese Government of insincerity when she preferred to destroy what was harmful to the people rather than to fill her treasury with its sale ?

Shortly before the destruction of the opium, which took place on June 3, 1839, Captain Elliot and the British residents had all left Canton for Macao.

New Opium Code.—The destruction of Opium at Canton was but the beginning of the arduous work the Chinese Government had undertaken. Determined that this work should be energetically prosecuted, the Emperor Tao Kuang promulgated what is known as the New Opium Code (鴉片新例). According to this Code, to import, sell, grow, or prepare opium was a crime punishable by death, or banishment; and persons addicted to its use were to be condemned to die by strangulation, unless they could get rid of the habit within 18 months.

Foreigners not being under Chinese laws, Commissioner Lin ordered every foreign merchant to file a bond binding himself not to engage in the opium trade on penalty of summary

execution and confiscation of ship and cargo. Some Portuguese and Americans complied with his order, but Captain Elliot objected.

Commencement of Hostilities at Canton.—To compel the English to place themselves under the Chinese law, the Commissioner again resorted to drastic measures. He caused the Macao authorities to refuse hospitality to the English, and prevented the people on the coast from supplying them with water or vegetables. The English with sad hearts embarked on board their ships which set sail and finally anchored in the harbor of Hongkong.

Two English frigates were then at Chuanpi (川鼻). As the sailors could not obtain their fresh supplies by any other means, they seized what they needed, and caused many unpleasant scenes. The ships also had several encounters with the forts, and on November 3rd fought a regular engagement with a fleet of Chinese war junks. One junk was blown up, three were sunk, while the rest retired in great disorder.

When the Chuanpi affair was reported to Peking, the Emperor Tao Kuang lost no time in issuing an edict (January 3, 1840) forbidding all trade with England, although trade had already stopped. In those early days, such an edict virtually amounted to a formal declaration of war against England.

England, on her part, was busy with preparations for war. Parliament having during the early session of 1840 sustained the Government's proposal in regard to the China question, an expedition was being sent out under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer, subject to the control of Rear Admiral George Elliot and Captain Elliot, Joint Plenipotentiaries. This expedition, consisting of 4,000 troops on board twenty-five transports with a convoy of fifteen warships, arrived at the mouth of the Canton River in June 1840. Shortly after its arrival, Sir Gordon Bremer declared a blockade of the port of Canton.

First Occupation of Tinghai.—On July 4th, Bremer's squadron of five men-of-war, three steamers and twenty-one

transports, reached the Tinghai harbor, off the coast of Chekiang, having made a demonstration at Amoy on its way north. The authorities were summoned to surrender, and as they refused, the place was bombarded the following morning. A few minutes sufficed to silence the forts. Then the troops landed and took possession of the city. Tinghai, it should be remarked, is the capital of Chusan, which served as the English base of operations during the greater part of the war.

The fall of Tinghai filled the minds of the provincial authorities with consternation. They could see no reason why they should be held accountable for anything done at Canton. As they were powerless to punish the enemy, they vented their wrath upon the poor Commissioner Lin. Owing to their misrepresentations to Peking, the Emperor's confidence in his Commissioner was badly shaken. Tao Kuang now accused him of "having dissembled with empty words, and of having caused the waves of confusion to rise" (空言無補反生波瀾). He also sent Viceroy Ilipu (伊里布), of Nanking, to Chekiang to investigate matters; and ordered the officials along the coast to forward to Peking whatever communication the enemy might desire to make.

Lord Palmerston's Letter.—The primary object that Sir Gordon Bremer had in making the northward movement was to open up communication with the Central Government. He had in his possession a letter from Lord Palmerston, the English Primier, which he was to deliver into the hands of some responsible Chinese official for transmission to Peking. This letter set forth the complaints the English Government had against China and also the terms that she was prepared to accept. This communication was offered at both Amoy and Ningpo, but the authorities at both places refused to have anything to do with it. Accordingly Captain Elliot and Sir Gordon Bremer sailed with the fleet to the mouth of the Peiho (北河). By authority of the recent order from the Emperor Tao Kuang, Viceroy Ch'i Shan (琦善), of Chihli, accepted the letter and forwarded it to Peking as desired.

Ch'i Shan was a diplomat of no mean ability. He told Captain Elliot that his Government was prepared to punish Commissioner Lin most severely when the true facts in connection with the surrender and destruction of the opium came to light, and succeeded in getting him to withdraw the fleet and to agree to open negotiations for peace at Canton. In pursuance of the understanding with Ch'i Shan, Captain Elliot therefore sailed away with the fleet to Chusan, and after leaving a small garrison there, at length, returned to Macao.

Bombardment of the Bogue Forts.—Almost at the same time as the attack on Chusan, the English men-of-war, charged with the duty of maintaining the blockade of Canton, were obliged to resume offensive operations against the Chinese on account of the carrying away from Macao of one Vincent Stanton, a British subject. After a heavy bombardment of the Bogue forts, a party of marines landed and took the Chinese positions. The forts and barracks were then destroyed and Stanton was returned.

This attack upon the Bogue forts completed the downfall of Lin Tsê-hsü. Deprived of all rank he was sent to Peking to await his trial by the Board of Punishments, and his place was given to Ch'i Shan.

Medley of Peace and War at Canton.—Ch'i Shan arrived at Canton in the capacity of Imperial High Commissioner, Nov. 29, 1840. As Admiral Elliot was an invalid, the negotiations on behalf of the English Government were, for a time, conducted by Captain Elliot alone. For nearly six weeks nothing definite was arrived at, owing principally to the procrastination of Ch'i Shan. At last on Jan. 7, 1841, Sir Gordon Bremer, tired of the unreasonable delay, gave orders for a second attack on the Bogue forts, and in a few days both the importants fortifications at Shako (沙角) and Tako (大角) were taken by the English.

Resistance was hopeless and no one knew it better than Ch'i Shan himself. Alarmed at the sudden turn of affairs, he now agreed to all the terms that had been demanded. These terms included

the cession of Hongkong and an indemnity of $6,000,000 for the opium that had been destroyed by Commissioner Lin. On his part, Captain Elliot agreed to the evacuation of both Chusan and the Bogue forts.

The Emperor Tao Kuang, however, was not ready for peace, but was bent on war. About the time the convention was signed at Canton, he issued an edict directing that all warlike preparations should be continued, and appointed a commission of three members to conduct the campaign at Canton. The President of this commission, Ishan (奕山), was a member of the Imperial family; while General Yang Fang (楊芳), a distinguished soldier, who had seen much warfare, was one of the associate commissioners. Nor did the Emperor forget the province of Chekiang. To this province he sent Viceroy Yü Ch'ien (裕謙), of Liangkiang, as Imperial High Commissioner; while Ilipu was ordered to return to his former post at Nanking. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that Ch'i Shan was powerless to carry out the provisions of his own agreement. In spite of his best efforts to keep the facts from the foreigners, it was soon found out that soldiers were pouring in from the neighboring privinces. At the same time every thing was being done to strengthen the Chinese positions around Canton.

To anticipate the Chinese, the Commander of the English fleet once more gave orders for an attack on the Bogue forts. This time the line of inner forts, guarding the approaches of Canton, were engaged and captured, together with all the guns which had been recently mounted by Commissioner Lin; and Admiral Kuan T'ien-p'ei (關天培) was killed. Although the Chinese were strengthened by the arrival on March 5, 1841, of General Yang Fang and a party of Hunan soldiers, numbering about a thousand, the enemy had successfully cleared the river of all obstacles, and was at the very gateway of Canton. Moreover the British forces were now led by a dashing soldier, Sir Hugh Gough, who had recently arrived to take the supreme direction of affairs.

The English success was marked by the return of the merchants to their factories outside the city of Canton. In spite of the refusal of the Emperor to ratify Ch'i Shan's convention, Hongkong had been proclaimed an English possession and troops withdrawn from Chusan to garrison it. Ch'i Shan, for having ceded this territory to the enemy on his own authority, was summarily dismissed and sent to Peking as a public criminal to receive his sentence at the hands of the Board of Punishments.

First Attack on Canton City and the Subsequent Truce.— On April 17, 1841, General Ishan, the Commander-in-Chief, and President Lung Wên, the third member of the Commission, both arrived at Canton. While the merchants were actively engaged in trade, the Commissioners were kept busy with plans to expel the unwelcome foreigner. By the middle of May, there were in the neighborhood of Canton about 40,000 soldiers, and with these the Commissioners were ready to begin operations. During the night of May 21st, the batteries which had been secretly put up along the banks of the Canton river opened fire simultaneously upon the ships and the factories, and a number of fire rafts bore down upon the former in the harbor in the hope of setting them on fire. Unfortunately these schemes of the Commissioners proved such a complete failure that very little damage was done to the enemy's ships. From the factories, however, the Chinese carried off all that they could lay their hands on, and that was the only success they could boast of that night.

The English assumed the offensive on the following day, and they not only destroyed the batteries, but also a number of war junks. Happily Captain Elliot, during the day, had issued a notice advising all foreigners to leave Canton; or the raid upon the factories would have been attended by a great loss of life.

At the time these events took place, Sir Hugh Gough was at Hongkong; but, on receipt of the news, he promptly returned on May 24th with all the forces under him. The attack on the city of Canton itself was now decided upon; but as the Chinese had built a line of forts on the heights to the north of their city, it was

necessary to take them first. When this was done, the Commissioners began to realize the hopelessness of the situation and sent the Prefect of Canton to sue for peace. They agreed to ransom the city for $6,000,000 and to withdraw the Tartar and other troops sixty miles from Canton. The amount of the ransom having been paid in full, the English troops embarked on board their ships on May 31st, and left Canton without attacking the city.

In compliance with the terms of the agreement the Commissioners also withdrew their forces to Chinshan (金山), where President Lung Wên soon died.

Fall of Amoy, Tinghai, Chenhai and Ningpo. — The arrangement made at Canton was necessarily a truce and not a treaty. While it stopped the fighting in that region, it did not touch upon the question of future intercourse; and did not secure to the English the right of direct communication with the Central Government. That question was still far from settlement at the end of June, 1841. At that time Captain Elliot was superceded by Sir Henry Pottinger, and the fleet was placed under the supreme command of Vice-Admiral Parker. The new English Plenipotentiary, Sir Henry Pottinger, had been instructed not to treat with the provincial authorities; and consequently he sailed north with a fleet of 9 men-of-war, 4 steamers and 23 transports. The following places now fell in rapid succession: Amoy, off the coast of Fukien, (Aug. 25), Tinghai (Sept. 26), Chênhai (Oct. 10), and Ningpo (Oct. 13). At Tinghai, the Chinese made a heroic stand, and lost three of their generals, namely, Ko Yün-fei (葛雲飛), Wang Hsi-péng (王錫朋) and Chen Kuo-hung. At Chênhai, across the bay, things were different. There Commissioner Yü Ch'ien, deserted by his officers and men, was obliged to commit suicide. His death was followed by the unopposed occupation of the prefectural city of Ningpo; and although the people wrote on their doors the characters signifying "Submission People," still they were required to pay a large ransom.

After the fall of Ningpo, the English for a while made no further advance. The disastrous events in Afghanistan were monopolizing the attention of their home government.

Attempts to Retake Ningpo and Chênhai.—If the English hoped to secure their ends from the proud Emperor Tao Kuang, by holding a few cities on the coast, they were disappointed. Tao Kuang could not see the hopelessness of the situation; and still believed that the resources of his empire would eventually turn the tide in his favor. Availing himself of the lull in the storm, he sent one commissioner after another to the scene of conflict until there were three in Chekiang province, and all Manchus of high rank. (They were Iching, Grand Secretary (大學士奕經), Wên Wei, Vice-President of a Metropolitan Board (侍郎文蔚), and T'eishun, Lieut.-General of the Manchu Army (都統特依順). He also sent troops from Honan, Shensi, and other provinces to Chekiang. By the beginning of March, 1842, everything seemed to be ready for the Chinese to drive out the foreigners; and, under cover of darkness, the Commissioners began to deliver simultaneous attacks upon the two cities of Ningpo and Chenhai. The Chinese numbered about 10,000, but numbers counted little in the face of superior weapons; and they were driven away with great slaughter, although they did succeed at one time in gaining the gates of the cities.

On March 15th, the enemy once more assumed the offensive by attacking Tzŭ Ch'i (慈溪), a town about 10 miles from Ningpo. They routed a large body of men there and drove them towards Hsihsing (西興); and might have continued their march towards Hangchow, the base of the Chinese Commissioners, had they not received fresh instructions which completely changed their plan of action.

Fall of Chapu, Woosung, Shanghai, and Chinkiang.—The credit for these fresh instructions belonged to Earl Ellenborough, Governor-General of India. He saw that the war had been waged for more than a year without any permanent result, and thought that a more effective way of coercing the Chinese Government lay in an attempt to prevent the tribute rice from reaching Peking. The Yangtze River was navigable as far as Nanking and, therefore, afforded the means for executing the new plan.

In accordance with this new plan, all the English forces, excepting what were necessary for the garrison of Chusan, evacuated the mainland of Chekiang on May 7th, and once more sailed north on board their transports with the convoy of warships. On May 17th, they reached Chapu (乍浦), a port in North Chekiang appointed for the Japanese trade, and easily captured the place and destroyed a large quantity of war material.

Leaving Chapu, the fleet made for the mouth of the Yangtze River. At Woosung it met with desperate opposition; but upon the death of General Ch'ên Hua-ch'êng (陳化成), Commandant of the forts, who was instantly killed, all resistance melted away. The fall of the cities of Paoshan and Shanghai then occurred. Following the course of the river, the fleet soon appeared before the walls of Chinkiang (鎮江), a city of immense strategic importance, situated at the junction of the Yangtze and the Grand Canal. The mere appearance of the enemy sufficed to put the large body of soldiers encamped outside the city to flight. The Manchu garrison of the town, true to the tradition of the Tartars, showed a brave front; and, after most of them had been either killed or wounded, preferred suicide to surrender. General Hai Ling (海齡), the commander of the garrison, having told his servants to set fire to his own house, perished with his family in the flames.

Treaty of Nanking.—The continued success of the English at last brought the Manchu Government to its knees. Indeed, the Emperor Tao Kuang had sent both Ch'i-ying (耆英) and Ilipu to Chekiang to ascertain the views of the English before their fleet left Chusan for the Yangtze. But the commissioners were not clothed with proper credentials, and Sir Henry Pottinger could not treat with them. From Chekiang the commissioners had to travel all the way to Nanking; and this time, were able to produce the necessary papers. These were produced none too soon to save Nanking. The joint plenipotentiaries and Niu Chien (牛鑑), Viceroy of the Liangkiang, then signed with Sir Henry Pottinger on board H. B. M. S. Cornwallis, the famous Treaty of Nanking (August 29th, 1842). The

English celebrated the happy event by a national salute of twenty-one guns, and by the display of the flags of the two nations at the top of the foremast.

The important provisions of the treaty were:—(1) Peace between China and England; (2) Six million dollars indemnity to be paid by China for the opium destroyed, three million for debts due English merchants, and twelve million for expenses of the war; (3) The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai to be opened to foreign trade and residence; (4) The cession of Hongkong; (5) Prisoners of war to be released; (6) An amnesty for all Chinese who had assisted the English in the war; (7) Future intercourse to be conducted on terms of equality; and (8) Places held by the English to be restored as the indemnity payments were made. No mention was made of the opium question.

Shortly after the signing of the treaty, the full force of Tao Kuang's wrath fell heavily upon the provincial authorities who had failed to carry the war to a successful issue. Thus Viceroy Niu Chien, Commissioners Ishan and Ichin, and others were degraded, removed from office or sent to prison. The Viceroyalty of Nanking was then given to Ch'i-ying and the Tartar Generalship of Canton to Ilipu. On the English side, Sir Henry Pottinger was rewarded with the Governorship of Hongkong by Queen Victoria.

The Customs Tariff; American and French Treaties.—General Ilipu was also charged with the duty of arranging a regular tariff with Sir Henry Pottinger in accordance with the stipulations of the Nanking Treaty. Upon Ilipu's death at Canton in March 1843, his unfinished task was intrusted to Ch'i-ying, who was now transferred to Canton as Viceroy of the Two Kuang Provinces. In June Ch'i-ying paid a visit to Hongkong in order to exchange the ratifications of the Nanking Treaty; and on Oct. 8, 1843, signed with Sir Henry Pottinger at the Bogue a supplementary treaty. Both of these agreements were really extorted from China at the mouth of the cannon; and could not, therefore, continue to be respected for any great length of time.

In the following year there were signed, at the Bogue, the American and the French Treaties, which were based upon the Treaty of Nanking as a model. In both cases Ch'i-ying represented the Imperial Government. At the instance of the French Minister, the Emperor Tao Kuang issued a decree promising toleration to Christianity, which, it will be recalled, had been placed under the ban of a secret society during the previous reign.

CHAPTER LIV

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

The Taipings.—Before the echoes of the First Foreign War had died away, China was the scene of a great uprising, such as had not occurred since the time of the San Fan (三藩) Rebellion. A handful of young men, inflamed by new religious ideas, raised the standard of revolt in Kuangsi province, swept down the Yangtze, and founded a semblance of government at Nanking. They then deteriorated rapidly and were finally conquered and dispersed. As most of them came from Kuangsi province and they all wore their hair long, they were called either the Kuangsi, or the Long-haired Rebels, by the Chinese historians. To foreigners they were known as the Taipings or Taiping Rebels, because they called their kingdom Taiping T'ienkuo (太平天國), the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace.

Early Life of Hung Hsiu-chüan.—Hung Hsiu-chüan (洪秀全), the ring-leader of the Taipings, was a native of Hua Hsien (花縣), a place about 30 miles north of Canton. Born in 1813 in a poor family, he had but a smattering of the Chinese classics; and, though he went to Canton several times for examination, he failed to take his literary degree. On one of these occasions in 1833, he came into contact with Christianity. Three years later he failed again in the examination, and became so despondent that during a subsequent illness he saw visions which revealed to him his future career. It is quite possible that the whole story of the visions was false; but it appealed powerfully to the superstition of the masses of China. Hung Hsiu-chüan now gave up all his classics and devoted his time to the teaching of Christianity as he understood it. With Fung Yün-shan (馮雲山), he repaired to Kuangsi and there formed the Shangti Hui (上帝會), a society for the worship of God. This society was persecuted by the authorities and the neighbors; and the "brethren" and "sisters," as they were called, soon found it necessary to unite together not only for the purpose of worship, but also for self-defence. In 1847, Hung Hsiu-chüan went to J. J. Roberts, an American missionary at Canton, for instruction; but was not baptized.

Unrest in Kuangsi.—Separated by a distance of some 1,200 miles from Peking, and peopled with an incongruous population, Kuangsi had always been the land of lawlessness. Under an old and enfeebled Governor, named Chêng Tsu-ch'ên (鄭祖琛), many secret societies had sprung into existence throughout the prefectures of Liuchow (柳州), Ssŭ-ên (思恩), Hsinchow (潯州), Wuchow (梧州) and Nanning (南甯); and they were more than enough to keep the government troops busy. In the meantime, the future Taiping Rebellion was gradually gathering at Chin-t'ien (金田), a village between the districts of T'ênghsien (籐縣) and Pingnan (平南); and Hung Hsiu-chüan soon found himself the acknowledged leader of a band of men full of religious enthusiasm and superior in discipline to any force the Governor could send against him.

The Fall of Yungan.—As soon as the condition of affairs in Kuangsi became sufficiently known in Peking, the Government appointed Lin Tsê-hsü (林則徐), the High Commissioner of 1839, Commander-in-Chief, with power to direct all military operations within Kuangsi. Lin died in 1850 at Swatow, without ever seeing the rebels, and was succeeded by Li Hsing-yüan (李星沅). The latter did arrive in Kuangsi; but died before he took up his work in the following year. Meanwhile the Taipings had gained many victories over the Imperial troops; and had also captured the walled city of Yungan (永安), a point of great strategic importance in north Kuangsi. In this city Hung Hsiu-chüan, for the first time, adopted the title of T'ien Wang (天王), or Heavenly King, for himself; and at the same time conferred princely titles upon several of his lieutenants. Yungan was closely invested by the Imperialists in February 1852. Had the commanders under Sai Shang-ou (賽尚阿), the successor of Li Hsing-yüan, only been able to forget their personal disagreements in the face of the enemy, the Taipings would never have escaped from Kuangsi.

Escape of the Taipings from Yungan; Fall of Nanking.—The Taipings were in such straits in April, 1852, that they abandoned Yungan, and cut their way through the outposts of the Imperial troops. Once out of their prison, they gathered up

strength as they went, and attacked Kueilin (桂林), the capital of the province. Having failed to take this city, they next forced their way into Hunan, captured Taochow (道州), Kueiyang (桂陽), and Ch'ênchow (郴州), and arrived before the walls of Changsha (長沙) in November. Avoiding this city, the centre of the Imperial forces, they moved in the direction of Changtê (常德). At Iyang (益陽), they seized a flotilla of boats, and in these they sailed to Yochow (岳州). This important city, the key to the Yangtze, was in fact abandoned with all of its supplies and transports before their arrival. Thus with comparative ease the Taipings had reached the Yangtze. They now merely followed the course of the river, and found nothing to prevent their advance. Wuchang (武昌), the capital of Hupeh, fell before their arms in January 1853; Kiukiang (九江), an important port in Kiangsi, and Anking (安慶), the capital of Anhui, in February; and on March 8th the insurgents were before Nanking, the ancient capital of the Empire. In ten days the wall of the city was breached and carried by storm, when the whole of the Manchu garrison was put to the sword. In another month the insurgents captured Chinkiang (鎮江), Yangchow (揚州), and Kua-chow (瓜州), which gave them the complete control not only of the Yangtze River but also of the Grand Canal. From March 19, 1853, to July 19, 1864, Nanking was the capital of the Taiping Kingdom.

Military Organization of the Taipings.—The military system of the Taipings was very complete. Their army was organized in squads of 25, companies of 100, battalions of 500, regiments of 2,500, and divisions of 12,500. At the time of their departure from Yungan they had but one division; but as they swept down the Hsiang River (湘江) in Hunan, and the Yangtze through Hupeh, Kiangsi, and Anhui, to Kiangsu, their ranks were swollen by thousands who joined their standards for the mere love of war and plunder. It is estimated that by the time they arrived at Nanking they had some 600,000 men and 500,000 women, the latter being organized into companies and separately brigaded. There were no signs of the ordinary immorality of a camp. The use of opium,

tobacco, and wine was forbidden among the Taipings. They tied up their long hair with a red turban and left its ends hanging loosely behind them. During their degenerate days, they tatooed their new adherents with the characters "Taiping T'ienkuo," in order to prevent them from going over to the Imperialists.

During their last days, there were as many as 2,700 princes among the Taipings, when at the outset there had been but five. These were the Eastern, Northern, Southern, Western and the Assistant Princes. Below the order of princes there were four classes of nobles, viz.:—Chang T'ien-an (張天安), Shih T'ien-fu (侍天福), Ch'êng T'ien-yü (承天豫) and Ting T'ien-ên (頂天恩). The Taipings were as fond of the character T'ien (天), "heaven," as they were proud of their alleged divine mission.

Civil Government.—In the way of civil administration, the Taipings supplied practically nothing in place of what they destroyed. To maintain their court and army, they called upon the people to pay "tribute," which must be either in grain or cash. When these were not willingly offered, they helped themselves to whatever they could lay their hands on. Bronzes, curios, and other articles of art were always destroyed wherever found. Temples of all descriptions were burned, because they were places of pagan worship, and because they frequently sheltered Imperial troops and militia. Books shared the same fate as the temples, presumably because they were inconsistent with the teaching of the Heavenly King. To get revenue from the domestic trade, the Taipings maintained a few custom stations along the Yangtze, but no protection was given to the people.

Laws.—The laws of the Taipings were few and cruel. These laws were based more or less on the Mosaic Code, as they knew it. The torture, known as the Heavenly Lamp, or Tien T'ien Têng (點天燈), was as bad as any ever invented. The victim, tied with silk or cloth soaked in oil, was made to stand on his head, and was thus burned to death. The Taipings naturally had objections to the Chinese calendar with its code of lucky and unlucky stars; and in its place, they adopted the simpler system of the West.

Their Faith.—At the outset the religious faith of the Taipings had much in common with the Protestant form of Christianity. Yet they corrupted it to such an extent that it became an entirely different creed. For instance, they believed that their "Heavenly King" was no less a personage than the "Younger Brother of Jesus Christ," whom they called "Elder Brother." With them it was nothing unusual for their "Heavenly Father" to come to earth and speak to man through one of their princes; and this was especially the case at meetings where orders relating to the movement of troops, or the administration of justice, were to be given. Orders given in this manner, were as a matter of course, implicitly obeyed. In addition to their catchwords the Taipings had other peculiar terms of their own. Thus Chungsiaotzŭ (衆小子) (Thy little Children) meant themselves; and Weihsiao (爲小) (Children at Large), those who had accepted their authority but not their faith. These terms were freely used in religious papers and also in their official documents. The Manchus and their friends were all considered "Devils"; and the prayers of the Taipings usually ended with the cry, "Kill the Devils and kill them all."

Reports of the wonderful success of the Taipings in gaining adherents to Christianity, and in defeating the Manchus, naturally attracted the attention of Europe and America to their progress. Consequently the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States, under instructions from their respective governments, visited Nanking on different occasions to study the religious system of the Taipings. Every one of them told his government to observe strict neutrality, as in his opinion the Taipings were not worthy of recognition or help.* To the failure of the Taipings to act so as to obtain the sympathy and support of the Christian world, must be ascribed their final ruin.

Progress of the Taipings North of the Yangtze River.—With their headquarters safely established at Nanking, the Taipings threw a strong column across the river for the purpose of attacking

* The United States was on the point of recognizing the Taipings as the *de facto* Government of China when she received the report from her minister.

Peking. This column was under the command of Lin Fêng-hsiang (林鳳祥), one of the ablest officers the Taipings ever had. Avoiding the centre of a Manchu army collected in the vicinity of Yangchow, he entered North Anhui by way of the Lin Huai Pass (臨淮關), and was joined by another column at Po Chow (亳州) on the border of that province. The united army then forced its way into Honan; but met with no serious resistance until they were in sight of Kaifêng (開封), the capital of the province. In this connection it must be observed that in 1853 the mighty Yellow River, the "Sorrow of China," abandoned its southern course, which had become silted up, and returned to its historic channel by cutting its way to the sea through the northern part of Shantung province. The consequent overflowing of the river interfered with the operations of the Taipings to such an extent that they had to give up the hope of reducing Kaifêng. Having made a detour, the Taipings laid siege to Huaiching (淮慶), a city on the northern bank of the Yellow River to the Northwest of Kaifêng. The several battles that were fought under the walls of this city resulted adversely to the Taipings, who, now being considerably reduced in strength, were forced to seek safety in the hilly regions of Shansi. Before the close of the year, however, fresh reinforcements arrived in Shansi; and with these Lin Fêng-hsiang entered the Metropolitan Province of Chihli by way of the Linming Pass (臨洺). He continued his march as far north as Tsingchow (深州) within 200 miles of Peking; when the Emperor Hsien Fêng, alarmed by the progress the Taipings had made, invited Prince Senkolintsin (僧格林沁) and his hardy Mongol horsemen from the desert to come to the aid of the Government. Their arrival at Tsingchow made a complete change in the prospect of the campaign. With the aid of a Manchu army under General Shêngpao (勝保), Senkolintsin, by a series of battles, forced Lin Fêng-hsiang to retreat, made him prisoner on the southern border of Chihli in 1855, and drove a fresh army of reinforcements out of Shantung. Of the two armies sent against Peking, only a small portion ever returned to Nanking. In view of its net results, the expedition was, of course, a pronounced failure. Nevertheless it had accomplished a

marvelous feat in having marched through four provinces full of Imperial troops in less than six months. The expedition was the first and last attempt of the Taipings to capture Peking.

Further Insurgent Successes in the Yangtze Valley.—During the whole of the time when their army was pushing its way through North China, the Taipings were making every effort to strengthen their base at Nanking. In front of that city was encamped the army of General Hsiang Yung (向榮), which had followed them from Yungan, and was now known as the "Great Camp of Kiangnan" (江南大營); while on the northern bank of the river, there had been collected a Manchu army of considerable strength, known as the "Great Camp of Kiangpei" (江北大營). These two armies had to be kept at bay; and the city of Nanking itself had to be kept in a position to stand a long siege. So long as their further advance toward the east was temporarily checked, the Taipings had only the country to the west of Nanking to draw upon for both men and supplies. Accordingly they sent out various detachments into the provinces of Kiangsi, Anhui, Hupeh and Hunan, that carried carnage and destruction wherever they went. Unless it was absolutely necessary for military purposes, they never burdened themselves with holding cities after having deprived them of their portable wealth. Between the rebels and the government troops the city of Wuchang was captured and recaptured as many as six times during the years 1853-1856. When driven out of one place, the Taipings generally appeared in another in increased numbers and with renewed vigor. With the exception of the Volunteer Army of Hunan, of which we shall speak again presently, no government force would or could oppose them. Whenever an Imperial commander found a city abandoned by the Taipings he would enter it and then make the whole affair appear a most creditable feat before his masters at Peking.

The Rise of Ts'êng Kuo-fan.—When the rebels were sweeping down the Hsiang (湘江), Ts'êng Kuo-fan (曾國藩), their future conqueror, was in his home in Hsiang Hsiang (湘鄉),

having retired from his official position in Peking on account of the death of his mother. In compliance with the urgent appeals from his friend and sovereign, the Emperor Hsien Fêng, he organized a little force of militia and saved the city of Changsha (長沙). Although he had had no military training or experience, he was a man of exceptional ability and unquestionable integrity, and he set the example of loyalty at a time when treason seemed to be the order of the day. The handful of men serving under his standard formed the nucleus of the Volunteer Army of Hunan, which, for fifty years afterwards, constituted the stronger part of China's soldiery, throwing both the "Eight Banners" and the "Green Camp" into the background. The largest unit of this army was a camp of 500. "The Hunan Braves," as the volunteers were commonly called, used no guns until a comparatively recent date.

TS'ÊNG KUO-FAN

Knowing that he could not punish the rebels without a fleet, Ts'eng Kuo-fan went to Hengchow (衡州) in 1853 to build a fleet of wooden junks, which, manned exclusively by the Hunan Braves, did good service on the Yangtze. In April 1854, he was ready to emerge from his native province, with a force numbering about 12,000 men, and a fleet of war junks, to measure strength with the Taipings. The first general battle was fought at Hsiang Tan (湘潭), and resulted in a victory for the Hunan Braves. During the next two or three years, Ts'êng Kuo-fan and his men were employed largely in Hupeh and Kiangsi provinces, and his record was a series of victories and defeats. In September 1855, he gained important victories near Kiukiang, and in October, in

eastern Hupeh. In 1855, the Volunteer Army suffered a great loss in the death of General Tachipu (塔齊布) at Kiukiang; and in 1856 another one of their best officers, Lo Tsé-nan (羅澤南), was killed at Wuchang.

Death of General Hsiang Yung.—In 1855, the Taipings made a bold sortie and attacked the Great Camp of Kiangnan, which had been considerably reduced in strength by the many detachments sent away by General Hsiang Yung to protect his rear. The General consequently found it advisable to order a retreat. But his retreat was turned into a rout, and the Commander-in-Chief was so broken-hearted that he killed himself at Tan Yang (丹陽). After his death, there was no Imperial army in the vicinity of Nanking, until General Ho Ch'un, his successor, had time to bring up a fresh army from Anhui. In 1858 this army came and with the remnant of the "Great Camp of Kiangnan" laid siege to Nanking.

Dissensions and Plots Among the Taipings.—Of all the early Princes of the Taipings, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing (楊秀清), the Eastern Prince (東王), was the only skilful strategist and able administrator. He was, in fact, the soul of the whole revolutionary movement. Hung Hsiu-chüan, the "Heavenly King," after his arrival at Nanking, was no longer a religious zealot. He had a court as well as a harem, which contained as many as eighty-eight wives and concubines. With these women he spent most of his time and often would see none of his officers for months. In due time, all power had fallen into the hands of Yang, and he became a menace even to the "Heavenly King" himself. During the brief time when Nanking was freed from investment, all sorts of intrigues were rampant among the Taipings. As a consequence, Yang, the Eastern Prince, his family and adherents, to the number of 20,000, were murdered, or massacred, by Wei Ch'ang-hui (韋昌輝), the Northern Prince. The family of Shih Ta-k'ai (石達開), the Assistant Prince (翼王), shared the same fate because of his sympathy with Yang. Shih, however, escaped by letting himself down from the city wall under cover of night;

and never had anything more to do with the Taipings. He led an independent movement in Szechuan; but was made prisoner in 1863, and subsequently put to death. When disorder was at its height in Nanking, the "Heavenly King" had to arouse himself, temporarily at least, from his life of pleasure, and order the execution of the Northern Prince and his family. Thus was Hung Hsiu-chüan deprived of the services of the early Princes. Fung Yün-shan (馮雲山) and Hsiao Chao-kuei (蕭朝貴), the Southern and Western Princes, respectively, had both been slain during their flight from Yungan. For a time the Taiping movement seemed to have lost its head. Wu-chang was taken from the Taipings permanently in December 1856. It was captured by the Hunan Braves under Hu Lin-i (胡林翼), Governor of Hupeh, and himself a native of Hunan. Henceforth it became the base of the Hunan Volunteer Army. In December 1857, Chinkiang was also taken from the Taipings; and, by the autumn of 1858, they had lost most of their possessions in the Yangtze Valley, excepting the two strongholds of Anking and Nanking and the strip of land between them. Had it not been for the War with the Allies (French and English), the whole revolutionary movement might have been brought to an immediate termination.

HU LIN-I

The Inspectorate General of Customs and the Likin System.—In 1853, the city of Shanghai was in the hands of the "Small Sword-Society" (小刀會), an offspring of the "Triad Society" (三點會). As a consequence; the native custom establishment ceased to operate; no duty was collected on cargo, and vessels were not properly cleared. To remedy this condition of affairs, an arrangement was effected in 1854 between Taotai Wu of Shanghai and the three treaty consuls of Great Britain, France

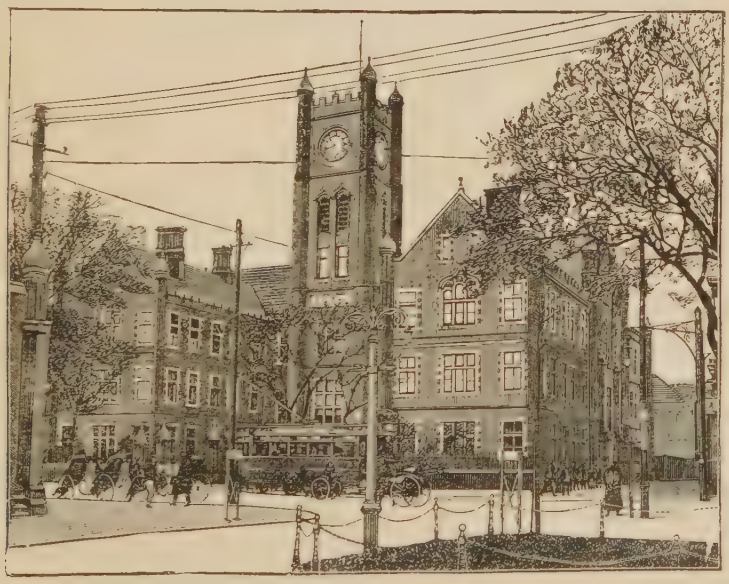
and the United States of America. A customs board of three members, one to be appointed by each of the consuls, was created with full power to perform all such duties as properly belonged to the native custom house. After a short time, the Board of Three was merged into one Inspector-General authorized to supervise the working of the several custom houses in South China, Mr. H. N. Lay being the first incumbent. Thus out of the Taiping Rebellion there sprang up the beginning of an institution which to-day lights and patrols the coast of China, collects her revenue, and controls her postal service.

The likin system, a sort of internal transit charge, also owes its birth to the Taiping Rebellion. At the outset it was a war measure, devised to support the army of Ts'êng Kuo-fan and others engaged in suppressing the Taipings, and collected a thousandth part on all sales. But as there are different rates at different places many abuses have crept into the system. The likin to-day is a burden on trade, and, in spite of the efforts of Chinese and foreigners, it has not yet been abolished. It means an income to the Government as well as to those who have anything to do with its collection, and, for this reason, a temporary measure seems to have come to stay.

CHAPTER LV

THE SECOND FOREIGN WAR

Anti-Foreign Feeling at Canton.—In four of the five ports opened by the Treaty of Nanking, comparatively little trouble was met with by foreigners. At Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow and Amoy large "concessions," or "settlements," sprang up, trade flourished, and foreigners, to a certain extent, were permitted to have access to the native authorities and their yamens. But the case of Canton, then the southernmost port, was different. Foreign residence at Canton was restricted to an area of about 21 acres, as against 470 acres at Shanghai. While the Shanghai "concession" was large enough to meet the needs of the foreign population, it was not so at



Custom House, Shanghai

Canton, which, at that time, had three times as many foreigners as the former place. Many times, the foreigners attempted to extend their small concession, but the Cantonese would not have it. Nor would they allow the foreigner to enter their walled city. They were resolved to resist the foreign demand by force, if necessary;

and, as a consequence, anti-foreign placards were freely posted throughout the city, the enlistment and drilling of the militia went on quietly, and insults to foreigners became of frequent occurrence. Ch'i-ying, the Imperial High Commissioner, found himself utterly powerless to cope with the situation. He knew that under the Treaties, the foreigner was entitled to enter the city; but he was afraid to say so in the face of the popular feeling. In a dispatch addressed to Sir John Davis, Governor of Hongkong,—and in those early days also British Minister and Superintendent of Trade,— he said: "Two years from this date (April 6, 1847) British officers and people shall have free entrance into the city." The governor accepted the promise in good faith, little knowing that it was a promise Ch'i-ying never intended to keep.

Ch'i-ying Succeeded by Hsü Kuang-chin.—At his own request, Ch'i-ying was soon relieved of his post at Canton, and was succeeded by Hsü Kuang-chin (徐廣縉), a man who was as anti-foreign as the former was pro-foreign. Hsü deliberately broke the promises of his predecessor when the time came for the British officers and people to have free entrance into Canton, and permitted nothing of the kind to take place. The British Government at the time was not ready for war. On April 9, 1849, Sir G. Bonham (文翰), Governor of Hongkong, wrote: "The question at issue rests where it was, but it must remain in abeyance." That foreigners were barred from Canton in spite of Ch'i-ying's promise was very pleasing to the Court at Peking; and by an edict of May 7, 1849, Hsü was rewarded with the fourth order of the Chinese nobility (子爵), and with the privilege of wearing the Double-eyed Peacock Feather (雙眼花翎); while Yeh Ming-ch'ên (葉名琛), Governor of Canton, was given the fifth order of nobility (男爵), and the privilege of wearing the Single-eyed Peacock Feather. The readiness with which these unwarranted high honors were bestowed showed that the Emperor Hsien Fêng did not expect his ministers to carry out treaty obligations; but deliberately encouraged them to become anti-foreign in dealing with other nations.

The Question of Treaty Revision.—Both the French and American treaties contained a provision to the effect that they would be open to revision after a period of twelve years. The treaties therefore would expire by limitation in 1854. Although the British had no such stipulation in their own treaty, they could claim the right to revision under the most-favored-nation clause. In other words, the several foreign governments were agreed that their relations with China needed alterations at many points, and were unanimous in insisting upon the revision of their treaties. The only channel through which they could approach the Chinese Government on the subject was the Imperial High Commissioner at Canton; and that important official was now Yeh Ming-ch'ên. Bigoted and ignorant, he was either "too busy" with "military affairs" to grant an interview to foreigners, or could see no need to revise the treaties. No eloquence, or threat, could convince him of the obligation China had contracted. On several occasions the foreign representatives proceeded to Shanghai with a view to communicating with the Central Government through the Viceroy of the Liang Kiang; but in this they never succeeded. Yeh was the only man under the Imperial Government who was permitted to have anything to do with foreigners, and to him they were invariably referred. During all this time, the British Government did not drop the question of the entry into Canton; but her Consul, H. S. Parkes (巴夏禮), met with no more success than his predecessors.

The Lorcha Arrow.—For some time piracy had once more been rife on the estuaries of Canton. To avoid capture by the pirates, many Chinese vessels had availed themselves of certain laws of Hongkong which permitted their registration and use of the English flag. One of these was the Lorcha Arrow, the property of a Chinese merchant of Hongkong. While lying off the city of Canton, a number of Chinese officers and men boarded her for the purpose of searching for a certain notorious pirate. They also hauled down the English flag and carried away the entire crew of twelve men (Oct. 8, 1856). When the facts were made known to the British Consulate, Mr. Parkes demanded the return of the crew

and the firing of a national salute of twenty-one guns as an apology for the insult done to the English flag. After much delay and correspondence, the men were returned; but no apology was offered. The Consul, therefore, declined to receive the crew; and the case passed into the hands of the British naval authorities.

Hostilities at Canton.—During the closing days of the year 1856 (Oct. 27-Dec. 29), the English seized the forts guarding the approaches to Canton and frequently bombarded the city itself. Enraged but helpless, the Cantonese retaliated by setting fire to the defenceless factories and reducing them all to a heap of smoking ruins (Dec. 14). The hostilities were strictly local in character, and the relations between foreigners and Chinese at the other ports remained friendly and practically unchanged.

England and France Become Allies.—The new situation created by the Arrow incident was the subject of Parliamentary debates in England. The English Government, or cabinet, was upheld in the House of Lords, but was defeated in the House of Commons. The Premier, Lord Palmerston, then dissolved the Parliament and appealed to the country. In forty days, he was returned with a large majority. War was declared, and invitations were addressed to America, Russia and France asking them to join England in the coming struggle. Inasmuch as America and Russia were both anxious to open up China, they did not see their way clear to declare war upon her. But as France had been unable to secure any satisfaction from China for the murder of a French missionary* at Silin (西林), Kuangsi, she consented to become the ally of England. Lord Elgin (額爾金) and Baron Gros (噶羅) were then appointed Plenipotentiaries for England and France respectively; and, in the hands of these two men, the conduct of the war rested.

Canton Captured and Yeh Ming-ch'ên Made Prisoner.—The Indian Mutiny having necessitated the diversion of some of the forces destined for China, the allies were not ready to begin operations at Canton until December 1857. Fresh demands in

* Père Chapdelaine.

the name of the Plenipotentiaries and covering the several points at issue were now addressed to the Imperial High Commissioner. Yeh Ming-ch'ên was too haughty to grant these demands, but he was unprepared for the war. It is stated that he had consulted an oracle which told him that all the trouble would be over by the 30th of December. His faith in the oracle was so great that he refused to do anything to put the city of Canton in a state of defense. He was several times asked by his colleagues to take precautions. His answer on all these occasions was always the same: "There will be no trouble after the 30th of Dec." But the trouble came. At 6 a.m. December 28th, 1857, the allied fleet bombarded Canton. At 7 o'clock an attacking party, consisting of about 6,000 English and French marines and sailors, landed. The next day, December 29th, the allies were in complete possession of Canton, and had had only fifteen killed and 113 wounded. The only attempt to save the city was made by Lieutenant Têng An-pang (千總鄧安邦). The Tartar-General, Muktahna (穆克德納), commanding the Manchu garrison was the first to hoist the white flag. Thus in a sense the trouble was all over before December 30th; but the foreigners had taken Canton. On Jan. 14, 1858, Yeh Ming-ch'ên, whose folly had brought this war upon China, was discovered and sent on board the H. M. S. Inflexible. Later on he was removed to Calcutta, where he died an exile the following year. For the next three years, Canton remained under the government of a joint commission composed of three foreigners.

Renewed Attempts at Treaty Revision.—With Canton in their hands, the allies again sought to open communications with the Peking Government respecting the revision of treaties. In this peaceful attempt to secure better relations with China, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were joined by Mr. Reed, Commissioner of the United States of America, and Count Putiatin, the Russian Envoy, and all of them proceeded to Shanghai. Their simultaneous notes, identical in import and all addressed to Yü Ch'êng (裕誠), Senior Grand Secretary, were forwarded to Peking by Viceroy Ho Kuei-ch'ing (何桂清), of Liang Kiang, who was then at Changchow,

owing to the occupation of Nanking by the Taipings. The replies from Peking returned through the same channel and told the English, French and American envoys to apply to the Viceroy at Canton for what they wanted. As the Russians had never had a share of the maritime trade at Canton, their minister was told to apply to the Governor of Heilungkiang. The four envoys would not do what they were told; but proceeded further north, two representing belligerents, and two neutrals. At Taku, situated at the mouth of the Peiho, they were met by three commissioners, including T'an T'ing-hsiang (譚廷襄), Viceroy of Chihli. None of these commissioners was clothed with full powers, and for this reason both Lord Elgin and Baron Gros refused to have anything to do with them. Negotiations were, however, opened with the American and Russian envoys. The allies were of course in no wise bound by the action of the latter; and consequently hostilities were renewed by the taking of the forts at Taku. With these forts in their possession, they forced their way up the Peiho to Tientsin. There the allies met new commissioners who were able to produce the necessary credentials. These were Grand Secretary Kueiliang (桂良) and President Huashana (花沙納), with whom negotiations were opened.

The British Treaty of Tientsin.—The negotiations on the part of Great Britain were, for the most part, stormy; and were carried on by Mr. Bruce, the Secretary, and Messrs. Lay and Wade, the Interpreters to Lord Elgin's Embassy. "Mr. Lay, the Senior Interpreter, more particularly had a temper and did not hesitate to give free play to his natural disposition in the presence of the Chinese Commissioners!" We have further the words of Lord Elgin, as to the mode of the negotiations. "We went on fighting and bullying, and getting the poor commissioners to concede one point after another.....Though I have been forced to act most *brutally*, I am China's friend in all this." The above quotations show how helpless the two Chinese commissioners were at Tientsin. The treaty, commonly known as the English Treaty of Tientsin, was signed on June 26, 1858. It consisted of 56 articles, of which the following were the more important ones:

1. Opening of more seaports in the interior of China to foreign trade (three ports on the Yangtze between Hankow and the Sea to be thrown open, after the region should have been cleared of the Taipings).

2. Foreign residence at Peking.

3. Toleration of Christianity.

4. Payment by China of a war indemnity of Tls. 4,000,000.

The Customs Tariff.—The question of the Customs Tariff was left open; but was taken up and settled at Shanghai in the following November. When this arrangement was made part of the treaty, China was deprived of her free will in the matter of import and export duties; and from that day to this she has not been able to adopt any measure looking to the improvement of her customs revenue without the consent of foreign governments. While the other governments made separate treaties with China, the work of revising the tariff was left largely to the English, because their trade was the largest. Count Putiatin, having little concern with the marine trade, had returned to Russia; and Mr. Reed and Baron Gros agreed with Lord Elgin's schedule of the new tariff. After the revision of the tariff, Lord Elgin made a trip to the Yangtze ports, most of which were then held by the Taipings, and then returned to England.

The French and Other Treaties.—On June 27, 1858, Baron Gros signed the French treaty of 42 articles. The indemnity provided was less by one half than that of the British treaty; but otherwise the two documents were very much the same in general import. The Russian treaty of 12 articles, signed on June 13th, and the American treaty of 30 articles, signed on June 18th, called for no indemnity; but by the most-favored-nation clause, they were interlocked with those of the allies.

The Russian Treaty of Aigun.—Fifteen days prior to the signing of the Russian Treaty of Tientsin, a far more important international instrument was signed by Prince Yishan (奕山) and the Russian Governor-General of Eastern Siberia. By this treaty

China surrendered to Russia all the territory on the north bank of the Amur, which was the land the Treaty of Nerchinsk had given to her, and agreed to leave for future settlement the region beyond the Ussuri. The Treaty of Aigun, as it is commonly called, therefore marked the beginning of Russian encroachment upon Manchuria.

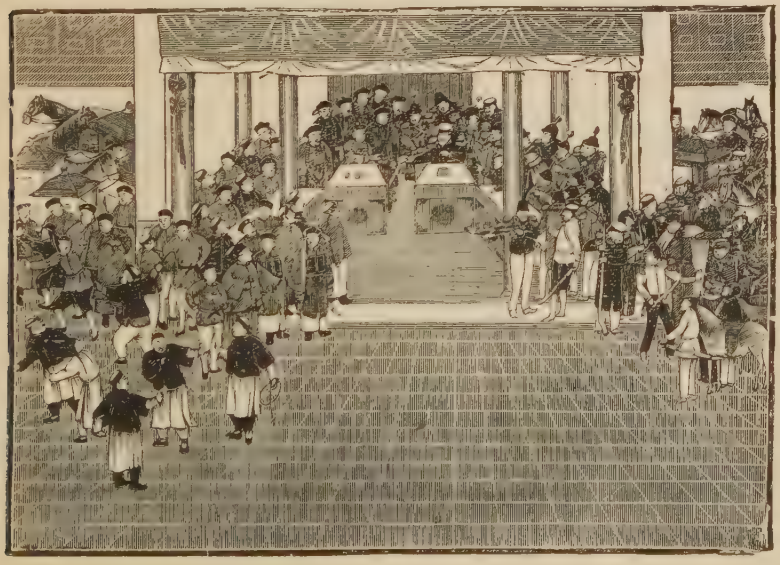
Death of Ch'i-ying.—While the peace negotiations were still pending, Ch'i-ying, who had been deprived of all his honors and offices soon after the accession of Hsien Fêng, appeared at Tientsin. He sought an interview with Lord Elgin on the strength of his appointment as an associate Commissioner, but the English envoy refused to treat with him. Feeling that his chance of usefulness was rather small, he returned to Peking on his own authority. For this he was sentenced to death; and thus was finally forsaken by his government, as well as by foreigners whom he had tried hard to please during his régime at Nanking and Canton.

Exchange of Ratifications; Repulse of the Allies at Taku.*—The several treaties of Tientsin all provided that the exchange of ratifications should take place within one year. With the exception of the American treaty, Peking was named in all of them as the place of exchange. When the time arrived, General Ignatieff, the Russian Minister, went to Peking by way of Kiakhta and effected the exchange without trouble. Mr. Ward, the representative of the U.S.A., after an unsuccessful visit to Peking, consented to attend to the matter at Pehtang, as his treaty did not bind him to any particular place. Mr. Bruce and M. de Bourborlon, the British and French Ministers, respectively, could of course accept no place other than Peking. Nor would they consent to go to Peking by any other route than by Taku. As they could not come to an agreement with the

* According to the usage with civilized nations treaties must be approved or ratified by the sovereigns, of the contracting nations, and the copies bearing their signatures or seals, exchanged.

Chinese, the allied fleet of thirteen gunboats forced their way through the mouth of the Peiho, knowing nothing of the fortifications that had been recently erected at Taku under the directions of Prince Sengalintsin, of the Kortsin Mongols (科爾沁王僧格林沁). In the engagement that ensued six of the gunboats were rendered incapable of action, 4 of them being sunk, 25 sailors and 64 marines were killed, and 93 sailors and 252 marines were wounded. Among the severely wounded was Admiral Hope of the British Fleet. The naval authorities having declared their inability "to remove the obstacles opposed to your (minister's) entry at the mouth of the Peiho," nothing remained for the English and French envoys but to return to Shanghai.

Occupation of Peking.—In 1860, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros returned to China as Ambassadors. They were supported in their journey to Peking by an allied army of about 18,000 men, of which 7,000 were French. The allied forces landed at Pehtang (August 2, 1860), because the place was practically undefended. Ten days later an engagement took place at Sinho when the Chinese were defeated. The flower of the Mongolian horsemen,



Treaty Making, Peking

the pride of Prince Sengalintsin, was annihilated. On Aug. 21st, the Taku forts, impregnable from the front, were attacked in the rear and taken. Four days later, the city of Tientsin was also in the hands of the allies. Prince Sengalintsin then prepared an ambuscade at Tungchow, but it was a failure. He had to content himself with the arrest of Mr. Parkes and party, who had come to Tungchow under a flag of truce to discuss terms of an armistice with Prince I (怡親王). The foreign prisoners were interrogated, tortured and carried to Peking, where they were locked up until October 22, several of them having meanwhile died in the prison.

After the battles of Changchiawan (張家灣) and Palichiao (八里橋) (Sept. 18-Sept. 21), in both of which the allies were victorious, there was nothing to prevent their advance upon Peking. On October 13th, Peking, for the first time, was in the hands of European soldiers. Hsien Fêng and his court had fled to Jehol. By Lord Elgin's orders the Emperor's favorite resort, the Yüan Ming Yüan* (圓明園), was burned to the ground, the palace having been previously mercilessly plundered by the French troops. Whatever may have been the excuse for these barbarous acts, history will surely view them in the light of vandalism.

Treaties of Peking (1860).—In the absence of the Imperial Court, the responsibility of concluding the final peace rested on Prince Kung (恭親王), the Emperor's younger brother. The net result of his efforts was the British Treaty of Oct. 24th, and the French Treaty of Oct. 25th; both of which were signed in the Hall of the Board of Rites. The ratifications of the Tientsin Treaties were exchanged at the same time that the new treaties were signed. The main points in the two new treaties were identical. The Emperor of China expressed his regrets for the "misunderstanding" at Taku; the war indemnity was increased

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* The palace had been constructed under the supervision of the Jesuits and no little foreign architecture was employed.

PRINCE KUNG

to Tls. 8,000,000 for each of the allies; Chusan, Tientsin, Taku, Chefoo, and Canton, then held by the allies, were to beevacuated after a certain length of time; and Tientsin was to be added to the list of open ports. By the British treaty, China ceded to the British Crown in perpetuity the tongue of land known as Kowloon Point, projecting into and dominating the Hongkong harbour. The French treaty, which provided for no cession of territory, had a clause in the Chinese text, said to have been surreptitiously inserted, giving the Catholic missionaries a right to own property in the interior of China.

Russian Negotiations in Peking.—Early in 1860 General Ignatieff had been directed to demand from China the cession of the Trans-Ussuri Territory. Russia offered to supply China with cannon and small arms which were needed in the suppression

of the Taiping Rebellion; and hinted that, in case of her refusal, she would send a Russian fleet to Pehtang. During the peace negotiations at Peking, the Russian minister offered his good offices as a sort of mediator, and in the hour of embarrassment they were gladly accepted by Prince Kung. When peace was restored General Ignatieff came with a claim for compensation, and obtained the signature, which had been previously withheld, to the cession of the desired territory. The Trans-Ussuri Territory is to-day the Russian province of Primorsk. Thus out of the war with the allies, Russia, always professing to be a friend of the Manchus, had secured a much larger slice of territory than England.

Legalization of the Opium Trade.—If China had proved herself utterly incapable of stopping the importation of opium, she had been under no obligation to admit it to the ruin of her people. This was no longer the case when the Rules of Trade, prepared at Shanghai in 1858, came into force. Under these regulations, opium was to be admitted at every port open to foreign trade, upon payment of an import duty of Tls. 30 per picul. This was less than the duty levied in London upon Chinese tea and silk. In other words, the trade in opium had become legalized. In 1840 the total consumption of opium in China was estimated at 15,619 chests. Twenty years later, the estimated consumption had reached 47,681 chests. The Americans alone can boast of a treaty (Art. 2, Treaty of Peking, 1880), which contains a provision against the importation of this deadly poison. This stands as an everlasting monument to America's high sense of justice.

The Tsungli Yamen.—In consequence of the Tientsin and Peking treaties a new department was created by an edict of Jan. 19, 1861. This was the Tsungli Yamen, which was to deal with foreign affairs, since it was no longer possible to confine foreign intercourse to the port of Canton, or to any other port newly opened to trade. The Tsungli Yamen, however, was more than a foreign office. It was a most important body down to 1901, and second

to none in rank except the Grand Council. It had supervision of the Customs revenue, of modern education, of the construction of arsenals and coast defences, of telegraph lines, and of such other things as did not properly pertain to the other Yamens.

In organization, the Tsungli Yamen bore close resemblance to the Grand Council. It had no officials belonging to itself alone; but was formed by the admission of members from other departments of the government. In 1876 all members of the Grand Council were also members of this Yamen. Prince Kung was its first president, and he held that office until his fall from power in 1884.

CHAPTER LVI

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE TAIPING REBELLION

New Taiping Leaders.—As will be remembered, the fortunes of the Taipings were at a low ebb in 1857. But China's war with the allies, the misfortune of Hsien Fêng, was T'ien Wang's opportunity, as it weakened the Government's position to no small extent. Moreover there had arisen among the Taiping's two new leaders, who, for a time at least, were able to defeat the Imperial troops in all quarters. They were Li Hsiu-ch'êng (李秀成) and Ch'ên Yü-ch'êng (陳玉成), or the Prince of Chung (忠王) and Prince of Ying (英王) respectively, as they were better known by their princely titles. It was largely due to their energy and devotion to the Taiping cause that the rebellion was granted a new lease of life after 1857.

The Disposition of the Imperial Forces (1858).—The Imperial troops engaged to the suppression of the rebellion in 1858 were:—

1. The Great Army of Kiangnan (江南大營) under the command of Generals Ho Ch'un (和春) and Chang Kuo-liang (張國樑), engaged in investing the city of Nanking.

2. The Great Army of Kiangpei (江北大營) under the command of General Têhsinga (德興阿) with headquarters at Yangchow, charged with the work of preventing the Taipings from coming north.

3. The forces of Generals Pao Ch'ao (鮑超), Tuhsinga (都興阿) and Tolunga (多隆阿), engaged in investing Anking; and those of General Li Hsü-ping (李續賓), engaged in operations in North Anhui.

4. The army of Ts'êng Kuo-fan with headquarters in Kiangsi, busy with the desultory detachments of the Taipings on the Chekiang and Fukien border.

Battle of San Ho and Death of Li Hsü-ping.—In the second half of 1858, Prince Ying began to show his energy and skill. In the brief period of three months he took, or retook, Luchow (廬州), the second city in importance in Anhui, and a number of towns on the Hupeh border, and carried plundering expeditions as far east as

the city of Yangchow. But the greatest of his achievements was the severe blow he dealt to the Imperial cause at San Ho (三河). This town, about 50 *li* from Luchow, was a sort of military depot of the Taipings; and, to make it well-nigh impregnable, had a line of earthworks built around it. Governor Li Hsü-ping had evidently underestimated the strength of the enemy, or he would not have ventured so far north with Anking still in their possession. At any rate, he appeared before San Ho with his army in November. His men had been fatigued by the capture of the cities of T'ai Hu (太湖), Ch'ien Shan (潛山), Tung Ch'êng (桐城) and Shu Ch'êng (舒城); and had been greatly reduced in numbers by leaving a garrison in each of these places. His army had not had time to reduce all the earthworks about San Ho before there appeared an overwhelming force led by Prince Ying in person. Li Hsü-ping soon found himself completely surrounded, and before any succor could reach him, either from Hupeh, or from the army left before the walls of Anking, the little army of 6,000 men and its commander were ruthlessly cut down to the last man. Thus perished the flower of the Hunanese Volunteer Army and one of the best and most promising officers it ever had. The result was most disastrous to the Imperialists. The siege of Anking was voluntarily raised and the troops reluctantly retraced their steps into Hupeh. It was not until 1860 that the Imperial troops, after months of hard fighting in Kiangsi and South Anhui, once more laid siege to the stronghold of Anking.

The Taipings Break out of Nanking.—We must now turn our attention to Nanking, the capital of the Taipings. In the year 1858, the siege was pressed with unusual vigor by Generals Ho Ch'un and Chang Kuo-liang. The outposts of the Taipings about the city had one by one been carried by the Imperial troops and their plunder was about exhausted. Just at that time it fell to the lot of Prince Chung to save Nanking, as it had fallen to Prince Ying in the case of Anking. These were both remarkable men. Always following the line of least resistance, Prince Chung had on more than one occasion succeeded in eluding the Imperial commanders who tried to corner him. At one time, when he was commonly

supposed to be marching to the rescue of Anking, he suddenly appeared with a large force before Hangchow, which, save that portion occupied by the Manchu town, he easily captured. This occurred in March 1860. Hangchow, however, was not his real object. As soon as he heard of the approach of a large body of men, which General Ho Ch'un had sent to relieve the Manchu town, he voluntarily raised the siege and by a forced march returned to Nanking. As he had expected, he found on his arrival that the Imperial army before Nanking was much reduced by the number of men it had sent away. The time had arrived for the Taipings to free themselves. Accordingly between April 27 and May 3, they, under the directions of Prince Chung, delivered a well concerted attack on all the earthworks, behind which the Imperial troops had entrenched themselves, and drove them out with the loss of all their guns, stores and equipment. Overcome by the fearful slaughter, both Generals Ho Ch'un and Chang Kuo-liang committed suicide, the latter at Tanyang (丹陽), and the former at Changchow (常州). These and a number of other cities which stood in the way of the Taipings now fell in rapid succession; and Soochow, the gubernatorial city of Kiangsu, was taken on June 3rd.

Ho Kuei-ch'ing (何桂清), Viceroy of Liangkiang, who had made Changchow the temperary seat of his government, fled in a most dastardly manner to Shanghai, leaving his junior colleague, Hsü Yu-jên (徐有壬), Governor of Kiangsi, to perish with the fall of Soochow. He was arrested for his cowardice and sent a prisoner to Peking, where he was decapitated in 1862.

Having freed themselves from the Imperial Army at Nanking, the Taipings, in another year, had overrun the whole of South Kiangsu and also Chekiang province, a rich country hitherto unmolested. After seven years, the Taipings had at last reached the sea. They had also come into contact with men from whom they soon obtained better arms and better plans for maintaining their struggle with the Manchu Government.

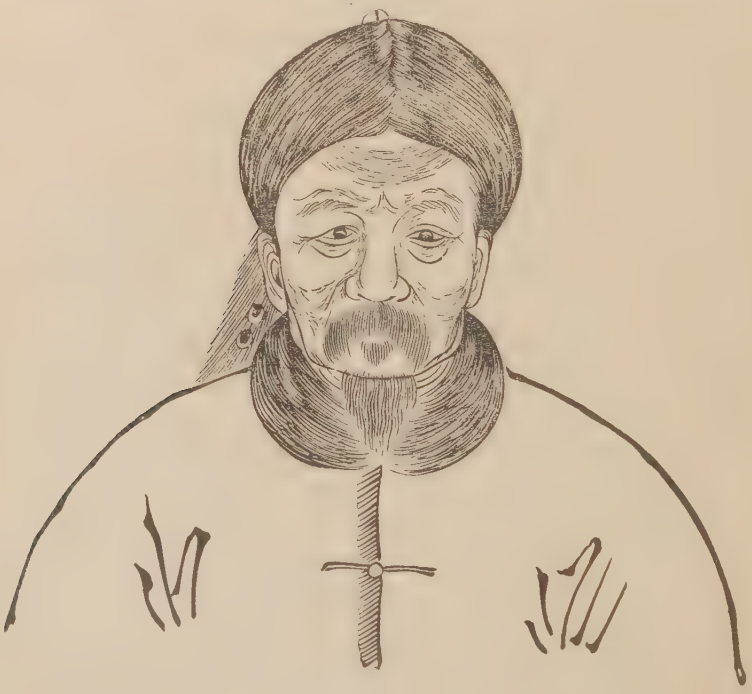
Ts'êng Kuo-fan's appointment as Viceroy of Liangkiang and Imperial High Commissioner.—It now became necessary

for the Government to appoint successors to Ho Kuei-ch'ing and General Ho Ch'un; and the choice of the Emperor Hsien Fêng at that critical moment fell upon Ts'êng Kuo-fan. No better choice could have been made. Ts'êng Kuo-fan, the father of the Hunanese Volunteer Army and the Yangtze fleet, had long before established a name for himself. Time and again had he been defeated at the hands of the Taipings; but each defeat, instead of discouraging him, only served to stimulate him to renewed efforts. He was a man in whom the Hunan soldiers had full confidence. Inasmuch as the Government needed the support of these men, she could not afford to keep him in an unimportant position. Hence Ts'êng Kuo-fan became at once the Viceroy of Liangkiang and Imperial High Commissioner. Hitherto his military achievements, as a rule, had been dependent upon the goodwill of the viceroy or governor in whose territory he happened to be fighting. The reason for this is not far to seek. Under the official system of the Ta Ch'ing Empire, as it existed in the days of the rebellion, the responsibility for feeding, clothing, and providing for the soldiers, rested upon the Viceroys and Governors of the provinces; and, unless an Imperial High Commissioner was also a viceroy, or governor, he was without direct authority to provide for the support of his own men. The new appointment of Ts'êng Kuo-fan was exactly what he wanted.

Ts'êng Kuo-fan's Plan.—The new Viceroy was in no hurry to make a demonstration of force before Nanking. He told his Emperor that the forces, then detained before Anking, should, under no circumstance, be sent for service elsewhere. He must have Anking as his base and the complete control of the Yangtze before he could take Nanking. The Emperor endorsed his views. While waiting for the arrival of additional troops from Hunan and Hupeh, Ts'êng Kuo-fan now made Ch'i Mên (祈門), a small town south of Anking, his temporary headquarters, and entrusted the work of reducing Anking to his brother, Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan (曾國荃).

Fall of Anking.—With no Imperial army at Nanking to contend with, and with the best part of Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces in their possession, the new year found the situation of the

Taipings much improved. They at once hastened to Ch'i Mên, where they hoped by keeping the Viceroy a prisoner in his own chosen position to cause his brother, Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan, to raise the siege of Anking of his own accord. For two months (Feb. and March 1861), the Viceroy was actually cut off from communication and from his base of supplies; but in their hope of saving Anking, the Taipings were disappointed. At a moment when destruction seemed certain, Generals Pao Ch'ao, Tso Tsung-tang (左宗棠) and



TSO TSUNG-TANG

Chang Yün-lan (張運蘭) brought up the much needed reinforcements. The country about Ch'i Mên then became the scene of many a bloody battle with the result that the Imperialists succeeded in extricating their beloved Generalissimo from his perilous position. After this signal defeat of the Taipings, the city of Anking was doomed. It succumbed to the efforts of Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan and his men on Sept. 5, 1861. Its fall was the turning point in the war.

During the next three years, Anking became the seat of the Viceregal government. It was to this city that the various armies operating in Anhui, Chekiang, Kiangsu, and Kiangsi looked for instructions; and it was in this city, too, that Ts'êng Kuo-fan made and unmade viceroys and governors of the neighboring provinces.

Imperial Palace at Jehol, in which the Emperor Hsien Fêng died in 1861.
("Tramps in Dark Mongolia")

Death of the Emperor Hsien Fêng: Appointment of the Empresses as Joint Regents.—Six days after the fall of Anking, death overtook the Emperor Hsien Fêng at Jehol, whither he had fled with his court on the arrival of the English and French troops at Peking. His death left his throne to his only child, a boy of six years. For a couple of years all the power of the government had been in the hands of Su Shun (肅順), an imperial clansman, and his power was especially to be dreaded at Jehol. Now, that his august sovereign was dead, his design was to preserve the boy-emperor and to make away in secret with his mother, the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi (慈禧), as well as the Empress Tz'ŭ An (慈安), the widow of Hsien Fêng. Fortunately at this juncture, Prince Kung, who had come all the way from Peking to assure the Empresses of his sympathy, appeared upon the scene. At the interview granted to him at Jehol, a scheme to bring the court back to Peking was quietly agreed upon. This scheme worked most smoothly; and, on Nov. 1st, 1861, the youthful monarch and the Empresses entered the capital

in state. Once more in Peking and surrounded by loyal Princes and Ministers, their Majesties, the Empresses, asserted their authority. Su Shun, who had appointed himself Regent, was arrested and sent to the market place, while Prince I (怡) and Prince Chêng (鄭), or Tsai Yüan (載垣) and Tuan Hua (端華), as they had now been deprived of their titles, were ordered to commit suicide. For the first time in the history of the Manchus, the Empresses were appointed joint Regents. Inasmuch as Tz'ŭ Hsi was the concubine of Hsien Fêng, she had to occupy a secondary place behind the screen. Nevertheless she was the real power in the Government. By an edict issued in the name of the Regents, the designation of the Emperor's reign was changed from Ch'i Hsiang (祺祥) to T'ung Chih (同治). The former had been given by Su Shun and consequently was considered unlucky.

For the part Prince Kung had played in bringing about the downfall of Su Shun, he was made Prince Councillor (議政王) and head of the Grand Council. His appointment was an innovation in the annals of that august body, for no prince of the blood had served in that capacity before his time.

In the death of the Emperor Hsien Fêng, Ts'êng Kuo-fan lost a personal friend. But the newly-formed Government had undiminished confidence in him and clothed him with unprecedented power to deal with the situation in the South.

Death of Prince Ying.—In May 1862, Luchow, which had been Prince Ying's home, was also lost to the Taipings, and he, rendered homeless, fled with the remnant of his followers to Shouchow (壽州) to seek hospitality at the hands of his friend, Miao P'ei-lin (苗沛霖); but this man proved to be the worst enemy he ever had. Finding Prince Ying under the influence of liquor one night, Miao P'ei-lin had him bound and carried a prisoner into the camp of a Manchu general at Yingchow (潁州), North Anhui. Later Prince Ying was in accordance with imperial orders put to death at Yen Tsin (延津), Honan, by the cruel lingering process. In his death, the Taiping cause lost one of its stoutest supporters.

The Ever-Victorious Army.—Two months after the capture of Soochow, Prince Chung reached Shanghai. This city would have been captured by the Taipings had it not been defended by English and French troops. When the danger was over, it occurred to the Shanghai Taotai to enlist foreigners in the service of his government. Before long, a motley force of foreigners and Chinese was formed, to which was given the name of Ch'ang Shêng Chün, or the Ever-Victorious Army. Frederick G. Ward (華爾), an American adventurer, became its first commander. The force rendered valuable service in 1862 in both Kiangsu and Chekiang. After the death of General Ward, who was killed at Tzi Khé, the

COLONEL GORDON

command of the force was given to Col. (then Major) Peter Gordon (戈登) (April 1862). The force numbered less than 5,000 men, and consisted of five or six infantry regiments of 500 men each and a battalion of artillery. General Ward was buried at Sungkiang, where a shrine was built to his memory by order of the Imperial Government.

The Volunteer Army of Anhui.—Upon the fall of Anking, the people of Kiangsu feelingly appealed to Ts'êng Kuo-fan for help; but the Generalissimo could spare neither officers nor men. That the fall of Anking had relieved a large army, was quite true; but this force had to follow the banks of the Yangtze and fight its way to Nanking. A new army, therefore, had to be raised; and at that critical moment, Ts'êng Kuo-fan thought of Li Hung-chang (李鴻章),

LI HUNG-CHANG

who had lived in obscurity since 1853. Li, who was instructed to raise an army of volunteers in his native province on the model of the Hunan army, returned in March 1862 with a large body of Anhui men, ready to share the laurels with their Hunan brethren.

This became the nucleus of the Huai Chün, or the Volunteer Army from the Huai Valley; and was officered by men transferred from the Hunan army, one of whom was General Ch'êng Hsüeh-ch'i (程學啓), a former Taiping Chief. With this force, Li Hung-chang sailed to Shanghai in April 1862, on board seven steamers specially chartered for that purpose. Almost immediately upon his arrival, he was made Governor of Kiangsu.

Capture of Soochow.—Li Hung-chang first busied himself with the defence of Shanghai and vicinity. The Taipings made two more efforts in 1862 to take Shanghai and Sungkiang by assault. The Ever-Victorious Army took part in almost every engagement. After the taking of Changsu (常熟), Taitsang (太倉), Fushan (福山) and K'unshan (崑山), Li Hung-chang was ready to attack Soochow. His plan as outlined in a memorial to the Throne was as follows:—One column was to march from K'unshan due west to Soochow; a second, assisted by a flotilla, was to go from Changsu by way of Kiangyin and Wusih; while a third, also assisted by a flotilla, was to move northward by way of Wukiang, Pingwang, and Taihu. After the preliminary work of carrying the Taiping outworks, Soochow was completely invested and cut off from communication with the North by Nov. 19, 1863. The Taiping Princes, seeing their hopeless situation, murdered their chief, the Mu Wang (慕王), and made peace overtures to General Ch'êng. On December 6th, the surrender was complete and the Taiping Princes came out of the city by special appointment to see Li Hung-chang, who caused them to be seized and ruthlessly put to death. That the surrender of Soochow was attended by this treachery, was most disgraceful; but the murder, according to General Ch'êng, was not a premeditated one. Since he had absolutely no faith in the Taiping Princes, he claimed to think that it was necessitated by the circumstances.

Disbandment of the Ever-Victorious Army.—The surrender of Soochow was followed by the capture of other cities in Kiangsu. After the fall of Ihing and Changchow, the Ever-Victorious Army was no longer needed and its career came to an

end. Li Hung-chang, feeling deeply indebted to Gordon, made a very good report of him to the Peking Government. Among the honors bestowed on him was the privilege of wearing the Yellow Jacket, a distinction bestowed upon a European for the first time.

The Lay-Osbourne Flotilla ; Sir Robert Hart and the Chinese Customs Service.—In 1863, a fleet of eight gunboats arrived from England under the command of Capt. Osbourne of the British Navy. They had been purchased by Mr. Lay, Inspector-General of Customs, for the Chinese Government, whose original intention was to employ them in operations against Nanking. Mr. Lay insisted that this fleet should be placed under the direct control of the Government, and should receive orders only through him; but the Tsungli Yamen at Peking could not see its way to comply with a demand entirely devoid of reason. As a consequence, the fleet took no part in the operations against Nanking, and the ships were finally sold.

After this affair, the Tsungli Yamen could not retain Mr. Lay in the Customs Service. He was accordingly dismissed and his place given to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Hart, the man to whom is due the credit of organizing an efficient service for China. At the time of his appointment, the Inspector-General had only seven ports under his supervision and the relations between him and the Commissioners of Customs were not clearly defined.

Tso Tsung-tang Becomes Governor of Chekiang.—About the same time that Li Hung-chang became Governor at Soochow, Tso Tsung-tang, another satellite and protégé of Ts'êng Kuo-fan, began to appear on the official horizon. After serving under the great Chief first in the capacity of private secretary and then in that of assistant commissioner, he was now assigned the work of clearing the Chekiang province of the enemy, and soon became its Governor. Gradually but steadily he fought his way from the Kiangsi border into his own province; and on March 30, 1864, Hangchow succumbed to his arms. Like Li Hung-chang, Tso Tsung-tang owed much of his success to foreigners, especially to

the French who took a prominent part in the attacks upon Ningpo and other cities in North Chekiang.

Fate of Hung Hsiu-chüan.—With the loss of Soochow, Hangchow and the greater part of Kiangsu and Chekiang, the cause of T'ien Wang was doomed. The only man who could save the situation was Prince Chung; but he was not trusted by his King, who had long since resigned the reins of government in favour of his two half brothers, Hung Jên-fa (洪仁發) and Hung Jên-ta (洪仁達). Prince Chung wanted his King to break out of Nanking, and lay the foundation of a kingdom in Szechuan, or Yünnan; but he would not listen to such a suggestion. Nanking was T'ien Wang's "Kingdom of Heaven"; and, according to him, it was nonsense to talk of dangers that were confronting such a kingdom. When approached by Prince Chung upon the subject of famine, all he would say was that his people should eat the "sweet dews."

At last T'ien Wang's faith in his own divinity was shaken; and on June 30, 1864, he poisoned himself. His death left his son Hung Fu-t'ien (洪福瑱), to become T'ien Wang the Second. The remains of the first T'ien Wang were afterwards dug up by the Imperial troops, mutilated and burned.

Fall of Nanking.—The "Kingdom of Heaven" survived its King and founder but a short time. On July 19th, the wall of Nanking was breached by the explosion of a mine, and the Imperial troops led by General Li Ch'ên-tien (李臣典) streamed into the city. But even then resistance did not cease, and street fighting continued throughout the whole day. When night came, Prince Chung, who was faithful to the cause of the Taipings to the last, with a thousand of the old Taipings, escorted Hung Fu-t'ien, T'ien Wang II, then a lad of sixteen, to a short distance beyond the city where they became separated. The Prince, having given his good pony to his youthful master, was soon overtaken and brought back to the city a prisoner. He wrote a full account of the Taiping Rebellion while in prison, and advised Ts'êng Kuo-fan to show more leniency to the Kuangsi men, lest they in

despair might prolong the struggle indefinitely. Ts'êng Kuo-fan was inclined to spare his life, but one little incident sealed his fate. One day as he was before the Imperial Commissioner answering questions, two other princes of the Taipings were brought into the room. The very moment they saw Prince Chung, they fell upon their knees to present their greetings. A prisoner, who continued to exercise such an influence over his old associates, was certainly a source of danger to the imperial cause; and he was therefore condemned to die by a lingering death.

More than seven thousand Kuangsi men were put to the sword in Nanking. The besieging army at the time of the capture of the city numbered 50,000 men, most of whom were soon disbanded. To reward them for their invaluable services, the Empresses made Ts'êng Kuo-fan a marquis, and his brother, Tseng Kuo-ch'üan, and Li Hung-chang, earls.

Capture of Hung Fu-t'ien.—Hung Fu-t'ien on his departure from Nanking made good his escape into Huchow, the only city in Chekiang then in the possession of the Taipings. Upon the fall of that city, he fled into Kiangsi, and continued to lead a wandering life until he was discovered in the mountains near Luchi in September and summarily put to death. The credit for his capture was largely due to Tso Tsung-tang; and he, too, was rewarded with an earldom.

After the fall of Nanking, desultory fighting continued for some time in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Kuangtung, Hupeh and Shensi; but by February 1865 no more was heard of the Taiping Rebellion.

The Manchus No Longer a Military Race.—Though the Manchus had ever enjoyed the reputation of being a military race, their energy had largely disappeared by the time of the Taiping Rebellion. One Manchu general after another had been sent by the Emperor Hsien Fêng against the Taipings; but in every case it was to meet his Waterloo. Finally the Emperor appealed to Tsê'ng Kuo-fan because he had satisfied himself that no Manchu was equal to the task. His tottering throne was saved in the end; but it was saved

by Chinese and not by Manchus. The Taiping war, for the most part, was a struggle between the peoples of the Two Kuang Provinces and those of the Two Hu Provinces. On the one side there were corruption and vice, on the other organization and system. It is not at all surprising that the former were made to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the latter.

Causes of the Imperial Success.—The causes that led to the final triumph of the Imperial Government over the Taipings were undoubtedly many; but only two require mention here. They were:—

1. Absence of distinction between Chinese and Manchus. Ever since the beginning of the Manchu rule in China, it had been the custom of the Government to subordinate Chinese to Manchus. No Chinese before the time of Ts'êng Kuo-fan had ever wielded the power that was invested in him after the elevation of T'ung Chih to the throne. During the rebellion even Ts'êng Kuo-fan himself was alarmed, and time and again he asked the Government to send a prince in his stead; but it was never done. In face of a great danger no distinction was made between Chinese and Manchus; and the result was such as we have seen.

2. Subordination of tradition and technicality to ability. It will be remembered that the Manchus made few alterations in the system of government when they came into China. They adopted the examination system of the Mings, a system which prevented honesty, ability and reform. As a rule no Chinese ever held responsible positions either in Peking, or in the Provinces, until he was 60 or 70 years old; and then his policy was to do nothing because he was unfit, both in body and mind, to do very much. The best he could do was to live according to tradition and follow precedents. Happily things were different in the early days of the reign of T'ung Chih. Tso Tsung-tang, a man who had taken the second literary degree, became Governor of Chekiang without any further formality; and Liu Yung (劉蓉) was made Governor of Shensi when he did not possess the official rank which would otherwise have qualified him for the post. Li Hung-chang and Liu K'un-i (劉坤一) were made rulers of provinces when they were hardly thirty years of age. It

was an age when tradition and technicality had to give place to ability. Ability can build up a strong government; but tradition and technicality always stand in the way of progress.

Conclusion.—The Taiping Rebellion, which sapped the life of China for fifteen years, was a civil war that brought about no compensating influence for the wilful destruction of life and property. During its progress, more than 600 cities and towns were laid in ruins; and trade, art, literature, and civilization all received a setback. It introduced no religious, political, or social reform in China. The smattering knowledge of Christianity that the early Taipings had, left no trace on their followers who did absolutely nothing towards the spread of this religion. Neither foreigners nor Chinese were sorry to see the whole movement stamped out in 1865.

Any man may unfurl the standard of rebellion; but it takes brains to build a sound government. The Taipings had but themselves to blame for their failure to overthrow the Manchus.

CHAPTER LVII

THE PERIOD OF RESTORATION

The Period.—The reign of T'ung Chih is commonly distinguished as the Period of Restoration. During the thirteen years (1862-1875) which comprised this reign, one rebellion after another was put down; but there was no foreign war to add to the worries of the Emperor, as had been the case with the two preceding rulers. The account of the Taiping Rebellion having been given elsewhere, it only remains for us to relate the events that took place after the taking of Nanking in the summer of 1864.

Suppression of the Niehfei.—In May 1865, Peking was startled by the news of the death of Prince Sengalintsin, who was slain at the head of his Mongolian horsemen by the Niehfei (捻匪). (This is a term applied to the mounted bandits, who had since 1853 spread carnage in the North, or more particularly in the provinces of Shantung, Honan, North Anhui and South Chihli. The term, according to some authorities, refers to the peculiarly shaped torches the bandits used at night, as they set out on their marauding expeditions.) Unlike the Taipings, the Neihfei had no higher aim than plunder; but having defeated one Imperial commander after another, they became a very real source of danger to the Manchu Dynasty. They owed their impunity principally to their swiftness. They would never fight a pitched battle, but would keep on retreating before an Imperial army until the soldiers were worn out by fatigue. Then suddenly they would turn upon their pursuers and deal them a severe blow. Such was their plan in the case of Prince Sengalintsin. The Prince had fought the Niehfei from province to province ever since the close of the war with the allies, and was, at the time of his death, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Manchu and Chinese forces in the three provinces of Shantung, Honan, and Chihli.

The death of the Prince brought Ts'êng Kuo-fan into the North. He was told to undertake what the Mongolian Prince and his predecessors had failed to do. As Ts'êng Kuo-fan had already grown tired

of his extraordinary power, he took with him, for the most part, regiments of the Huai Chün, instead of men from his own country. For some time, owing principally to lack of cavalry, he was not able to assume the offensive against the Niehfei. It appeared to him that the only way he could hope to deal successfully with the situation was to keep large bodies of men at all strategic points so as to prevent the Niehfei from escaping into rich territories to obtain supplies. He accordingly caused many strong defense works to be erected along the banks of the great waterways. In the following year, at his own request, he was relieved of his difficult task, and returned to his post at Nanking. Li Hung-chang then became his successor and faithfully carried out his scheme. About this time the Niehfei had lost much of their force, and the movement had split into two. The bandits of Shantung, led by one Jên Chu (任柱), had come to be known as Tung Nieh, or the Niehfei of the East; and those of Shansi, led by Chang Tsung-yü (張總愚), as Hsi Nieh, or the Niehfei of the West. The Niehfei continued to defy the authority of the Imperial Government till August 1868. In suppressing the movement known as Hsi Nieh, Tso Tsung-tang, who had recently been transferred to the Viceroyalty of Shenkan, also rendered valuable service.

Decapitation of Antehai in Shantung (1867).—We have seen that whenever there was a woman at the head of affairs in China, the ascendancy of the eunuchs was one of the logical consequences. So it was in the case of Tz'ŭ Hsi, the mother of T'ung Chih; and one of her favorite eunuchs was Antêhai. What his mission was when he left Peking on a visit to Canton, was perhaps known only to Tz'ŭ Hsi and himself. The Empress had evidently forgotten that there was a law which forbade the departure of eunuchs from Peking on pain of summary decapitation, or she would not have sent her favorite to his death. During those early days there was no regular steamer service between Tientsin and Shanghai, and travellers had to take the overland route which lay through a part of the Shantung province. The Governor of Shantung, Ting Pao-chên (丁寶楨), had been armed with secret instructions

from Peking, thanks to the fact that there were two Empresses-regent, and, in pursuance of these orders, he caused the eunuch to be arrested at Taianfu (泰安府). The eunuch was charged with having left Peking without permission and with having travelled on board two dragon boats with pomp and pageantry. It is stated that Tz'ŭ Hsi knew nothing of the arrest of Antêhai until an order had been issued for his decapitation, when it was of course too late for her to save his life. It is further alleged that Antêhai's death was in no small degree responsible for the subsequent downfall of Prince Kung and the strained relations between the two Empresses. After the removal of Antêhai, Li Lien-ying became the favorite eunuch of Tz'ŭ Hsi. She had learned her lesson, and never suffered this favorite to leave Peking. When she required things to be done outside of Peking, there were always men who could do them better than eunuchs.

The Burlingame Mission (1867).—The year 1867 was also memorable for the mission China sent out to foreign countries. This mission, which was the first one of its kind, consisted of one foreigner and two Chinese. The foreigner was the Hon. Anson Burlingame (蒲安臣), who had been United States Minister to China. The mission had instructions to visit eleven countries, including the United States, England, and the continental countries of Europe. When in 1870 Mr. Burlingame died at St. Petersburg, the mission was brought to an abrupt end. The other members of the mission were Chih Kang (志剛) (Manchu) and Sun Chia-ku (孫家穀) (Chinese), Customs Taotai and Secretary of the Board of Rites, respectively.

The Tientsin Massacre.—While the Burlingame mission was making favorable impressions wherever it went, the world was shocked by the news of the Tientsin Massacre. On June 21, 1868, an angry mob took possession of the city, and before the authorities succeeded in dispersing them, eleven foreigners, most of whom were French, were barbarously butchered; and the French Consulate, Cathedral, and Orphanage were destroyed. The immediate cause of this appalling crime was the circulation

of false reports charging the Sisters of Charity with having murdered Chinese children for the purpose of securing their eyes. That the responsibility did not rest entirely upon the Chinese, we have the evidence of the unprejudiced report of the American minister. The report bearing date of June 27th runs in part as follows:—"At many of the principal places in China open to foreign residence, the Sisters of Charity have established institutions, each of which appeared to combine in itself a foundling-hospital and an orphan asylum. Finding that the Chinese were adverse to placing children in their charge, the managers of these institutions offered a certain sum per head for all the children placed under their control or given to them, it being understood that a child once in their asylum, no parent, relative, or guardian could claim, or exercise any control over it. It has been for some time asserted by the Chinese and believed by most of the non-Catholic foreigners residing here that the system of paying bounties induced the kidnapping of children for these institutions for the sake of the reward. It is also asserted that the priests, or sisters, or both, have been in the habit of holding out inducements to have children brought to them in the last stages of illness for the purpose of being baptized.....In this way many children have been taken to these establishments in the last stages of disease, baptized there, and soon after taken away dead. All these acts, together with the secrecy and seclusion which appear to be a part and parcel of the regulations which govern institutions of this character everywhere, have created suspicions in the minds of the Chinese, and these suspicions have engendered an intense hatred against the Sisters."

Under such circumstances, nothing short of an official inspection of the premises would have been sufficient to avert the coming danger. This procedure was suggested to the French Consul by the Magistrate of Tientsin the day before the outbreak; but the latter refused to discuss the matter with him, because by treaty stipulation a consul was of a higher rank than a magistrate. The French Consul was one of the victims of the mob on the following day.

The news of the great massacre soon brought the naval forces of the leading powers to Tientsin; and the foreign ministers demanded the lives of the officials responsible for the outbreak. The dominant feeling in China was decidedly in favor of war; but the wiser counsels of Ts'êng Kuo-fan, who had been transferred from Nanking to Tientsin, and Li Hung-chang prevailed and the matter was amicably settled. Sixteen Chinese were decapitated and the Prefect and Magistrate of Tientsin banished. The Government also sent a mission to express her regrets to France for the occurrence, and paid an indemnity of Tls. 400,000 for the lives and property destroyed at Tientsin. Ch'ung Hou (崇厚), Commissioner of the Three Treaty Ports (三口通商大臣), and a Manchu of high rank, became the Chinese envoy. He left Peking in 1871 and returned in the following year.

Death of Ts'êng Kuo-fan.—Before the question of the Tientsin Massacre was finally disposed of, Ts'êng Kuo-fan was once more returned to his post at Nanking, which had now been made vacant by the assassination of Ma Hsin-i (馬新貽). Indeed for many years afterward the Nanking Viceroyalty was considered as belonging exclusively to Hunanese. In the summer of 1872, only shortly after his return from Tientsin, death put an end to the useful career of Ts'êng Kuo-fan. He was not only great on account of his own position, but also because he had elevated a number of men of his calibre and views to responsible places. Tso Tsung-tang, Li Hung-chang, Liu K'un-i (劉坤一), Pêng Yü-lin (彭玉麟), and a number of others, who stood out pre-ëminently in Chinese affairs towards the close of the 19th Century, were, as a matter of fact, his protégés and satellites. He it was who trained them and brought them up from humble positions. Li Hung-chang and Tso Tsung-tang succeeded to much of his power; but neither of them possessed his influence with the Chinese of the old school. To them, Ts'êng Kuo-fan was a philosopher and sage, as well as a great statesman and brilliant soldier. In spite of his power and influence, he remained to the last a most faithful friend of the Manchus. His death left a large gap which remained for a long time unfilled.

Marriage of T'ung Chih; End of the Regency.—On October 16, 1872, the Emperor was married to Alutê, a Manchu lady, amidst imposing ceremonies. According to the Chinese, as soon as an Emperor is old enough to take a wife, he is also old enough to govern an empire! Consequently it was arranged that T'ung Chih should assume the reins of government himself, and on February 23, 1873, the joint regency of the Empresses Dowager was declared at an end. The two Regents were certainly entitled to a rest, but the period of rest, as we shall see presently, was not destined to be a long one.

The First Imperial Audience.—For a long time, the foreign ministers had requested the privilege of seeing the Emperor. But every time the request had been met with the excuse that the Emperor was as yet a minor. Now that he himself had assumed the Imperial power it was no longer possible to deny the foreigners a privilege secured to them by the usage among civilized nations. Nor was it possible to require them to perform the *kowtow*. After prolonged negotiations between the Tsungli Yamen and the Legations, the reception at length took place on June 29, 1873, at Tzŭ Kuang Ko (紫光閣), the hall reserved for the reception of envoys from tributary states. The Japanese Ambassador, Soyeshima, was received first by himself, and immediately afterwards, the five ministers of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France, and Holland. This was the first instance in Chinese history when foreign envoys were admitted into the Imperial presence without ceremonies inconsistent with their representative character. Much satisfaction was expressed by foreigners at the time of the reception. It took them sometime to find out the history of the Tzŭ Kuang Ko, and when they did discover it, it was too late to make a correction.

Beginning of Reforms.—During the brief reign of T'ung Chih, a weak beginning was made in the matter of reforms. Arsenals were built in Foochow and Nanking, the Tung Wên Kuan (同文館) were established at Peking and Canton, mathematics was introduced in the examination system, and a party

of Chinese young men was despatched to the United States under the care of Dr. Yung Wing (容閎). With all these reforms, the names of Ts'êng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-tang and Li Hung-chang were closely identified.

The Mohammedan Rebellion in the Shenkan Provinces.—Ever since 1862, the Mohammedan population of the Shenkan Provinces had taken the law into their own hands and had reduced the Imperial authority to its lowest ebb. The Mohammedans of this region were descendants of foreigners who came to the aid of the T'ang Dynasty. They had lived side by side with the Chinese, but the latter had never learned to love them. The whole trouble arose in 1862 because of a quarrel between the Chinese and Mohammedan militia over some spoils. It was a spark that kindled a fire and before long the Mohammedans of all the various villages took up arms against the Chinese. Encouraged by the successes of their brethren in Chinese Turkestan, and the Taipings in the Yangtze Valley, they in course of time became quite a formidable foe of the Government. The latter could make but feeble efforts to re-establish her authority. The fact that the Mohammedans had been able to defy the efforts of two famous Generals, Tulonga and Yang Yo-ping (楊岳斌), before the arrival of Tso Tsung-tang, speaks well for their strength.

After the suppression of the Hsi Nieh, Viceroy Tso Tsung-tang was able to devote all his attention to the Mohammedans; and in two years he reported the restoration of peace within the boundaries of Shensi province. Meanwhile the Mohammedans of Kansu had massed all their strength at Suchow (肅州) for a final stand. After a number of desultory battles, Viceroy Tso brought up his army to lay siege to this, the last stronghold of the enemy. In February 1873, the Imperial troops captured a temple outside the walls and succeeded in preventing supplies from getting into the city. The siege was continued till October, when the poor half-starved garrison surrendered. All the chiefs and about four thousand of their men were then put to the sword.

The fall of Suchow was the end of the Mohammedan Revolt, so far as the two provinces of Shensi and Kansu were concerned. The work of Tso Tsung-tang, however, was by no means finished.

Condition of Chinese Turkestan.—The country between Suchow and Kashgaria was still the scene of trouble. In the Southern Route, Benzing Khan, the last surviving son of Jehangir, had advanced from Khokand into Kashgaria to make another effort to retrieve the last fortunes of his family; and he, in turn, had been displaced by a Khokhandian adventurer and soldier named Mohammed Gakoob, the defender of Ak Musjed against the Russians. In the Northern Route, Russia, availing herself of the anarchy resulting from a long civil strife between the Tarantchis and the Tunganis, had siezed Kulja, on a promise to return it when China should prove herself capable of maintaining order. In short, not a vestige of China's authority, or a sign of prosperity remained in the territory known as Chinese Turkestan. However the work of its re-conquest, which added much to the fame of Tso Tsung-tang, does not belong to the reign of T'ung Chih.

The Panthy Rebellion in Yünnan.—The year that marked the end of the Mohammedan Revolt in Suchow, was also distinguished by the suppression of the Panthy Insurrection in Yünnan. The Panthys were a Mohammedan tribe, who, taking advantage of the Taiping troubles, had gained complete possession of Western Yünnan. In 1867, Talifu was made their capital under the rule of Tu Wên-hsiu (杜文秀), the Sultan Suliemen of the French. Besieged by General Li and seeing no hope of escape, the insurgents in 1873 agreed to surrender Talifu on condition that if Tu Wên-hsiu gave himself up, the rest of the rebels should be spared. This having been agreed to by the Chinese, Tu, dressed in his royal robes, was carried into the Chinese camp, where he died almost immediately from the effect of the opium he had swallowed. The Chinese then in violation of their promise gave the city up to ravage and plunder, and a large number of people were ruthlessly massacred. Thus was the western part of Yünnan restored to China, after an interval of 18

years. During these years, Tu Wên-hsiu had received through the Burmese large supplies of arms and ammunition which enabled him to prolong the struggle. He had also sent his son to England to seek recognition and help; but before the young man returned, Talifu had been restored to China.

Japan Tries to Occupy Formosa.—Before the reign of T'ung Chih closed, war threatened to break out between China and Japan. In 1868, or 1869, a Loochoo (琉球) barque was wrecked on the eastern coast of Formosa; and its crew consisting of some 60 persons were ruthlessy put to death by savages, who had known no authority save their own. That part of the island was separated from the cultivated districts of West Formosa, and covered by impenetrable forests. On the ground that she had never exercised any control over them, China denied responsibility for the acts of the savages. But the Japanese, who took up the cause of the Loochoos, were not satisfied. The fact was that Japan wanted Formosa; and in the hope of annexing it she sent out an expedition in 1873 under General Saigo. This expedition landed at Sankiu and drove out the aborigines. China soon became alarmed at the aggressiveness of her neighbor whom she had hitherto looked down upon with contempt. She also sent ships and soldiers into Formosa, and appointed Shên Pao-chên (沈葆楨), of Foochow, to the chief command. War seemed inevitable, as the Chinese and Japanese in Formosa might come into conflict almost any day. Happily Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister, intervened in the interest of peace, and the matter was amicably settled between the Tsungli Yamen and the Japanese commissioners Yanagiwara and Okubo. Japan accepted Tls. 500,000 for her outlay in Formosa for roads, houses and defences, and agreed to retire from the island.

Annexation of the Loochoo Islands.—The absurdity of the claims advanced by Japan in behalf of the Loochoo sailors was further demonstrated by the arrival in Peking in 1873 of representatives from those islands bearing tribute to the Emperor. This mission, probably the last of its kind, undoubtedly caused

Japan to take drastic measures. Two years later she extended her prefectural system into the Loochoo Islands; and to-day they form a part of the Japanese Empire under the name of the Okinnawa Prefecture. China protested but to no avail. As late as 1880, General Grant (President of the United States 1869-1877), when visiting the Far East, tried to effect a compromise. A conference actually met in Peking and arrangements were made to divide the islands; Japan to have the Northern group and China, the Southern. On the eve of signing this agreement, however, the Chinese drew back, pleading lack of power to sign it. Perhaps it was considered better to lose the whole without a record than to retain a half with a record! At any rate, the Loochoo Islands are apparently lost to China for all time.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE SECOND JOINT REGENCY OF THE EMPRESSES (1875-1881)

Death of T'ung Chih.—Twenty-six months after his marriage, the Emperor T'ung Chih had an attack of small-pox to which he succumbed on January 12, 1875, without leaving any offspring. Nor had any arrangement been made as to who should succeed him in that event. Thus for the first time in the history of the Manchus, the Dragon Throne had become vacant without an heir. A conference of the princes of the blood and those who were entitled to express an opinion, was hastily convened under the auspices of the Empresses Tz'ŭ An and Tz'ŭ Hsi; and, to the surprise of all present, the choice fell upon a child hardly four years old, the son of Prince Shun (醇), the youngest brother of Hsien Fêng (咸豐). The fact was that while other candidates had as good a claim to the Throne, based upon the lineage of their fathers, the child selected, in addition to being a grandson of the Emperor Tao Kuang (道光), was also the son of a younger sister of the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi, whose decision carried the day.

Accession of Kuang Hsü.—On January 13, 1875, the infant son of Prince Shun became Emperor under the title of Kuang Hsü (光緒), which signifies "Glorious Succession." Who should become the regent or regents during the minority of the Emperor? To settle this question a precedent was not far to seek. The persons who had acted as regents for his predecessor with ability and success were both there. They not only possessed the experience, but were also in office; since by an edict of December 18, 1874, the Emperor T'ung Chih had declared his inability to rule, and had requested the Empresses Tz'ŭ An and Tz'ŭ Hsi to assume temporarily the reins of government. Inasmuch as the new Emperor was too young to express an opinion, it only remained for the princes and ministers to make a request, and the Empresses "reluctantly to consent." This formality duly observed, the re-establishment of the regency became an accomplished fact.

KUANG HSÜ

Death of the Empress Chia Shun.—About the time the two Imperial women were thus installed in their former positions, the widow of T'ung Chih had conveniently died. It is now a matter of common knowledge that she had not been in favor with the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi, and had been deliberately ignored during the progress of the negotiations that resulted in the elevation of Kuang Hsü. Her death took place on March 28, 1875. To her, who, in spite of her position, actually regarded her life as not worth living after the demise of her husband, will be given the sympathy of all ages. The future impartial historian may have something to say in connection with her death; but for the present we must attribute it to her grief over her bereavement. Owing to the fact that no burial ground had been prepared for

either the Emperor T'ung Chih or his widow, their funerals were delayed until 1879. After her death, she was given the posthumous name of Chia Shun (嘉順).

The Question of Succession.—The most peculiar feature of the appointment of Kuang Hsü was that he came to the Throne as the adopted son of Hsien Fêng instead of Tung Chih. Being both grandsons of Tao Kuang, it was of course out of the question to make Kuang Hsü son of T'ung Chih. But why was he chosen instead of one of the next generation? The decree of January 12, 1875, which gave him the Throne, provided that his first son, when born, was to become the adopted son of T'ung Chih. So far all was well and good. Nevertheless grave apprehensions were entertained by many that the adopted son might not necessarily be the heir to the Throne. In that event the house of Hsien Fêng would eventually become extinct and the line of succession be diverted to that of Prince Shun. To the Chinese mind, this was undesirable. So much importance was attached to this question that a Manchu censor boldly protested against the choice, though his memorial was ignored. In 1879, Wu K'o-tu (吳可讀), an under-secretary of the Board of Appointments (吏部主事), thought of a novel manner of presenting his protest on the same subject. He had deliberately waited till the funeral of T'ung Chih had taken place. Having attended the funeral ceremonies, he confided a sealed memorial to a priest with instructions to present it to the local authorities, and then committed suicide by taking a large dose of opium. As under-secretary of a board he had no right to present a memorial direct to the Throne, not to speak of addressing the Empresses on so important a subject. Had it not been for his suicide, his protest might never have reached its high destination. It had the desired effect, however, and brought forth another decree in the name of the Empresses, making it impossible to divert the line of succession as had been feared.

The Murder of Margary.—When Kuang Hsü ascended the Throne, China was on the verge of war with Great Britain.

The desire of the latter to open up a trade route into Yünnan, by way of Burma, was not a new one. As early as 1868 a small party of Englishmen penetrated as far north as Moumien, and was then obliged to retreat on account of the serious opposition it had aroused. The attempt was renewed in 1874. This time it was arranged that an officer conversant with the Chinese language and customs should be sent from the Legation at Peking to meet the expedition, which was under charge of Col. H. Browne, and conduct it to Hankow. The choice fell upon R. A. Margary, of the British Consular Service, who, equipped with passports from the Tsungli Yamen, arrived at Bhamo without molestation or accident (January 26, 1875). Then it was that rumors of determined resistance on the part of the natives of Yünnan began to reach Col. Browne. At this juncture, Mr. Margary went alone to investigate matters. He never returned; and, according to the best evidences available, he was murdered at Manyün (蠻允) February 20, 1875. Col. Browne's party was attacked on the next day and made to withdraw.

The Joint Commission.—When the death of Margary became known, the British Minister at Peking demanded full reparation, holding Ts'ên Yü-ying (岑毓英), the acting Viceroy of Yün-kuei, responsible for it. He also availed himself of the opportunity to press for settlement of several outstanding questions which had no connection with the case. After months of correspondence, a joint commission was appointed to investigate matters on the spot, Li Han-chang (李翰章), brother of Li Hung-chang, being one of the Chinese commissioners. No satisfactory conclusion was arrived at in Yünnan.

The Chefoo Convention.—In the following year, the British Minister threatened to break off diplomatic relations and actually left Peking in August; but on Sept. 13th at Chefoo he and Li Hung-chang signed a convention which averted the danger of war. China was to pay an indemnity of 200,000 taels, which included all claims of British merchants against the Chinese Government; to open four more ports for consular residence, besides six on the Yangtze

for the landing of goods; to send an Imperial letter to London expressing regrets for the Yünnan occurrence; and to publish throughout the Empire an Imperial proclamation enjoining upon the local authorities the responsibility of according due protection to foreigners travelling under Chinese passports. The treaty further required official intercourse to be conducted on a footing of perfect equality, and enacted new regulations respecting the opium trade and the collection of likin and transit dues. With regard to the trade of West China, which had prompted the Browne Mission, England was to station officers at Talifu, or some other place in Yünnan, to study trade conditions; and China was to facilitate the progress of an English party of exploration from Peking through Kansu and Kokonor, or by way of Szechuan, to Tibet.

Establishment of Chinese Legations and Consulates in Foreign Countries.—The year 1876 marked the establishment of the Chinese Legation in London. The plan, in fact, had been decided upon before the Yünnan case arose; but its developments caused the hurrying forward of the arrangements for the departure of the Chinese Minister, Kuo Sung-tao (郭嵩燾), a distinguished Chinese scholar and native of Hunan. It is of interest to note that the first man who had the honor of representing China abroad belonged to an anti-foreign province. The newly appointed minister eventually became the bearer of the Imperial letter provided for in the Chefoo Convention. In his staff there was an Englishman named Halliday Macartney, who was for many years an invaluable servant of the Legation. Other representatives were sent abroad, and legations were soon established in other countries. In those days, a Chinese minister was often accredited to several governments at the same time, and had authority to appoint, or remove consuls who were considered mere members of his embassy.

The Shanghai-Woosung Railway.—The first railway in China was a short line between Shanghai and Woosung, constructed under the supervision of an English Company. By the summer of 1876 it was open to traffic, and many foreigners thought that at no distant date China would be covered by a network of railways. In

this they were disappointed. The line having aroused the animosity of the Chinese, its operation had to be suspended under instructions from the British Legation at Peking. The Chinese Government then purchased the railway and permitted it to be torn up, in order that its materials might be transported to Formosa, where they were finally used in building up a road, owned by China. Notwithstanding this first attempt, the introduction of railway transportation in China had to be postponed to a subsequent date.

The Weihsing Lottery of Kuangtung.—Kuangtung, having enjoyed for a century or two a monopoly of China's foreign trade, was a great gambling center. The worst instance was undoubtedly the Weihsing (闈姓) lottery, a scheme based upon the practice of drawing the names of successful candidates at the triennial examinations. It had thousands of patrons from all walks of life, and in every part of the Empire; and thus brought the entire examination system into disrepute. The highest official in Canton, as well as the humblest inhabitant of an outlying village, was interested. Although the scheme was declared illegal by an Imperial decree in 1874, and severe penalties were pronounced against it, yet the evil continued to exist. On August 11, 1875, the Viceroy and several other high officials were stripped of their rank, or otherwise punished, for their connection with it. The lottery was then temporarily suppressed.

The Great Famine of Shansi.—The province of Shansi can boast of few waterways such as bless the South; and, from its peculiar physical character, is always dependent upon the rainfall for moisture and fertility. In 1878 a drought in this province produced a great famine. The fearful destruction of life was estimated at from nine and a half to thirteen million souls. The Government furnished food and supplies to the amount of Tls. 2,000,000, while private subscriptions were received from every part of the Empire. Even the charity of London and New York showed itself in sending money to China; and many missionaries gladly assisted in the relief work. Had it not been for the generous Governor, Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan (曾國荃), the famine might have worked even greater havoc

among the people. Nothing could better have illustrated the need of railways in China than this great famine; but the lesson was entirely lost on the Government.

First Stage of the Kashgarian Campaign.—During all the years of famine and foreign complications, China was prosecuting a frontier war with vigor and success. The fall of Suchow (肅州) in 1873 was the beginning of a campaign having for its object the recovery of the whole territory known as the New Dominion (新疆). By the time Kuang Hsü came to the Throne, preparations for its prosecution were far advanced towards completion; and General Chinshun (金順) had, under instructions of Tso Tsung-tang (左宗棠), crossed the desert by way of Uliasutai (烏理雅蘇) to the West. It was necessary to destroy the power of the Tungani before China could call Yacoob Beg to account; and Tso's plan was to seize the two cities of Barkul (巴里坤) and Hami (哈密) as the base of his future operations. Chinshun arrived before the walls of Barkul early in 1875; but met with no resistance. A few days later, Hami was also occupied. The leaders of the Tungani had gathered all their available forces for a final stand at Urumtsi (烏魯木齊) and Manas (瑪納斯). The work of opening direct communications with Suchow occupied the Chinese army for the whole of the next twelve months; and during this time the Chinese soldiers were made to till the ground as well as build fortifications.

With the year 1876 the arduous part of the campaign began. Urumtsi, about 300 miles west of Barkul, was the first object of attack. Chinshun, who had been joined by Liu Chin-tang (劉錦棠), Taotai of the Sining District (甘肅西寧道) and Commander of the Advance (總統前敵各營), now moved forward to Kuch'êng (古城), where he established a fortified camp and a powder factory. Towards the end of July the Chinese army resumed its march; and, between August 10 and 15, several battles were fought with results in their favor. After twenty-four hours' bombardment, the enemy's strong position at Gumti (古木地) was carried by storm, and some 6,000 men were said to have been slaughtered. Following up this victory,

Chinshun by a rapid march arrived before the city of Urumtsi which was evacuated without a blow. Manas, the next and last stronghold of the Tungani, after a siege of two months, during which several mines were sprung under its walls and several assaults were repulsed, surrendered on November 4, 1876. In an attempt to escape, its garrison, to the number of three thousand men, was cut down; but the women, children, and old men were spared by Chinshun's express orders. Thus was the Tungani movement, which was begun at Hochow (和州) in 1862, put down in 1876. The work was done before Yacoob Beg had time to come to the rescue of his northern friends.

Second Stage of the Kashgaria Campaign.—The next move of the Chinese was upon Turfan (吐魯蕃), the key to all the cities of Tienshan Nanlu. Here Yacoob Beg had gathered some 8,000 men with twenty guns for a stand, with his second son at the head of 6,000 men at Taksourn several miles to the rear. The forces to oppose these were the army of Chinshun at Urumtsi and that of General Chang Yao (張曜) at Hami. No fighting took place until the month of March. Then the Kashgarians were driven out of Pidjam by Chang Yao; and, after a battle, compelled to abandon Turfan. A second fight occurred at Taksourn, and again Yacoob Beg was defeated. The latter now retired with the remnant of his army to Korla, where he died May 1, 1877. One account says he died of fever; but another declares that it was poison administered by Hakim Khan Torah. His death simplified the reconquest of Kashgaria to a considerable extent. When his remains were taken to Kashgar, the capital, for interment, his eldest son, Kuli Beg, murdered his younger brother, Haikula, over their father's bier; and this was followed by a civil strife between Kuli Beg and Hakim Khan Torah. Consequently when Liu Chin-tang renewed his march from Taksourn in September, he found most of his work had been done. Both Karashar and Korla were occupied with little, or no opposition. Aksu surrendered at the end of October and Ush Turfan yielded a few days later, leaving only the four western cities to be recaptured.

In December the Chinese seized Marabashi, an important position on the Kashgar Darya commanding the roads to both Yarkand and Kashgar. Liu Chin-tang moved rapidly upon the former which surrendered without a blow on December 21. When he arrived with his force from Yarkand, the city of Kashgar had been besieged for nine days by Chinese soldiers from Marabashi. A battle ensued and resulted in the complete overthrow of Kuli Beg. The city with its citadel outside was captured December 27, 1877; and several leaders and some eleven hundred Mohammedans were said to have been executed. Kuli Beg, however, made good his escape into Russian territory. With the fall of Kashgar, the Kashgaria campaign came to a triumphant conclusion; and, before the close of the year, both Yanghissar and Khotand passed into the hands of their rightful owners.

Financing the Campaign.—The most difficult problem in connection with the Kashgarian campaign lay in the feeding of the army rather than in the conquering of the enemy. The contributions due the Shen-Kan provinces from the South had long been in arrears on account of the Taiping Rebellion; and Tso Tsung-tang, at one time, was obliged to raise a foreign loan of more than Tls. 6,000,000. In the desert the Chinese army was provisioned largely from Russian soil; but, during the greater part of the campaign, it subsisted upon what it was able to raise on the spot. It does not appear that the army that took Yarkand and Kashgar numbered more than twenty thousand men. The reconquest was accomplished by consummate generalship and superiority in arms and organization rather than by overwhelming numbers. In spite of the billions of taels that passed through his hands and were expended under his directions, Tso Tsung-tang remained the poorest man of his position.

Treaty of Livadia.—With Kashgaria restored, the Government was in a position to call the attention of the Czar to his promise respecting Ili. However, Ch'ung Hou (崇厚), the man who was entrusted with this important task, was not likely to achieve a diplomatic victory. He had little or no experience in dealing with

foreign governments, and knew nothing of the geography of his own country. He agreed to pay Russia 5,000,000 rubles for expenses in connection with her occupation of Ili, and let her retain all the fruitful valley of the Tekes River together with the city of Yarkand, and the important passes in the Tienshan Range. Russia was also to have the right of navigation on the Sungari River in Manchuria, to open a through trade route from Hankow to Suchow, and thence to Kuldja and Siberia, and to establish caravan stations at 36 other frontier cities. All these privileges were embodied in a document commonly known as the Treaty of Livadia. The only concession made by Russia consisted of the return of a small portion of the Kuldja district to China. When the provisions of the treaty were sufficiently known in China, the author became the subject of criticism and a perfect stream of memorials poured in upon the Throne protesting against its ratification. The fate of the poor ambassador was sealed. Upon his return from St. Petersburg, he was thrown into the prison connected with the Board of Punishments at Peking, with a death sentence hanging over him. His life was saved by the representations of Marquis Ts'êng (曾紀澤), son of Ts'êng Kuo-fan, and successor of Kuo Sung-tao at the Court of St. James.

Treaty of St. Petersburg.—Peking was now full of rumours of war. Tso Tsung-tang, bent upon an invasion of Russia, moved forward from Suchow to Hami; and Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan was appointed Commander-in-Chief of an army at Shanhaikuan to guard against a possible invasion by Russia. But in the midst of these warlike preparations, wiser counsel prevailed. Marquis Ts'êng was sent from London to St. Petersburg to negotiate a new treaty. He recovered more territory, paid more money, and succeeded in having the greater part of the objectionable features of the Treaty of Livadia modified. The treaty of St. Petersburg (Feb. 12, 1881) put an end to all preparations for war, and this diplomatic success made Marquis Ts'êng very popular with his own countrymen.

Province of Hsinkiang.—With the exception of a small western strip, China now came once more into possession of the Ili valley. This and the Kashgar valley to the south was organized into a new province, known as Hsinkiang (新疆). Meanwhile Tso Tsung-tang had been made a Marquis and recalled to Peking, to take up his important appointment on the Grand Council. Liu Chin-tang became the first Governor of the new province, and his official residence was fixed at Urumtsi which, under its new name of Tihwafu (迪化府), became the capital.

Termination of the Joint Regency.—Shortly after the recovery of Ili, the most important personage in Peking passed away. Before the Peking world knew of her illness, the death of the Senior Empress was announced. By her determination, wisdom, and tact, China had been restored to the Manchus. During her régime no foreign wars disturbed the peace of China, and every revolutionary movement within the Empire had been put down. Although she never had a son of her own on the Throne, it is a matter of common knowledge that both T'ung Chih and Kuang Hsü showed a preference for her. She was the model of frugality, and no palace scandal, or eunuch intrigue, has ever been recorded against her. Her death (April 18, 1881) left the Empress Ts'ŭ Hsi, the playmate of her youth, the sole Regent of China, with the destiny of four hundred millions of human beings in her hands.

CHAPTER LIX

THE FRANCO-CHINESE WAR AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS (1882-1886)

Cause of the War.—In 1884, or twenty-five years after the treaty of Peking, war once more broke out between China and France. The cause of this war was the latter's aggressions in Annam, a tributary state of China. France had long fixed her eyes on the Indo-China peninsula. In her rivalry with England for trade and influence in the Far East she desired to create a large colonial empire in the vicinity of British India, and to reach the rich province of Yünnan. In order to understand the situation, a brief sketch of the early intercourse between France and Annam is necessary.

Early French Relations with Annam.—The beginning of French interest in Indo-China dates as far back as the time when Annam again acknowledged the suzerainty of China. As will be remembered, a rebellion which took place in that country during the time of Ch'ien Lung resulted in the establishment of a new government by the usurper. An exiled member of the old royal house, at the instance of a French Bishop, sent his eldest son to Paris to implore the aid of Louis XVI. This was in the fifty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung (1787). Aid was promised on condition that France should be allowed to establish a protectorate over Annam: owing however to the French Revolution and the downfall of Louis XVI the promise came to nothing. Meanwhile, the Bishop in question, impatient of the delay, actually equipped two merchant ships with men and war materials, and with but little fighting placed King Chia Lung (嘉隆), as he is known to foreign writers, upon the Annamese throne. In the Chinese records Chia Lung is known by the name of Juan Fu-ying (阮福映), for, after the usual custom, Chia Lung had two names, one of which was used exclusively in communications with Peking. Chia Lung naturally felt grateful for the Bishop's help and extended unbounded favours towards the French missionaries.

After the King's death, however, there was a period of bitter hostility. Between 1833 and 1839 eleven missionaries and thousands of Annamese converts were massacred. For the reason already stated, France was in no position to avenge the death of her citizens till 1858. But in that year, the French Admiral destroyed the forts at Tourane, the seaport of Hue, and captured the town of Saigon (西貢), which henceforth became the seat of French government in Cochin-China (交趾支那). The China campaign put a temporary stop to French activities in Annam, but after the peace of Peking, Ssŭ Tê (嗣德), the successor of Chia Lung, was made to cede to France the three provinces of Pien Ho (邊和), Chia Ting (嘉定) and Ting Hsiang (定祥). In 1867 France appropriated three more provinces in Cochin-China. Thus far French aggression had been confined to the South or Nan-chi.

Treaty of 1874.—In November 1873, Admiral Dupre (奇自), Governor of Cochin-China, sent Lieutenant Garnier (家那) with a handful of soldiers to explore Tonquin (東京). Garnier at once demanded of the governor of Hanoi the immediate opening of the whole of the Red River delta to French enterprise; and, upon his refusal, took the citadel of Hanoi by assault and captured all the strong places between that city and the sea. At this juncture, the Annamese called in the aid of the "Black Flags (黑旗兵)," the remnants of the defeated and scattered Taiping rebel army. Under their leader, Liu Yung-fu (劉永福), the Black Flags drove the French out of Hanoi and killed Garnier in an ambush (December 21st). About two weeks after this disaster, M. Philaster arrived at Hanoi and signed a treaty of peace with the Annamese, and agreed to withdraw the French garrisons from places occupied by Garnier. In return free navigation on the Songkai up to the Yünnan border was guaranteed by Annam, whilst French troops under the guise of Consular escorts were to hold several strategic ports in Tonquin. In other words, France acquired a virtual control over Tonquin at the nominal price of withdrawing the surviving companies of Garnier's force, which were probably too weak to be left behind in face of the overwhelming number of "Black Flags."

China's Policy Towards Her Tributary States.—The policy of China in respect to tributary states had been to exact from them as little as possible and to assume no responsibility for them. Their periodical tributes were desired for the sake of national pride rather than for their intrinsic value. As a matter of fact, China paid dearly for them in the form of imperial gifts with which each tribute-bearing envoy was loaded. So far as the internal affairs of a tributary state were concerned, it was not China's wont to interfere. Chinese statesmen realized that the presence of French soldiers in Tonquin would be a source of danger to the provinces of Kuangsi and Yünnan, and for this they were led to depart from their established policy. In 1880 the King of Annam appealed to China for help in suppressing a local uprising. China sent troops into Tonquin, and with their aid the rebellion was put down, but the troops, for obvious reasons, remained in the country. That the Annamese, in spite of the Treaty of 1874, looked to Peking rather than to France for protection, shows how little love was lost upon the French. Under the very eyes of the French resident, mission after mission was sent to Peking either to present costly tribute or to thank the Emperor for help rendered.

Treaty of 1883.—In 1882 a small force under Commandant Henri Riverei (林兒) was sent from Saigon to reinforce the two companies of consular guards which had been shut up in Hanoi for more than a year. Though Riverei had instructions to avoid hostilities, yet he proceeded to capture Hanoi and other places in the delta. This circumstance once more brought the "Black Flags" and their leader to the front; and, like Garnier, Riverei was lured into an ambush and killed. France now felt that her national honour was at stake. With a fresh contingent of troops from Europe numbering 7,000 men, Admiral Courbet stormed Hue, took the capital, and at the mouth of the cannon secured from the King a new agreement, setting China's suzerainty at

naught. This agreement was signed August 25, 1883. The King was also requested to destroy the seal of investiture his predecessors had received from China.

Commencement of Hostilities Between China and France.—Such humiliating treatment China was bound to resent. Marquis Ts'êng, her envoy at London, who was also accredited to Russia and France, informed the French Government that the contemplated attack upon Soutay and Bacninh would be regarded as a *casus belli*. But his warning had no effect. Both places were attacked and taken and the Chinese troops, forming part of their garrisons, were obliged to retire. For this, Tang Kang and Hsu Yen-hsu, governors of Yünnan and Kuangsi, respectively, were condemned to death. To the surprise of the world, although a French army had met a Chinese army in open battle and Tonquin was rapidly being reduced to submission, neither country had issued a formal declaration of war. In the battle of Bacninh, the flower of the "Black Flag" army was annihilated.

Dismissal of Prince Kung.—The reverses and trend of events in Tonquin furnished the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi with an excuse for getting rid of a prince who had been one of the most important personages in the Grand Council ever since the signing of the treaty of Peking. By a stroke of the pen, Prince Kung was ordered to vacate all his posts "in order to recuperate his health," while his less fortunate colleagues on the Grand Council received their dismissal in plain language. This was the only instance in its history when the Grand Council was dismissed *en masse*. Thus Prince Kung, in the prime of life and after many years of service, was placed upon the "sick" list, and for the following years was consigned to obscurity until another foreign war in 1894 brought about his return to favour and his restoration to office. Prince Kung was succeeded in the Grand Council by Prince Li and at the Tsungli Yamen by Prince Ch'ing, then a prince of the third order. But the man who succeeded to his powers and to the undivided confidence of the Empress was Prince Shun (醇), the father of the Emperor. Prince Shun had lived in retirement since the elevation of his son to the

throne, and it was only in view of the urgent need that he consented to emerge from his retirement. Though he could not serve under his son, he could accept office under the regency of his sister-in-law. His appointment was followed by that of many Taiping war veterans to responsible positions in the southern provinces. Thus a war party was now in power.

The Faunier Treaty: French Reverse at Liangsan.—The Empress, who did not hesitate to decree the fall of Prince Kung, still lent her ear to Li Hung-chang, Viceroy of Chihli, although he, too, had been under a cloud. On May 11, 1883, the result of his negotiations with Captain Faunier (富原毅) at Tientsin was announced in the form of a treaty. France received no part of the £6,000,000 she had demanded. Further, she agreed to respect China's suzerainty over Annam, and to protect Tonquin against all comers; whilst China, on her part, agreed to withdraw her soldiers within her own border. Curiously enough the Faunier Treaty, as the instrument is commonly called, instead of ending the strife, really marked the commencement of fresh hostilities. Before the Chinese commander had had time to receive his instructions to retire from Liangsan (諒山), the French advanced upon his position and tried to dislodge him. The result was a severe reverse to the French.

Destruction of Chinese Fleet and Arsenal at Foochow.—In retaliation Admiral Courbet immediately proceeded to blockade the island of Formosa. Further, taking advantage of the fact that no war had been declared, he succeeded in getting eight ships past the forts at the mouth of the Min River and anchored them in front of the Foochow Arsenal, which had been erected by French engineers in the employ of the Chinese Government. On August 23rd, 1884, Courbet, in compliance with the telegraphic orders he received, opened fire upon a Chinese fleet of eleven wooden vessels gathered for the protection of the arsenal, and in seven minutes completed their destruction. The Imperial Commissioner, Chang P'ei-lun (張佩綸), fled to a village at the foot of Kushan. Owing to his connections at Peking and to his skill in disguising the facts, Chang P'ei-lun was not punished till several months afterwards. The natives of Fukien,

however, never forgave him, and to-day the spot where he fled at the first cry of war is marked by a tablet. On the day after the battle, the defenceless arsenal was burned together with its machinery and stores. But just when Foochow expected to see the enemy at its gates, the French fleet steamed out of the harbour to resume the blockade of Formosa. On their way to the sea, they stormed and took the Mingan and Kingpie forts from the rear.

The Franco-Chinese Treaty of 1885.—During the remainder of 1884 and the early part of 1885, the war was carried on fitfully in both Formosa and Tonquin. In Formosa the French occupied Keelung, but their further progress inland was checked by General Liu Ming-ch'uan (劉銘傳). In Tonquin they were even less fortunate. Disease reduced the strength of their army to such an extent that 10,000 more men had to be sent from France. These arrived in January 1885, and after hard fighting drove the Chinese out of Liangsan in February, but only to evacute it themselves at the end of March. Their loss of Liangsan, however, was counterbalanced in the same month by their success in occupying the Pescadores, "the Door of Formosa." It was while matters were in this state that preliminaries of peace were arranged at Peking between Sir Robert Hart and M. Billot (April 4). Two months later, a new treaty was signed by Li Hung-chang and M. Patenotie at Tientsin. It was substantially the old Faunier treaty of twelve months before. Keelung and the Pescadores were to be evacuated immediately, two ports in South China were to be opened to foreign trade and residence, and the Tonquin frontier was to be delimited by a commission. In her attempt to secure an indemnity from China to cover the cost of the war, France was entirely unsuccessful. In certain respects the treaty was modified by the trade arrangement of 1886 and an additional Convention of 1887.

The Dying Memorial of General Tso Tsung-tang.—After the conclusion of peace, death overtook General Tso Tsung-tang at Foochow, where he had arrived a few months before in the capacity of Imperial High Commissioner. In his dying memorial to the throne, he outlined a most elaborate system of reform which, in his

opinion, should be adopted without delay. Among the innovations he advocated were the construction of railways, the improvement of the navy and coast defence, scientific mining and manufactures, the regulation of finance, and the encouragement of foreign studies. General Tso had been in delicate health for years, but he grieved deeply over the destruction of the Foochow Arsenal, which had been built at his instance. He died at Foochow on Sept. 6, 1885, at the ripe age of 73.

The Beginning of the Pei Yang Defensive Forces.—If China was not ready to put into effect all the suggestions of General Tso, she was fully convinced of the advantage of having a strong navy. During the blockade of Formosa, General Liu Ming-ch'uan had time and again appealed to Peking for additional supplies of men and arms, but no succor ever reached him. In fact the two

Port Arthur: East and West Bays

iron-clads which had been ordered by Li Hung-chang from Germany were kept deliberately in Europe till the war was over. These ships which arrived in Chinese waters soon after the conclusion of the war and other ships built in England formed the nucleus of the Pei Yang (北洋) or Northern Squadron. Foreign experts were engaged to construct fortifications at Port Arthur (旅順) and Weihaiwei (威海衛), and to train both a naval and a military force. The Nanyang (南洋) or Southern fleet was organized separately. Acting upon the suggestion of General Tso, a commission was created to take control of naval affairs and all matters pertaining to the coast defence. At

the head of this commission stood Prince Shun and Marquis Ts'êng, the latter being recalled from England to take up this more important duty at home. In 1890 the commission was transformed into a new Board called the Board of Admiralty (海軍部) when Prince Shun became its Comptroller-General and Li Hung-chang and Marquis Ts'êng its Associate Comptrollers-General. The Board was organized on the model of the Grand Council and the Tsungli Yamen.

Tour of Prince Shun.—In the summer of 1886, Prince Shun went to Tientsin on a tour of inspection. This was the first time in China's history that a prince so near the Throne had made a tour of such a character. Leaving Tientsin he visited Port Arthur and Chefoo. He was escorted by the Peiyang fleet, and exchanged visits with foreign admirals and other representatives of foreign powers wherever he went. The most extraordinary feature of his tour, however, was the fact that the father of the Emperor was accompanied by the eunuch Li Lien-ying (李蓮英), the head chamberlain of the Empress. Several months after the visit, Li Lien-ying became the subject of an impeachment. It did him no harm, but, on the contrary, brought the downfall of its author. The Empress, however, took care to say that the latter was not punished for his "groundless" charges against a eunuch, but because of his insinuations against the father of the Emperor. As she put it, the true mission of the eunuch was to look after the health of Prince Shun, who found in him "as faithful a servant as any eunuch he could have brought from his own household." It is hardly necessary to add that this explanation coupled with the degradation of his accuser was final.

The Burma Convention.—The year that saw the end of difficulties with France in Tonquin, saw also the establishment of British authority in Burma (緬甸), and the termination of China's nominal suzerainty over that country. In a convention signed at Peking on July 24, 1886, commonly called the Burma Convention, China agreed to allow England to do what she pleased in all matters appertaining to her authority and rule in Burma, whose capital had been occupied by a British force in the previous year and whose King had been carried a captive into India. In its memorial to the Throne submitting

this convention, the Tsungli Yamen stated that inasmuch as Burma had made a treaty with England and France without the knowledge or consent of China, she had put herself to blame for the disastrous result, and that it was certainly not worth China's while to go to war on her account. The last sentence came nearer the truth. The article in this treaty providing for the sending by Burma of the customary decennial mission to China undoubtedly sounds well, but it remained for China to enforce its observance. "The Queen's Ministers thus obtained a practical advantage quite equal to that secured by a political and commercial rival in a vassal state where Chinese pretensions to suzerainty were precisely similar." By the Convention, England also consented to postpone till a convenient season a mission of exploration to Tibet,—a right she had secured by the Chefoo Convention. The period from 1882 to 1895, indeed, may be termed the period when China lost her Tributary States. The seizure of the Loochoo Islands by Japan has already been referred to, whilst the Corean question belongs rather to the chapter on the Japanese war. It is only necessary to relate here the circumstances connected with the occupation and return by England of Port Hamilton on the Corean coast.

Restitution of Port Hamilton to Corea.—Port Hamilton is one of the islands in the Nan-how group, lying in latitude 34° off the south coast of Corea, and controling the southern entrance to the Japan Sea. It was seized by England in April 1885, ostensibly to check the suspected design of Russia upon Corea. Russia had already begun the construction of her trans-Siberian Railway and it was evident that she would not have gone to so much expense and trouble without making sure that she could establish her eastern terminus in some ice-free port. That port was thought to be in Corea, hence the action of England. British statesmen evidently feared that the possession of a naval station further north than Hongkong would give Russia a naval advantage she had not hitherto possessed. Port Hamilton, however, proved to be a disappointing acquisition. In the first place, its harbor was too accessible from the sea; and in the second place, its fortification would entail a heavy

outlay. Besides, its continued occupation finally aroused the animosity of the Russian Government which threatened, in 1886, to seize some other place in Corea, if the British did not retire from the island. Under these circumstances, the British Government through the Chinese Minister in London signified its willingness to give up the island on receiving an assurance that it should not be ceded to any other European power. China being glad to do anything she could to establish her suzerainty over Corea, the desired guarantee was furnished, and the British flag at Port Hamilton was hauled down February 27, 1887. This incident as will be seen had a most significient bearing upon the course of later events in the Orient.

Likin on Opium.—The question of the opium likin raised in the Chefoo Convention was not settled till 1885. In that year, a new agreement was signed in London by Marquis Ts'êng with the British Foreign Office, modifying the former convention to a certain extent. The import tax of Tls. 30 per chest remained unchanged, but in addition to this, a likin or an interior customs charge of Tls. 80 was to be collected. The likin thus provided was to be paid at once into the imperial treasury and no provincial official is permitted to collect any further levy upon the drug. It was the hope of the Tsungli Yamen that this prohibitive tariff would gradually lessen the importation. The hope has not been realized. On the contrary, the new agreement it was found tied the hands of provincial authorities in no small measure and interfered with the adoption of schemes for the suppression of the opium evil. The Chinese provincial officials, as a matter of fact, could not touch the imported opium, save perhaps to smoke it, as most of them formerly did, after it had paid the duty and likin. The additional Article to the Chefoo Convention, as the new agreement is called, left open the question of the port limits, viz., the area in a treaty port where no likin should be collected.

Opium Smuggling in Hongkong.—Hongkong had long been used as a rendezvous by opium smugglers. The solution of the likin problem was followed in 1886 by the appointment

of Taotai Shao Yu-lien and Sir Robert Hart as Chinese Commissioners to confer with the Hongkong authorities as to the best means of protecting China's revenue. The result was an agreement on the part of the Hongkong authorities to prohibit the import or export of raw opium in quantities less than one chest, except by the opium farmer, and the establishment of a customs station at Kowloon under the Inspector-General of Customs, for the purpose of opium clearances. Taotai Shao having left Hongkong before the conference was officially terminated, the responsibility of concluding the Opium Convention rested entirely with Sir Robert Hart. It was stipulated that all the terms agreed upon were conditional upon similar measures being adopted at Macao—a condition that led to the conclusion of the first treaty between China and Portugal (1887).

Status of Macao.—In spite of their occupation of Macao since 1537, the Portuguese had no treaty with China before 1887. In Chinese records, Portugal was a tributary state of China and their presence at Macao was a matter of goodwill on the part of the Chinese Emperor. An annual rental of Tls. 500 was paid by Portugal and a Chinese Custom House maintained in Macao till 1849. In the treaty of 1887, China for the first time recognized Portugal as an equal state and Macao as Portuguese soil. Before this time, Portugal had twice attempted to enter into treaty relations with China; but though treaties had been agreed to on both occasions they had never been ratified. One reason that prompted the Tsungli Yamen to grant the privilege on this occasion was the fear that Portugal might cede Macao to some other European power as it had been rumoured she was prepared to do during the French War. It was therefore stipulated in the first article of the treaty that without the consent of China, Macao could not be ceded. The treaty, however, did not attempt to settle the boundaries of Macao. It was signed at Peking by Prince Ching and Sun Yu-yung.

Removal of the Peitang Cathedral.—By virtue of the Treaty of 1860, all old Roman Catholic possessions in China were

to be restored through the French Legation at Peking. One of the places thus restored was the site of the Peitang Cathedral given to the R. C. Church by the Emperor K'ang Hsi. The Cathedral stood on an eminence overlooking the Imperial Palace, and the close proximity of such a building more than 80 feet high so wounded the sensibilities of the Chinese Court that for years the Tsungli Yamen tried to persuade the French Minister to accept a less objectionable site in exchange, but to no avail. The French war afforded the Chinese Government an opportunity to approach Rome direct on the subject. Li Hung-chang accordingly, under verbal instructions from the Empress Dowager, sent an envoy to the Pope. Negotiations progresssed so satisfactorily that, by the summer of 1886, an agreement was signed at Tientsin between the Bishop of Peking and Mr. Detring, Commissioner of Customs, providing for its removal. The Chinese Government agreed to pay Tls. 350,000 for the Cathedral and its equipment, including a large organ and a museum, and to find a site at Sishihku in exchange. In spite of the protest of the French Government, the agreement was ratified by the Pope's Foreign Secretary. The Empress Dowager showed her appreciation by conferring on the foreigners who had taken part in the negotiations the order of the Double Dragon—an order established since 1881 for the decoration of foreigners. Owing to the objections of France, China failed to obtain a permanent legation from the Pope to control the whole body of Catholic priests in China, but succeeded in her request that other European countries withdraw their Catholic citizens from French consular jurisdiction.

CHAPTER LX

THE PERIOD OF THE CHINO-JAPANESE WAR (1887-1895)

1. Events in China Preceding the War

Extension of the Regency.—Soon after the Franco-Chinese War, the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi found herself confronted by a precedent which seemed to demand her retirement at an early date. As her first regency had terminated in the thirteenth year of the reign of T'ung Chih, she made known in 1886 her desire to hand over to the Emperor Kuang Hsü the reins of government after a similar period as regent. Her ministers, however, were not ready for the proposed change. They agreed that the precedent must not be ignored; and urged the Empress to retain her power. They

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finally prevailed upon her "to continue to instruct the Emperor in the administration of government for a few more years." Thus the Empress remained the ruler of China till 1889; when, after having selected a wife for the Emperor, she retired to enjoy her well-earned rest in the I Ho Summer Palace (頤和園).

Marriage of the Emperor Kuang Hsü.—By 1889 the Emperor Kuang Hsü had reached his eighteenth year. The girl whom his aunt had selected to be his consort belonged to the famous Yehonala (葉赫那拉) clan. Her father, Kuei Hsiang (桂祥), a Manchu general and brother of the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi, was, according to Manchu custom, immediately created a duke; and the occasion of the imperial marriage was celebrated with fitting ceremonies, which were said to cost a million sterling.

Kuang Hsü's First Reception of Foreigners.—In contrast with the precedent of 1873,* the Emperor Kuang Hsü did not hold his first reception of foreigners till 1891, when six ministers and four chargé d'affaires and their suits were admitted to audience in the Tzŭ Kuang Ko (紫光閣). The Emperor made a very favorable impression on those who had the privilege of seeing him. The following description of His Majesty is worthy of reproduction here:

"Whatever impression the 'Barbarians' made on him, the idea which they carried away of the Emperor Kuang Hsü was pleasing and almost pathetic. His air is one of exceeding intelligence and gentleness, somewhat frightened and melancholy looking. His face is pale, and though it is distinguished by refinement and quiet dignity, it has none of the force of his martial ancestors, nothing commanding or imperial; but is altogether mild, delicate, sad, and kind. He is essentially Manchu in features, his skin is strangely pallid in hue, which is no doubt accounted for by the confinement of his life inside these forbidden walls and absence of the ordinary pleasures and pursuits of youth, with the constant discharge of onerous, complicated and difficult duties of state, which are.....mostly transacted between the hours of two and six in the morning. His face is oval-shaped with a very long narrow chin and a sensitive mouth with thin nervous lips; his nose is well shaped and straight, his eyebrows regular and very much arched, while the eyes are unusually large and

* The year in which T'ung Chih received foreign Ministers.

sorrowful in expression. The forehead is well shaped and broad, and the head is large beyond the average."

Resignation of Captain Lang.—In 1890 there occurred an event, which, though unimportant as it seemed at the time, had much to do with the defeat of China by Japan. That event was the resignation of Captain Lang (琅副將), who had been loaned by the British naval authorities to the Chinese Government, and who, with Admiral Ting (丁汝昌), had organized a respectable Chinese navy. He maintained strict discipline throughout the fleet, taking care to avoid the question as to who was in supreme command. But during the temporary absence of Admiral Ting, the Chinese second in command raised the question of seniority, which was finally decided by Li Hung-chang against the foreigner. The result was that Captain Lang resigned his position and left China never to return. Had he remained in command, it is impossible to think that the Chinese fleet would have been completely destroyed by the Japanese.

Death of Prince Shun and Other Enlightened Statesmen.—In the first days of 1891, the Chinese navy suffered a further loss through the death of Prince Shun, who like his son was a friend of reform. Although he had been in poor health for sometime, his death was premature. Some of the ministers wished to confer upon the Prince a posthumous imperial title, but the Express Tz'ŭ Hsi opposed that plan. She gave him the title of "Imperial Father to whom was born an Emperor" (皇帝本生父), in order to distinguish him from the Emperor Hsien Fêng into whose house Kuang Hsü had been adopted. Under the Chinese law, sacrifices were offered to the spirit of the Prince on the scale of an Emperor (祭以天子之禮). About this time death deprived China of many of her distinguished statesmen, among whom were Marquis Ts'êng and his uncle, Ts'êng Kuo-ch'üan, then Viceroy at Nanking. Marquis Ts'êng had been the chosen colleague of Prince Shun in the Board of Admiralty, and his death occurred at a time when his diplomatic experience and knowledge might have proved of immense value to his young sovereign.

After the death of Prince Shun, the Chinese navy was neglected, its funds were applied to other things, and the Board of Admiralty, which had promised to be a standing monument to Prince Shun, was soon abolished.

Period of Reaction.—During the few years just after the war with France, China had shown some signs of an awakening. Telegraph lines, a necessity most keenly felt at the time of the Kulja complication, had been extended to the Yünnan border in the southwest, and to the Szechuan and Kansu border in the west. If the Peking Government had failed to appreciate the economic value of railways, she had at least seen their strategic importance. Work had been begun on the line which was to connect Tientsin and Kirin; and the young Emperor was ready to give every support to the proposal of Chang Chih-tung to build a trunk line between Peking and Hankow. But the death of Prince Shun and the other enlightened statesmen marked the beginning of a reaction. Men who viewed foreign influences and improvements with distrust and jealousy gradually rose into power. Anti-foreign feeling reached a high pitch in the Yangtze basin and gave birth to occasional riots in cities along both banks of the great river. For a time it looked as if no foreign life was safe in China, and no faith could be placed on the assurances of the Tsungli Yamen. Such was the state of affairs just before the outbreak of war with Japan over the Corean question.

2. Events in Corea Preceding the War

A Sketch of Corean History.—Since the Han Dynasty, the Corean peninsular had been a field of enterprise for both Chinese and Japanese. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, the peninsular suffered considerably from a formidable Japanese invasion, and for two centuries afterwards the Corean King purchased peace by sending tribute to both Peking and Yeddo (西京). After a time, the Shogun (日本執政之大將軍), tired of the expense involved in entertaining the Corean embassy, instructed the king to stop sending tribute. The loyalty of

Corea to the court at Peking, however, grew as time went on. The King of Corea consented to receive the title under which he reigned and his calendar from Peking,—a mark of vassalage—and to meet the Chinese Ambassador outside of Seoul in the midst of an imposing ceremony. He could not forget the years 1627 and 1637;* nor the fact that Corea owed her literature and civilization to the Great Country, or Ta Kuo (大國), as China was known to the Coreans.

In spite of this vassalage, Corea remained a land closed to all foreigners, the Chinese not excepted. At regular intervals a fair was held in some frontier town where Chinese and Coreans met for the exchange of goods; but after the fair any Chinese, or Manchu, found within Corean territory was liable to be put to death. Foreign sailors cast ashore by shipwreck were either murdered, or kept in strict confinement; and missionaries entering the land in disguise met with determined opposition wherever they went. Both France and the United States had occasion to use force against Corea, but both failed to open the country to foreign trade. This strange isolation earned for Corea the name of "the Hermit Kingdom."

After the Restoration of 1868, Japan began to regret the action of her Shogun. She invited Corea to return to her nominal vassalage; but the latter, or rather her regent, Ta-yuan-kung (大院君), would have nothing to do with a nation which, in his opinion, had become so degenerated as to be willing to learn things from the West. In 1875, that is the year after the return of the Japanese expedition from Formosa, Corea completed the rupture by firing upon a Japanese gunboat. Japan responded with a great display of ships and men near Seoul and succeeded in opening "the Hermit Kingdom" to foreign trade. Following in her wake, America, England, and other countries also made commercial treaties with Corea; and in making all these agreements the country was treated as an independent state.

* Years of Manchu invasions of Corea.

When China discovered her mistake in allowing her vassal to make treaties with the outside world, she began to concern herself with the internal affairs of Corea. The strip of neutral territory between that country and Manchuria was annexed to China; and, till 1894, the Chinese resident at Seoul was the real power in Corea.

Complication of 1882.—The first complication that threatened the peace of the three countries occurred in 1882. Two opposing factions had come into existence in Corea. The Progressive party, which was pro-Japanese in its views, had Kim Ok Kium (金玉均) for its leader; while the Conservative, or pro-Chinese party, was led by the ex-regent, Ta-yuan-kung, who was closely leagued with the Min (閔) party, or friends of the Corean Empress, who were in power. They killed a number of Japanese in the capital and attacked and burned the Japanese Legation. The Japanese minister and his surviving nationals had to fight their way through the streets until they found shelter on board a British gunboat. Japan decided to take strong measures to avenge the outrage, but found Seoul in the hands of Chinese troops and the harbour guarded by Chinese men-of-war. She had consequently to content herself with an apology and an indemnity from Corea, and the privilege of maintaining a legation guard at Seoul. Because of the presence of Japanese soldiers, a body of Chinese troops was also stationed in the Corean capital, and Ta-yuan-kung was conveyed into China, where he was detained for several years.

Convention of Tientsin.—The peace thus patched up was not destined to last long. In December 1884, a revolution broke out in Seoul, and Prince Min and other Conservative ministers were assassinated. With the aid of the Japanese, the revolutionists took possession of the palace, the Corean king fleeing to the Chinese Legation. The scenes of 1882 were then repeated on a larger scale. The Japanese Legation was attacked and burned by Corean mobs aided by the Chinese; and the Japanese minister and soldiers were obliged to fight their way from Seoul to the sea.

From Corea, Japan secured another indemnity; and from China, the Convention of Tientsin,* the most important provision of which was that neither country was to send an armed force into Corea without informing the other. Kim Ok Kium, the leader of the revolution, became a fugitive in Japan until he was decoyed to Shanghai and murdered. His remains were taken to Corea on board a Chinese man-of-war and quartered.

The Tong Hoks.—Owing to the spread of Catholicism, a new religious sect came into existence in Corea as early as 1859. It arose in the same manner as the Taiping sect of China. In the course of an illness a Corean had visions and claimed to have received a new doctrine, which was in fact a combination of Catholicism with Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the Three Religions of the Chinese. He styled it Tong Hok (東學) (Eastern Doctrine) to distinguish it from Catholicism, the Western Doctrine, which was in great disfavor with the government. As misgovernment and oppression increased, the sect soon took on a political character; and by 1894, the Tong Hoks had formed bands of several thousands that openly defied the authority of the government. The movement was strongest in South Corea, or more particularly in the province of Chollo (全羅). All the government forces having proved insufficient to restore order, Corea, upon the fall of the provincial capital of Chollo, appealed to her suzerain for help. China responded with two thousand soldiers and a few men-of-war; but Japan, enraged by the murder of Kim Ok Kium, took advantage of the Tientsin convention and also began to throw troops into the peninsular. By the middle of June, the Japanese not only had a superior force in Corea; but also had control of Seoul, while the Chinese were holding a town to the south of the capital. The rebellion of the Tong Hoks was heard of no more. The question of the day was which of the two powers should withdraw her troops first. Twice before had diplomacy succeeded in preventing China

* Signed at Tientsin by Count Ito and Li Hung-chang.

and Japan from going to war; but this time there was no such happy issue. Japan, prepared as she was for war, insisted on a complete reorganization of the Corean government; but China, without being ready to fight, would not agree to such a plan. It was Japan's thorough preparation that counted in the coming struggle.

3. Events of the War

Sinking of the Kowshing.—The first hostile act was committed by Japan before war was declared. On July 23, 1894, three of the fastest cruisers of the Japanese navy were sent out from Sasebo with instructions to intercept any additional troops China might send to Corea. In the absence of railways, they knew that China was dependent upon the sea route. Two days later, they encountered two Chinese men-of-war, the Chiyüan (濟遠) and the Kuangyi (廣乙), near the Phong (豐島) Islands, and a battle ensued. It was an unequal fight, for each of the three ships was more than a match for the Chinese. The Kuangyi was crippled and beached; and the Chiyüan, riddled with shot, was run into Weihaiwei. In another hour, the Kowshing, a transport which the Chiyüan and the Kuangyi had come to convoy, was sighted. She was ordered by the Naniwa (南日) to follow her, but the Chinese soldiers on board the steamer prevented the captain from complying with the Japanese order. She was then fired upon and sunk; and out of 1,200 officers and men, the flower of the Peiyang Army which was to take part in the Corean campaign under an able German officer, Von Hannekon (漢納根), only 170 were saved. The Kowshing was at the time under the protection of the British flag. The question of damages was not settled for several years, but in the end China had to pay the money.

The Korean Campaign.—The plan of the Chinese was to attack the Japanese simultaneously from the north and the south. With this end in view, a Chinese army was being hurried into Pyengyang (平壤), north of Seoul, and the Kowshing had been chartered to take reinforcements to Yashan (牙山). Two days after

her sinking, the Japanese from Seoul appeared before Yashan. When they made a night attack and drove the Chinese out of their position at Chenhwan (成歡), General Yeh Chih-ch'ao (葉志超) evacuated the city of Yashan, leaving large quantities of stores and ammunition in the hands of the enemy. The Japanese engaged in this encounter numbered 2,500. Their loss was 6 officers and 82 men; while the Chinese, according to their account, lost 500. By August 5, the Japanese were back in Seoul with all sorts of spoils to dazzle the eyes of the Coreans. Having removed the first danger which threatened their lines of communication, the Japanese busied themselves during the next six weeks in landing more troops at Chemulpo, Gensan, and Fusan.

Meanwhile the Chinese had built 27 forts at Pyengyang, a place easily defended because protected by a river and surrounded by hills. In a word it was the key to all operations in North Corea. In spite of this splendid position and the 13,000 men he had, General Yeh Chih-ch'ao made no better stand at Pyengyang than at Yashan. The truth is he retired as soon as the enemy appeared, and his example was followed by the second in command, General Wei Ju-kuei (衛汝貴), thus leaving General Tso Pao-kuei (左寶貴) with a reduced force to hold the place against the Japanese, who advanced in four detachments from as many directions. General Tso fought most bravely and desperately until he fell at the head of his men. With his death the capture of Pyengyang was complete, and had cost the Japanese only 350 officers and men. The Chinese had 2,000 killed, most of them in their flight, and 600 were taken prisoners. General Yeh became so demoralized that he did not think of making any further stand until he had crossed the Yalu River. The battle of Pyengyang (Sept. 15) was the last of the war that was fought in Corea, and that country was now permanently lost to China. So far the disasters were largely due to the cowardice of Yeh Chih-ch'ao.

The Naval Battle of the Yalu.—The battle cry of Pyengyang had hardly died out, when the hostile fleets met off the island of Haiyang (海洋), half way between Tatungkou (大東溝) and Port

Arthur. Admiral Ting had been sent with his entire fleet to convoy transports to the Yalu; and it was on his return that he encountered the Japanese fleet under Admiral Ito (東鄉), who had been employed on the same business at Chemulpo. There were twelve vessels on each side, the advantage of heavy armour and guns being with the Chinese; but in quickfiring guns, speed and tonnage, the Japanese were superior. The Chinese ships were formed into a single line with the two iron-clads, Ting Yüan (定遠) and Chên Yüan (鎮遠), in the centre; while the Japanese steamed in a single column, and by their superior speed were able to circle around their adversary and pour their deadly fire upon the weaker vessels that formed the wings. The battle lasted five hours, during which four of the Chinese cruisers were singled out and sunk one after another. The fiercest fighting of the day occurred between the two Chinese iron-clads and the main Japanese squadron of five ships. Admiral Ting's flagship, the Ting Yüan, was once in flames but her sister ship, the Chên Yüan, came to her rescue and remained with her. It was their stubborn resistance that saved the rest of the Chinese fleet from destruction. A single shell from the Chên Yüan disabled a 13 inch gun on the Japanese flagship, the Matsushima, set her on fire, and killed and wounded eighty of her crew. Had the iron-clads been provided with shells instead of shot they might have done more damage to the Japanese, who lost no ships, though three of their weakest vessels barely escaped destruction. Towards evening when the battle was over the shattered Peiyang fleet crept into Port Arthur. For this defeat the Chinese blamed Captain Fang (方伯謙), of the Chiyüan, and had him forthwith decapitated.

Invasion of China.—With the Peiyang fleet crippled, Japan had control of the sea; and in addition to pushing her army across the Corean frontier, she could now land troops on the coast of China. On October 24, 1894, the day the first Japanese army crossed the Yalu, their second one landed at Hua Yüan Kang (花園崗), the principal objective point being Port Arthur, one of the two fortresses that guarded the port of Taku. Port Arthur had been fortified by German and French experts and was considered

impregnable; but its defenders, the trained troops of General Sung Ch'ing (宋慶), had been sent into Manchuria and their places taken by raw recruits under inexperienced officers. Having captured Chinchow (金州) and Talien (大連), the whole of the second army appeared before Port Arthur, and the fortress was taken in one day with very little resistance. Its fall gave the enemy a naval base at our door with the best dockyard in the East. It is estimated that the machinery, docks, etc., that fell into their hands represented a value of 60 million yen. The Japanese celebrated their victory by massacring the Chinese inhabitants of Port Arthur. At the time of its capture, the remainder of Admiral Ting's fleet was in Weihaiwei.

While the second army was taking city after city on the promontory, the Japanese in Manchuria were not idle. They put General Sung Ch'ing to flight at Chiuliench'êng (九連城) and Fênghuangch'êng (鳳凰城), the two important border cities on

The famous narrow entrance to Port Arthur
("Manchu and Muscovite")

the opposite sides of the former neutral strip of land between Manchuria and Corea. At Fênghuangch'êng, the Japanese separated into two divisions; one went north clearing the roads and keeping in touch with the Chinese at Liaoyang, and the other moved westward and held Hsiuyen. Later they marched farther west and took Haich'êng (海城), where the first army subsequently effected

a junction with the second army. As Haich'êng commanded the roads both to Mukden and Peking, Japan had control of Manchuria. In the winter Generals Sung Ch'ing and Eketango (伊克唐阿) made several attempts to dislodge the enemy from Haich'êng and other places but failed. Kaiping (蓋平) was taken by the second army in the spring.

The First Peace Proposals.—The failure of China in warfare had brought Prince Kung into power, and by his wise council she asked for peace. Two days before the fall of Port Arthur, Japan signified through the American Minister at Peking, who had been in charge of Japanese interests since the commencement of the war, her willingness to listen to proposals of peace. Chang Yin-huan (張蔭桓) and Shao Yu-lien (邵友濂) accordingly sailed for Japan, but on their arrival they were promptly dismissed on the ground that they did not have "full powers." As a consequence, the war continued.

Fall of Weihaiwei.—The next event of importance was the fall of Weihaiwei, a place well defended by modern forts against attacks by land and by sea. Like Port Arthur, this fortress had cost China millions of dollars; and like the former it was easily taken by the enemy, although in addition to the 10,000 men who manned the forts there were nine warships, six small gunboats, and eleven destroyers in the harbour. The soldiers in their hurry to vacate the forts even left their guns intact, and had it not been for the storm which gave Admiral Ting time to land sailors to destroy them, they might have been turned upon the Chinese fleet. For a time torpedo booms, stretched across the harbor, afforded ample protection to the Chinese fleet, for they prevented the larger Japanese ships from coming within striking distance. By torpedo attacks, however, the enemy succeeded in sinking four more ships, including the Ting Yüan. When further resistance was considered useless, Admiral Ting surrendered the remainder of his ships and the forts. Having been deprived of all rank and titles and ordered into the hands of the Board of Punishment at Peking, the poor admiral knew what fate

was awaiting him. Immediately after the capitulation, he and several of his officers committed suicide. It is estimated that the four men-of-war and six gunboats surrendered to the Japanese were worth 30,000,000 Yen. The destroyers had already been captured in an attempt to escape from the doomed port.

Defeat of Governor Wu Ta-cheng.—During the Weihaiwei campaign the Japanese forces in Manchuria gained further successes. By a single blow at the old port of Newchwang, they vanquished the army of Wu Ta-cheng, who had been sent to the front at his own request. The gallantry of this patriot consisted of a single document in which he not only boasted of his ability to defeat the Japanese, but also invited them to submit. He was soon sent home in disgrace.

Peace of Shimonoseki.—There was now nothing to prevent the Japanese from marching on to Mukden, or even to Peking. At this critical moment, the Court at Peking turned once more for help and advice to Li Hung-chang, a man who had been made a target of criticism since the commencement of hostilities and deprived of all his decorations earned by many a battle and long years of service. Restored to rank and dignity and clothed with suitable credentials, he landed at Shimonoseki and at once began negotiations. While the negotiations were still in progress he received a wound below his left eye at the hands of a Japanese fanatic. It was this affair that induced the Japanese government to grant an immediate cessation of hostilities, which was made permanent by the treaty signed on April 17, 1895. The most important provisions of the treaty were:—

1. Absolute independence of Corea.
2. Cession of the Liaotung Promotory and the adjacent islands, the island of Formosa, and the Pescadore Group to Japan.
3. Payment of a war indemnity of Tls. 200,000,000 to Japan in six yearly instalments.
4. The opening of Shasi (沙市) in Hupeh, Chungking (重慶) in Szechuan, Soochow (蘇州) in Kiangsu, and Hangchow (杭州) in Chekiang as treaty ports.

Foreign Intervention.—China had time and again asked Europe and America to intervene in her behalf, but without avail. The signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty, however, brought several of the European powers upon the scene. Russia had for years been looking for an ice-free port for the eastern terminus of her great trans-continental railway, and naturally objected to Japan's holding the Liaotung Promontory. She had twenty-three warships in Chinese waters, and they were at once cleared for action. She told Japan to return the territory in question to China and in this was backed up by Germany and France. The result was that Japan accepted a further sum of thirty million taels in lieu of a territory which was already in her possession before the treaty was signed. Japan concealed her resentment admirably at the time; but it was a factor with which Russia had to reckon at no distant date.

For her services, Russia obtained the right to extend her railway through Manchuria and build branch lines to Mukden and Port Arthur. In the same year (1895), France had the Mekong question settled and obtained the right to continue her Tonquin railway to Nanningfu (南甯府) in Kuangsi. China felt so grateful to Russia that she sent Li Hung-chang to attend the coronation of the Czar in 1896.

Revolt in Formosa.—When the cession of Formosa became known, the people of the island revolted, proclaimed a republic, and elected the acting governor, Tang Ching-sung (唐景崧), president. Japan had occupied but one of the Pescadore Islands, but was determined that she should not lose Formosa, in addition to the Liaotung Peninsula. An army promptly sailed from Japan; and upon its landing the Formosan Republic melted away and its president fled to China. Gen. Liu Yung-fu next became president in Tainan; but ere long Formosa and the Pescadores yielded to their new masters.

Causes and Effects of China's Defeat.—Of all China's foreign wars, the one with Japan had the most disastrous effects. It swept away her equipment as a military power; reduced her prestige to the lowest ebb; revealed her weakness to the world; and burdened her for the first time with a foreign debt of £50,000,000. When

Admiral Ito wrote to Admiral Ting asking him to capitulate he was able to say, "it is not the fault of one man." Again he remarked in the same letter: "The blame must rest upon the errors of a government that has long administered affairs. She selects her servants by competitive examination and literary attainments are the test. The result is that the officials through whom the government is administered are all literati, and literature is honored above everything." Indeed, one might go a step further and say that the blame also rested upon the system of philosophy which taught every Chinese to love his family instead of his nation. For this teaching China has but the Sung philosophers and their adherents to blame.

CHAPTER LXI

THE PERIOD OF UNRESTRAINED FOREIGN AGGRESSION (1895-1899)

China had come out of her struggle with Japan deeply humiliated. She stood before the world the picture of a giant that could not fight. European powers, eager for land, busied themselves with schemes for the division of her territory. By force, or by diplomacy, they secured, or tried to secure, a foothold on Chinese soil, so as to be prepared for future events. Their threatening attitude naturally frightened the Chinese, and lent strength and energy to the new forces that had been gradually, but steadily, gaining ground in China. But, as usual, the reaction came and the movement was suppressed. Such were a few of the characteristics of the period between the Japanese War and the Boxer Uprising of 1900.

Anti-Missionary Riots.—After the close of the Japanese War, there was a marked increase of anti-foreign agitation in China, especially among the uneducated masses. Secret societies, too, showed signs of renewed activity in many places. In 1895, a number of English missionaries and their wives and children were massacred at Huashan (華山), a summer resort in Kut'ien (古田), Fukien (福建). In the same year, mission property in Ch'êngtu (成都) was destroyed by mobs and soldiers, and the Viceroy of Szechuan had to be sent home in disgrace. In other places there were other troubles of similar nature. In November, 1897, a new case was added to the long list. In Shantung two more missionaries lost their lives, and the world was startled at the outcome of the whole matter.

Seizure of Kiaochow by Germany.—Unfortunately for China, the victims in the Shantung case were subjects of Germany—a nation that had long insisted on receiving compensation in connection with the retrocession of Liaotung. As China had failed to discharge her obligation, Germany now helped herself.

To the ambitious Kaiser, the murder of his subjects was a godsend. Seizing this opportunity, Germany landed a battalion of marines at Kiaochow (膠州), hoisted her flag, and ordered the Chinese garrisons to retire. When the matter came up for discussion at Peking, the Tsungli Yamen found that neither the payment of an indemnity, nor the dismissal of responsible officials,—methods which had been successfully employed on more than one occasion,—would settle matters. Kiaochow had to be leased to Germany for ninety-nine years, and she was given the right to build fortifications and docks, to land and station soldiers, and to control railways and mines in the whole of the Shantung Province. Thus by the death of two German missionaries, Kiaochow, whose strategic importance as a harbour had been made known to China, through one of her ministers abroad, as early as 1884, was lost. The game of "land-grabbing" was now the order of the day.

Lease of Port Arthur to Russia.—The next move on the board was made by Russia. As soon as the agreement with Germany was signed, Russia had a demand of her own to make. She had promised to protect China in the Cassini Convention, but had been appealed to in vain to help China resist the demands of Germany. The Czar had been displeased with the outcome of the German negotiations; and, to protect his interests, he required the lease of Port Arthur, Talienwan, and a strip of adjoining land. China was of course too weak to resist; and the territory, of which Japan had been deprived, fell into the hands of Russia. The indignation of Japan may be imagined, but she was not ready to fight.

Weihaiwei Leased to Great Britain and Kuangchowwan to France.—Great Britain, whose ships had been ordered out of Port Arthur by the Russians in the preceding winter, next came in for her share. In the South, she compelled China to lease to her four hundred square miles of land and water including a part of the mainland opposite Hongkong; and in the North she was to hold Weihaiwei as long as Port Arthur remained in the hands

of the Russians. France, following the example of her sister states, secured the lease of Kuangchowwan, opposite the Island of Hainan, for a period of ninety-nine years.

"Spheres of Influence."—In addition to the policy of "land-grabbing," the foreign powers resorted to another scheme less drastic than the actual partition of China. We have seen that the lease of Kiaochow carried with it railway and mining rights in Shantung. In the two southern provinces of Yünnan and Kuangsi, France had previously secured similar privileges. Japan was not fully recognized as a first-class power; but she prevailed on China to promise her special favors in the province of Fukien. Both Russia and Great Britain sought to gain their ends in China by a convention. Accordingly in 1896, it was agreed that Russia was to receive all railway concessions north of the Great Wall, while Great Britain was to have those in the Yangtze Valley, which included the provinces of Chekiang and Honan. The Shanhaikuan-Newchwang line, which had already been granted to a British Banking Corporation, was made an exception. Great Britain also secured a promise from China *that she* would not surrender any part of the Yangtze Valley to any other foreign power. In this way, each power had a part of China earmarked for exploitation; and the parts so marked were called, in the diplomatic language of the day, "spheres of influence."

The northern section of the great trunk line which was to connect Peking and Canton was granted to a Belgian syndicate; but the southern section from Hankow southward went to an American corporation. In a similar manner was the Tientsin-Chinkiang line divided, so far as the construction and operation were concerned. The sphere of German interests was defined as the region watered by the affluents of the Huang Ho; and the English sphere as that watered by those of the Yangtze.

Up to 1900, the following railways were in operation in China:—

(1) The Peking-Tientsin line which had been extended to Shanhaikuan and Newchwang.

(2) The Lu-Han line from Peking to Tingchow, south of of Paotingfu. There was also considerable work done at the southern terminus near Hankow.

(3) A short line from Shanghai to Wusung on the Yangtze.

(4) A line of sixty miles, for the transportation of ore, extending from the large iron-works in the neighborhood of Hankow.

The Inspector-General of Customs.—In order to forestall any attempt Russia might make, Great Britain secured in 1898 a promise from the Tsungli Yamen that the management of the Chinese customs service should remain in the hands of an Englishman. The excuse for this step was found in the fact that British trade was the largest. Since 1896, the Inspector-General of Customs has also been in charge of the postal administration of China. Some minor concessions were made at about the same time, such as the opening of more ports and of the whole of the inland waterways to steam navigation.

Italy Demands the Samun Bay.—Having contracted the contagion of "land-grabbing," Italy presented in 1899 a demand of her own. The place she selected was the Samun Bay on the coast of Chekiang. But the Empress Dowager had returned to power and she not only met the request with a blank refusal, but also sent orders to the provincial authorities to resist by force any attempt Italy might make to land troops. For having given this offence to the Imperial Government, the Italian minister was recalled; but his successor met with no better success.

"Open Door" Policy.—In 1899, both Russia and Germany threw open their leased territories to foreign commerce. Availing himself of this opportunity, John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, addressed a circular note to the European powers and Japan, proposing a policy which had for its object the maintenance of China's integrity and the assurance of equal rights to all. This is generally spoken of as the "Open Door" policy. The fact is that by their retention of the Philippine Islands after the successful termination of their war with Spain, the United States had to take

more interest in Asiatic questions. The British Government, in reply to the American note, pledged herself to support this policy; but the replies from other governments were more guarded, though they were considered satisfactory in Washington. It is claimed that the "open door" policy put a stop to further "spheres of influence."

The Reform Movement.—If the Japanese War helped to revive the anti-foreign agitation, it also helped to revive the reform movement in China. The result of the war was so glaring that thoughtful Chinese could not help recognizing wherein lay the hope, and the only hope, of China. It was about this time that Chang Chih-tung wrote his famous book entitled "China's Only Hope." Foreign concessions and spheres of influence all tended to confirm the Chinese in the belief that there was only one proper course open to them; and, as a consequence, Western knowledge was most eagerly sought. The people, for the first time, began to look forward instead of backward. They knew that something more than material reforms was needed. There was a large demand for the translations of scientific books prepared by the missionary societies; and there was an ever-increasing attendance at their schools where English and the sciences were taught. Newspapers, too, began to exert a large influence, although most of them were still registered in the names of foreigners.

Reform Edicts of the Emperor Kuang Hsü.—The strongest supporter of the reform movement was the Emperor Kuang Hsü. Freed temporarily from the circumstances that had kept him a figurehead, he began to give vent to his progressive ideas in the summer of 1898; and issued edict after edict making sweeping changes in the old régime. In fact there were more changes ordered than were carried out. The most important ones were:—

(1) The modification of the examination system so as to include questions on history, political economy, and scientific knowledge.

(2) The establishment of public schools throughout the Empire, and the conversion of temples and monasteries into school buildings.

(3) The abolition of many useless and superfluous offices both within and without the capital.

(4) The complete reorganization of the military system.

Most of these edicts may be traced to the pens of a number of young men whom the Emperor had raised to responsible positions to the surprise and discomfiture of their enemies. The most famous of these reformers were Kang Yu-wei (康有爲) and Liang Chi-ch'ao (梁啓超), both natives of Kuangtung. While they and their friends were confident of success, a storm of reaction was rapidly gathering force.

Restoration of the Empress Dowager to Power.—The centre of that storm was the I Ho Summer Palace, where the

The Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi

Empress Dowager had been enjoying a life of pleasure. Owing to the intrigues of the different parties, the relations between her and the Emperor had not been very cordial; and by the death of Kuang Hsü's mother, a sister of Tz'ŭ Hsi, the last tie of friendship between them had been severed. The Empress Dowager had the support of the army; and, in that hour of extreme excitement, she, carried away by the irresistible tide of reaction, returned into the Palace, seized once more the reins of government, and made the Emperor sign his own dethronement and instal her with the most imposing ceremony. This *coup d'etat* took place on September 22, 1898, just one hundred days after the first reform edict of Kuang Hsü had appeared. From that date till their deaths in 1908, China was once more ruled by a woman. The world was made to believe that the Emperor was very ill, and officials throughout the Empire were commanded to send the best physicians they knew to attend him. But the Emperor lived and their services were not required.

On a charge of treason, six of the reformers of 1898 were summarily executed. Kang Yu-wei, their leader, however, escaped to Shanghai, and later to Hongkong. Until recently both he and Liang Chi-ch'ao were still at large living upon the hospitality of Chinese residents abroad. Many high officials, mostly Chinese, were either banished, or dismissed, for having shown sympathy with the reformers.

The return of the Empress Dowager to power was followed by a period of unprecedented Manchu prominence. Yung Lu, then Viceroy of Chihli, became the most trusted adviser of the Throne and the most influential person in the Empire. He vacated his post at Tientsin, entered the Grand Council, and retained his command of the New Army—a privilege no Grand Councillor had ever before held. All the reforms inaugurated by the Emperor were rescinded by a stroke of the vermilion pen. Reform had to hide its head before the Empress Dowager. The reactionary party reaped a temporary triumph; but it was one that was gained at tremendous cost in life and treasure.

CHAPTER LXII

THE BOXER UPRISING (1900-1901)

The Boxers.—In the year 1900, China was involved in a war with the world through the crimes of bands of fanatics commonly known among foreigners as the Boxers. They called themselves I Ho Ch'üan (義和拳, Patriotic and Harmonious Fist, or Tuan (團), a character for union or volunteers. The latter name was not used until the Boxers had received official recognition from Peking, after which they proudly considered themselves volunteers in the service of the Government. The name, "Boxers," was derived from the character meaning fist. It was probably first used by certain missionaries in writing to foreign newspapers; and, in the absence of a more appropriate term, was soon adopted all over the world.

Origin and Practice of the Boxers.—Chinese state papers show that a society under the name of I Ho Ch'üan had existed in China since the days of Chia Ch'ing (嘉慶). Like other secret societies it had existed under the ban of the law; and, like most of them, it had the province of Shantung for its cradle. Its members had to undergo an initiation which was supposed to make them invulnerable. At any rate, after the required period of initiation, they were little better than madmen; and, singing incantations as they made their attacks, were absolutely regardless of danger. It was their wont to perform their experiments before admiring and credulous crowds; and when any of their number failed to make good his claims to invulnerability, the usual excuse was that the man in question had been deserted by the spirits. They indulged in dances and prostrations to evoke this divine protection; and worshipped a variety of gods of Buddhist or Taoist origin. For weapons they used knives and spears.

Revival of the Boxer Movement in Shantung.—Shantung was the province in which trouble would thrive. As we have seen, it experienced the horrors of a foreign invasion, and had its

stronghold and finest bay leased to a foreign power. The land, which had given Confucius to China, was at last to be pierced through by railways. In addition to these things, there had been frequent inundations caused by the overflow of the Huang Ho, which had, since 1853, returned to its historic northern channel on its way to the sea. Consequently the people were much excited and terrified; and, as they believed that the foreigners were solely responsible for all their troubles, they began to organize. At the outset they carried out their drills in mountain fastnesses, or in out-of-the-way villages. But this was no longer necessary during the régime of Governor Yü Hsien (毓賢), a Manchu. He was extremely anti-foreign and showed unmistakable sympathy with the movement which had for its object the ultimate expulsion of all foreigners from China. With official encouragement, the secret society suddenly took on the form of a patriotic movement, and gained daily in strength and popularity. Anti-Christian and anti-foreign riots became of frequent occurrence, and culminated in the murder of one Mr. Brooks, of the Church of England Mission, December 31, 1900.

Spread of the Movement Beyond the Boundaries of Shantung.—Owing to foreign protest, the Peking Government found it necessary to recall Yü Hsien. His place in Shantung was given to Yüan Shih-k'ai (袁世凱), a man of an entirely different type, who had been Chinese resident in Corea, and one of the four division commanders under Jung Lu (榮祿). He took his division of foreign drilled soldiers with him to Shantung, and made things so uncomfortable for the Boxers that they reluctantly left their home and migrated into the provinces of Chihli and Shansi. Had these provinces been ruled by men of Yüan Shih-k'ai's calibre the uprising might have been nipped in the bud.

Appointment of an Heir to the Throne.—Early in 1900 the Chinese world was startled by a decree issued in the name of the Emperor Kuang Hsü. In this he declared, or was made to declare, that he was unfit physically to rule, and that with the consent of the Empress Dowager he had appointed Pu Tsun (溥儁), son of Prince Tuan (端王), heir to the Throne, and had made him an adopted son

of the Emperor T'ung Chih. On the Chinese New Year day, the newly appointed heir, a lad of sixteen, and a grandson of Prince Tun (惇王), the fifth son of the Emperor Tao Kuang, officiated at the sacrifices to heaven; and two Manchus, both pronounced enemies to reform, were appointed his tutors. The last vestige of power in the hands of the Emperor Kuang Hsü had now been taken away from him and it was freely rumoured that before long his death would be announced. Prince Tuan (端), the father of the Heir Apparent, became a most important factor in the politics of Peking; and nearly all the important positions were held by men of his views. They believed that the time had come for them to wipe out the humiliation that the foreigners had heaped upon their dynasty; and thought that they could make good use of the Boxers who had faith in their divine mission and superhuman power to accomplish their end. Decrees began to appear in which organizations for the purpose of mutual help were commended, although acts of violence towards Christians, or foreigners, were deprecated. No one with any knowledge of the official language, or the trend of recent events, could fail to read between the lines. In March 1900, Yü Hsien was appointed Governor of Shansi.

Arrival of Legation Guards at Peking.—Towards the end of May, the situation in North China was very critical. The destruction by the Boxers of the Paotingfu Railway was the beginning of a general uprising, such as had never before been seen in China. Foreign ministers, who had hitherto contented themselves with conducting fruitless correspondence with the Tsungli Yamen, were at last awakened to their danger. By telegram they asked for guards to be sent from the foreign men-of-war assembled at Tientsin; and, in compliance with this request, 340 marines, consisting of American, British, French, Italian, Japanese and Russian contingents, arrived at Peking on the last day of the month. These were joined three days later by 50 Germans and 35 Australians. Even the presence of foreign troops in the capital did not improve matters. Placards were everywhere put up giving various dates when the Legations were to be attacked and the foreigners massacred. Mohammedan

soldiers under General Tung Fu-hsiang (董福祥), a most troublesome lot of men over whom Jung Lu was in supreme command, began to enter the city and openly fraternize with the Boxers, who could now boast of several princes and nobles in their ranks. When one of these, Prince Tuan, became President of the Tsungli Yamen, it was a notification that foreigners could expect no protection from that quarter. From the country south of Peking, reports of pillage, arson, and the massacre of native Christians, continued to arrive; while missionaries and foreign engineers had great difficulty in reaching either Peking or Tientsin.

The Seymour Expedition.—Upon a further appeal from the ministers some 2,000 additional foreign troops started from Tientsin. This force, made up of soldiers of eight different nationalities, was placed under the command of Vice-Admiral Seymour of the British Navy, and from him it received its name. The expedition went by train without any accident as far as Yangts'un (楊村), where the best part of General Nieh's (聶) army was encamped. Between Yangts'un and Langfan the foreign soldiers had to fight the Boxers at every stage and to make the necessary repairs to the railway as they advanced. On the day following the taking of the Taku Forts, the government troops openly joined the Boxers in attacking the Seymour expedition; and, in face of the stubborn resistance and the failure of provisions and ammunition, it was considered unadvisable to advance any farther. When they reached Yangts'un on their retreat, the allies found that the railway had been so damaged that they could not use it in returning to their base. Abandoning the trains, they marched along the bank of the Peiho and finally saved themselves from annihilation by the capture of the Hsi Ku (西庫) Arsenal, a few miles from Tientsin. This place, with the provisions and ammunition stored there, afforded the retreating party a defensible position until it was extricated by a relief column from Tientsin. When Admiral Seymour and his party reached Tientsin it was found that they had had 67 killed and 238 wounded. It was due to the large number of wounded

with him that Admiral Seymour had been unable to force his way from Hsi Ku to Tientsin.

Capture of the Taku Forts.—On June 16th the allied commanders at Taku demanded the surrender of the forts there. This step was considered necessary because a large number of foreign drilled troops had entered these forts and mines were being laid across the mouth of the Peiho. The Chinese commandant was given up to 2 o'clock the next morning to vacate but he refused to do so. At 1 o'clock he opened fire on the foreign gunboats and the fire was returned. After a bombardment of six hours, the forts were silenced, stormed and taken. The Americans took no part in the action, although the "Monocacy," their only ship present, with the foreign refugees

Wall of Tientsin after bombardment.

on board, was hit. Their admiral insisted that he could take no hostile action against a government with which his government was at peace. Four Chinese destroyers were captured near the Taku Dock. The Chinese second-class cruiser, Hai-yüan, the flagship of Admiral Yeh Tsu-kuei (葉祖珪), was outside the bar but did not participate in the hostilities.

Relief of Tientsin.—Before the fall of the Taku Forts, the Boxers had secured complete control of the native city of Tientsin.

In the neighborhood there had also been concentrated a large Chinese army with instructions to oppose any further armed force that the allies might try to send to Peking. When the news of the loss of the Taku Forts became known to the Chinese, the foreign settlements of Tientsin were bombarded with much damage. Happily some 2,000 Russian soldiers had arrived a few days before and they held the railway station against the combined attacks of the Boxers and regular troops. Communication with Taku being interrupted, it was with the greatest difficulty that word was sent to the allied naval commanders informing them of the danger to which the foreign concession was exposed. The siege of Tientsin was not raised till June 24th, when a large force arrived from Taku. On the following day a relief party found Admiral Seymour's force and brought them to Tientsin. The Boxers remained in possession of the native city and forts from which they continued to shell the settlements.

Siege of the Legations.—In the meantime matters in Peking had gone from bad to worse. By the time the Seymour Expedition left Tientsin, the Boxers were beyond all restraint; and it was not safe for foreigners to venture out of the Legation quarter, where preparations were being made to defend themselves

Legation Street, Peking, after the siege. ("China and Her People," II)

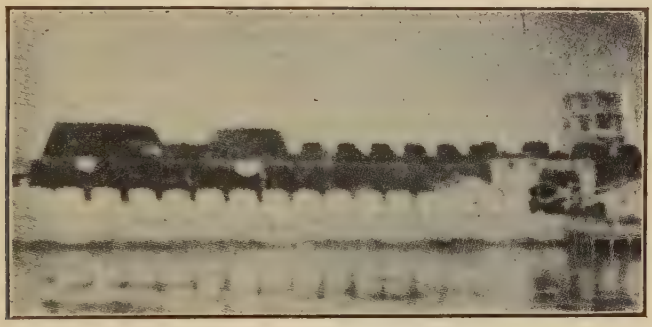
against an attack. A secretary of the Japanese Legation was murdered and mutilated near the railway station, where he had gone in the hope of seeing something of Admiral Seymour's

party. Churches, chapels, schools and other foreign property in Peking were looted, destroyed, and burned; foreign cemeteries were desecrated, and hundreds of native Christians and employees of foreigners were put to death in a most horrible manner. The business portion of Peking, with its three thousand shops and houses and twenty-six banks, was also burned, because some of the shops sold foreign goods. All these crimes were committed by the Boxers, with the connivance, if not with the express orders of the Government, which, it must be remembered, meant little more than Prince Tuan and the extreme Manchu party, who were only waiting for an excuse to declare war upon the foreign ministers.

The attack and capture of the Taku Forts by the allies furnished the excuse desired. The foreign ministers were ordered to leave Peking within twenty-four hours, and the German minister when proceeding to the Tsungli Yamen to meet an appointment was shot. At the expiration of the time allowed the ministers to leave Peking, the legations were bombarded; and, from that time, July 20, until August 14, when relief came, they were constantly subjected to rifle and artillery fire at the hands of the Boxers and the soldiers of General Tung Fu-hsiang. The Boxers displayed on their banners the characters that meant, "Exterminate All Foreigners and Save the Dynasty" (滅洋扶清). Most of the foreigners found shelter in the British Legation, while native Christians and the families of foreigners' servants were placed in the palace of Prince Su (肅). It was due to the divided opinion in the council of war that the besieged did not meet with a worse fate. Several ministers of state were summarily sent to the execution ground because they had the courage to oppose the views of Prince Tuan. In an attempt to destroy the foreigners in the British Legation, the Hanlin Library was deliberately burned.

Capture of the Native City of Tientsin.—It was not considered advisable to try to send relief to Peking with the native city of Tientsin in the hands of the Boxers; but the first attempt to

carry it by storm was not successful. In the second attack one of the gates was blown open by the Japanese and the allies were admitted. The city was captured at great cost in life, and was given up to be looted. For a brief time anarchy prevailed; but an efficient administration was soon organized and order promptly restored. From July 18, 1900, to August 15, 1902, Tientsin was under the military authority constituted by the allies.



Black Fort at Tientsin

Relief of Peking.—Having collected an army at Tientsin and having made the base secure, the allies once more set out towards Peking with some 20,000 men. It had been suggested that Japan alone, owing to her geographical position, should undertake to effect the rescue of the foreign ministers; but on this the powers could not agree. The advance of the allies was vigorously opposed by the Chinese troops and Boxers. Severe battles were fought at Peitang (北塘) and Yangts'un. At both places the Chinese were driven out of their entrenched positions, at the former by the Japanese alone, and at the latter by the allies. After the defeat of Yangts'un, Viceroy Yü Lu (裕祿), of Chihli, committed suicide. The Chinese became so demoralized that they made no determined resistance at either Hosiwu (河西坞), or Chang Chia Wan (張家灣). Tungchow (通州), the next city between Peking and the allies, was held by soldiers under Li Ping-hêng (李秉衡). He fared no better than his colleague, Yü Lu (裕祿), whose example he promptly followed, when Tungchow was occupied by the allies. On their arrival at Peking,

the allies found all their ministers safe except the German representative, although several of the legations had been destroyed. Peking was once more at the mercy of foreigners, who looted at will, marched through the forbidden city and its imperial palaces, and committed all sorts of excesses by way of revenge. The Peking Observatory was deprived of its historic astronomical instruments, which the Germans carried to Europe as spoils.

Flight of the Court.—As the allies entered Peking, the Empress Dowager, Emperor and members of the Imperial Court took to flight. Amidst untold hardships and after frequent halts, they reached Taiyüanfu in Shansi; while many officials and their families not being able to join the Imperial party committed suicide in Peking. In the first decree issued in the name of the Emperor after his flight from Peking, he took all the blame for the Boxer uprising upon himself; but the world knew that he was not guilty. That decree was followed by another one calling upon the provincial authorities to exterminate the Boxers. "Owing to the famine that was threatening Taiyüan," the court subsequently moved to Sian, the capital of Shensi.

The Yangtze Compact.—Thanks to the sagacity of Viceroys Chang Chih-tung (張之洞) and Liu K'un-i (劉坤一), the Yangtze basin remained comparatively quiet during the Boxer Uprising. After the taking of the Taku Forts, orders were telegraphed throughout China to declare war against the world and to massacre foreigners wherever found. The two Viceroys, however, had received word from Yung Lu informing them of the authors of these instructions. Upon their own responsibility, they then concluded with the foreign consuls, through the Taotai of Shanghai, an agreement in which they took upon themselves the obligation to protect foreign lives and property in Central and South China. They remained faithful to their obligations, and the authorities of Fukien soon entered into a similar agreement with the foreign representatives of Foochow. With the exception of the Chu-chow

CHANG CHIH-TUNG

massacre, no foreign life was sacrificed south of the Yangtze; and the sphere of Boxer activities was confined to the North, chiefly in Chihli and Shansi. In the latter province a wholesale massacre of missionaries was perpetrated in the presence of its governor, Yü Hsien.

PRINCE CH'ING

At Amoy, a small Japanese temple was burned, whereupon the Japanese consul immediately landed soldiers on both Kulangsu and Amoy to the consternation of the native populace. The Taotai, Yen Nien (延年), assisted by the American and British consuls, did splendid work in maintaining order, and the Japanese were soon obliged to withdraw their men to their ships. With the exception of this little incident there was no hostile demonstration on the part of any foreign government in South China, because it was unnecessary.

There being no war in the South, the viceroys and governors were able to send supplies to the court at Sian.

Peace Negotiations.—The flight of the court left Peking without a responsible government to negotiate for peace. For some time the powers could not agree upon the terms to be presented to China, and the Kaiser's appointment of Count Waldersee as Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces also tended to complicate

matters. But before this new Chief arrived in China, Li Hung-chang and Prince Ch'ing were recognized by the foreign governments as peace negotiators, the former having been recently transferred from the Canton viceroyalty to his old post at Tientsin. After many weary months they signed a protocol with the foreign ministers and commissioners. The principal conditions of peace were:—

1. Erection of a monument to the memory of the German minister on the spot where he had been murdered, and the dispatch of an Imperial prince to Germany to express the regrets of the Chinese Emperor for the sad occurrence. A similar mission was also to be sent to Japan on account of the murder of the secretary of the Japanese Legation.

2. Punishment of the princes and ministers named by the foreign representatives.

3. Suspension of provincial examinations at places where massacres had occurred.

4. Maintenance by foreign powers of permanent guards at Peking and between that city and Taku to keep open the line of communication, and the razing of the forts at the latter point.

5. Payment of an indemnity of 450 million taels.

6. Reorganization of the Tsungli Yamen, and final adjustment of the audience question so that foreign ministers should be received by the Emperor in a manner befitting their representative character.

7. Suspension of the importation of arms and all warlike materials.

Most of the terms had been carried into effect before the protocol was signed. The death sentence had been passed upon eleven princes and ministers; and it had fallen to the lot of Prince Shun to go to Germany, and Vice-President Na Tung, to Japan. Prince Shun was thus the first Manchu prince to see Europe. These terms were very severe indeed; but China had to choose between them and dismemberment, and in that trying hour she chose the lesser of two evils. Inasmuch as Count Waldersee with his headquarters in one of the Imperial palaces in

Peking had sent several punitive expeditions to Paotingfu and other places, the court had every reason to feel relieved when the allies did not go to Sian.

Li Hung-chang did not live long after this protocol was signed. After having saved China on more than one occasion from her enemies, both foreign and domestic, during the last forty years, he died in Peking on November 7, 1901.

Russia in Manchuria.—Russia had long persuaded China that she was her best friend, and this policy she pursued during the Boxer trouble. She gave Li Hung-chang an escort from Tientsin to Peking, and even offered to withdraw her troops before other powers were ready. The fact was that she wished to make her stay in Manchuria permanent. When Manchuria had declared war against her, she had seized every important city in that territory, including Mukden and Newchwang, and treated the Chinese with needless cruelty, expecially at Blagoveschensk, where 5,000 were thrown into the Amur and drowned. When she saw England and Germany conclude an agreement to preserve the integrity of China—a policy approved by most of the other powers—she did not wish China to think that she was less

The Upper Amur River

friendly than they were. She accordingly signified her willingness to evacuate Manchuria; but, nevertheless, insisted on leaving a force large enough to protect her railways in that region. As China was too weak to resist, Ts'êng Chi (增祺) agreed to everything she demanded. So long as Russia had the railways she

had Manchuria; and it was her persistency in keeping this territory that finally led her to war with Japan.

Missionary Interference in Civil Affairs.—Owing to their exposed position, missionaries as a body suffered more than any other class of foreigners during the Boxer trouble; but even they were not entirely free from blame. Their principal fault lay in the fact that some of them assisted Chinese in their lawsuits in order to secure new converts. This was especially true of the Catholic priests. They had official rank conferred on them by the Emperor, and were permitted to communicate with the local officials either in person or by writing. A priest would often tell the officials that the converts could have done no wrong because they were Christians, or because he had investigated the case and knew what he was talking about. He would then dictate to them what action to take; and, in case of refusal to comply, a threat to report them to their superior officials for their failure to protect Christians from persecution usually had the desired effect. The result was that the outside people in going to law with a "convert" often got anything but justice; and murderers, thieves, and other criminals flocked into the church. After the Boxer trouble the British minister issued an order that missionaries should confine themselves to reporting genuine cases of persecution to their consuls; and the American minister had more than one occasion to insist that American citizens had no treaty right to deal directly with Chinese officials. These facts alone are sufficient to show that the Protestant missionaries had also indulged in this illegal and harmful practice, although to a much less extent than the Roman Catholics.

China owes much to missionaries for new ideas and knowledge; she also owes much to them for the Boxer Uprising. There were 2,218 missionaries in China at the time the uprising took place.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE CLOSING YEARS OF KUANG HSÜ'S REIGN

The Return of the Court to Peking; The Empress Dowager Leader of the Reform Movement.—The Boxer Uprising of 1900, as we have seen, was a desperate struggle between the old and new forces of China, ending in the complete defeat of the former. It brought in its train disasters of unparalleled magnitude; and also seeds of hope, which began to take root in 1902. The first good omen of that year was the return of the Imperial Court to Peking, on January 7. They had left Sian in the preceding October. The old Empress Dowager was still at the head of affairs, but she was not the same as she was before the Boxer madness. She had become fully reconciled to the progressive ideas of the Emperor. She had freed herself from the influence of Prince Tuan and other leaders of the reactionary party, whom she had punished either by death or banishment; and had formally disinherited the youth appointed to succeed Kuang Hsü. After having travelled from Paotingfu to Peking on the road the Boxers had tried to destroy, she had also learned to appreciate the comfort and speed afforded by a modern train; and, from the moment she entered Peking till her death in 1908, she identified herself with the reform movement. China, indeed, had played at reform before; this time she was in earnest because the movement was directed by the strong hand of a wonderful woman, advanced in years to be sure, but not enfeebled in mind or energy.

The Principal Causes of Reform.—Before proceeding to record the progress this movement made during the last years of the reign of Kuang Hsü, it is desirable to mention the two principal causes, which, following the severe lesson of the Boxer war, have tended to give permanence to the awakening in China. They are the war between Russia and Japan and the Sudden Birth of National Feeling in China. One of these was external and the other internal, the latter being in some measure a product

of the former. A war in which China took no part would have been ordinarily no matter of interest to Chinese history. But the Russo-Japanese War arose out of a question of vital interest to China, was carried on largely on her soil, and had the most far-reaching effect, both directly and indirectly, upon her future.

The Russo-Japanese War.—In fighting the Boxers, Russia had occupied Manchuria; and, although she made a promise to withdraw, yet she never intended to keep her word. When she also began to interfere in Corean affairs, Japan felt that her national existence was in danger. Russia thought Japan would never go to war, but Japan knew that she must fight Russia before the giant was ready. Russia had then two important strongholds in the east, Port Arthur and Vladivostok; and her army was scattered over Manchuria and North Corea. Her fleet was likewise scattered in Corean and Chinese waters. Japan's object was to drive Russia out of Corea and Manchuria, destroy her fleet and take Port Arthur. On the night of February 8, 1904, Admiral Togo made an attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and the war began in earnest.

In this night attack, Togo was successful. He found the Russians in the midst of their festivities, and sank two and disabled several of their fighting ships. On the next day the attack was renewed with further damage to the Russian fleet. Shortly before this a Japanese squadron had destroyed two Russian ships at Chemulpo. During the next three months many attempts were made by the Japanese to blockade Port Arthur. On April 17, the Russians made a sortie when one of their ships, with Admiral Makoroff on board, was sunk by a floating mine. After this disaster, they made no further sallies; but left their Vladivostok squadron to destroy Japanese shipping. On August 10, the remaining Russian ships made a bold attempt to escape from Port Arthur, but were pursued by the Japanese fleet and dispersed. Several of them succeeded in regaining Port Arthur; and those escaping to neutral ports were either interned or captured. About the same time, the Vladivostok squadron was met and its fighting strength destroyed.

The total loss of the Japanese during these months was three ships, one by collision and two by floating mines.

The Japanese were no less Successful on Land.—After a few skirmishes, their first army drove the inferior Russian force out of Corea. The first general battle was fought on the Yalu, April 29-May 1, when the Japanese successfully crossed the river. Two more armies landed on the Liaotung Peninsula and, after isolating Port Arthur, marched north. The task of reducing that strong fortress was left to the Fourth Army under General Nogi, who entered Dalny on May 30; but Port Arthur, defended by soldiers as brave as their assailants, held out seven months longer, and might have done even better than that but for its commander. It surrendered on January 1st, 1905. Opposed to the three armies under Field-Marshal Oyama was the main Russian force under General Kuropatkin. The battles of Liaoyang and Mukden were among the greatest battles in the military annals of the world for the number of men engaged, the extent of ground covered, and the means employed; everything was the latest and best that the human brain had invented for the destruction of man. Their results were very much the same; Oyama gained the victory, but Kuropatkin executed his masterly retreat. After the battle of Mukden, the scene of action again shifted to the sea.

Russia had towards the end of the preceding year sent out what was known as the Baltic Fleet, one portion sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and the other through the Suez Canal, to retrieve the fortunes of war. Having effected a junction off the coast of Madagascar, the first fleet was joined by a second off Samarang whence the whole force sailed for Vladivostok. In the Strait of Tsushima, the Russian and Japanese fleets met and a great naval fight ensued with the result that nearly all the Russian ships were either sunk or captured. As both countries were then almost exhausted, the war was brought to a close through the good offices of President Roosevelt of the United States. By the Treaty of Portsmouth the lease of the Liaotung Peninsula was transferred to Japan.

Moral Effect of the War in China.—Such were the outlines of a great conflict, the turning point in the world's history. For the first time, a European power in carrying out her unrestrained aggression in Asia was obliged to own defeat at the hands of an Asiatic nation. The event was too instructive not to have its effect upon China, especially at a time when she was too weak either to participate in a war that was waged within her borders, or to compel the belligerents to respect her neutrality. Yesterday Japan was a semi-barbarous nation; to-day she beats Russia, becomes an ally of England, and is the only Asiatic nation that exercises jurisdiction over aliens within her borders. What may not China accomplish with her greater population, territory and resources, if she only follows the footsteps of Japan? What will be her fate if she continues in her old ways? How can she face both Russia and Japan in Manchuria, if one of them has already proved to be more than a match for her? These are a few of the questions that suggested themselves to the mind of all thoughtful Chinese at the close of the Russo-Japanese War. Time and again has China been told what she should do; and now she knows what she can do as well as what she must do.

Sudden Birth of National Feeling; Boycott of American Goods.—The best evidence of the birth of a national feeling in China was the movement set on foot in 1905 to buy no American goods. This boycott was instituted to express their disapproval of the treatment they had been receiving from America. For years America had tried to exclude Chinese on the ground that Chinese laborers were robbing the white laborers of their bread. In legislation, and by unauthorized acts of their custom officers, the Americans had dealt harshly with Chinese laborers as well as other classes, and since their acquisition of the Philippine Islands this policy had been extended to them. The Chinese in America were mostly from Canton, while those in the Philippine Islands were chiefly from Fukien; but the centre of the boycott was Shanghai. The day when Chinese of one province looked upon those of another with indifference was now past. A nation must rise or fall together, and the

Chinese were beginning to realize this truth. The boycott gradually extended to other ports, although in the North, owing to the strong attitude of Yüan Shih-k'ai, Viceroy of Chihli, it was less severe than in the South. It worked such havoc to American trade that it produced a feeling in the United States in favor of less objectionable laws. President Taft, then Secretary of War, visited China towards the end of the year. Unfortunately Chinese merchants also suffered considerably on account of the boycott; and the whole movement soon died out. The boycott is not a Chinese institution, but its use in this country is evidence of how rapidly the Chinese can adopt foreign ideas.

Reform Memorials of the Yangtze Viceroys.—The transformation of China had a new beginning in an edict of January 30, 1901. In response to this edict, the Yangtze viceroys laid before the Throne in the following year a most elaborate reform program which includes:—

1. Establishment of schools of different grades (設文武學堂).
2. Modification of the literary examination system (酌改文科).
3. Discontinuation of the military examination system (停罷武科).
4. Encouragement to students who go abroad for the purpose of travel and education (獎勸游學).

In their subsequent memorials, further recommendations were made as follows:—

(*a*) Reduction of the Court expenses (崇節儉).

(*b*) Promotion by merit and ability rather than seniority (破常格).

(*c*) Abolition of the sale of substantive official rank (停捐納).

(*d*) Adequate salary for public servants (課官重祿).

(*e*) Abolition of the system of clerks and Yamen runners (去書吏去差役).

(*f*) Judicial and prison reforms (恤刑獄).

(*g*) Reformed system of making appointments to government offices (改選法).

(*h*) Employment of the Banner-man in other walks of life rather than in the Manchu army (籌八旗生計).

(*i*) Abolition of the grain transport system (裁屯衛).

(*j*) Disbandment of the "Green Camp" (裁綠營).

(*k*) Adoption of more practical administrative rules and regulations (簡文法).

(*l*) Encouragement to nobles and officials to travel abroad (廣派游歷).

(*m*) A Modern Army (練分國操).

(*n*) Manufacture of arms and ammunition (廣軍實).

(*o*) Encouragement to agricultural enterprises (修農政).

(*p*) Promotion of industries (勸工藝).

(*q*) Adoption of modern mining, railway, commercial, and criminal codes (定礦律路律交涉刑律).

(*r*) Uniform monetary system based on the silver dollar (用銀元).

(*s*) Introduction of a stamp tax (行印花稅).

(*t*) Extension of the Imperial Postal Service (推行郵政).

(*u*) Government monopoly in opium (官收洋藥).

(*v*) Translation of foreign works (多譯東西洋書籍).

Thus was the basis of the transformation of China carefully laid out. We shall now glance briefly at the measures that have been adopted.

Education.—In the province of education more progress has been made than elsewhere. For a number of years educational affairs were placed in the hands of a commission in Peking which had under its immediate charge the Imperial University of Peking where the Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, and Russian languages, and law, mathematics, chemistry, physiology, etc., were taught. Later it was made into a regular Board under the name of the Board of Education (學部). Under this Board, colleges, primary and secondary schools, normal, mechanical, agricultural, police and military schools multiplied throughout the Empire. According to official returns compiled by the Board of Education, the number of government schools, excluding military and naval schools, reached 35,198 at the end of 1910, with a total enrollment of 875,760

Hundreds of students supported by the Government or otherwise have gone to Europe, America, or Japan. On their return they have been examined by competent men in Peking and given Chinese degrees which serve as passports to government offices. The objectionable feature of this system is that the successful candidates are not always employed in the work for which they have taken special pains to prepare themselves, with the result that medical men have been appointed tax-collectors, mining engineers assigned to clerical duties, and so on. The old system of literary examination was all swept away by an edict of September 5, 1905, the "Eight Legs" having been previously declared obsolete.

Translations of foreign standard works have gradually reached the most distant parts of the country; and various regulations governing public instruction have come into force. In each province there is a commissioner of education (提學使司) whose duty it is to further the interest of public instruction. Education was not made compulsory.

By an edict of 1906 five points were to be emphasized in every school; (1) Loyalty (忠君); (2) Confucianism (尊孔); (3) Nationalism (尚公) (4) Martial Spirit (武尚); and (5) Honesty (尚實). Mission schools still continued to do good work although they received no official recognition from the Government.

Newspapers have also multiplied. In 1908 the first press laws came into force.

Army and Navy.—In January, 1905, a plan for the gradual organization of an army along modern lines was set forth by Imperial edict. It was to be completed in 1922. Eventually China was to have 36 divisions (鎮) of about 10,000 men each, and the whole was to be divided into two armies known as the Northern and the Southern. The recruits were to be secured on the voluntary principle, the terms of service being 3 years with the colors, 3 with the reserves, and 4 in the territorial army, or 10 years in all. The Japanese system of training was followed. The reservists were called out for a month of training every year; the men in the territorial army for the same period every other year.

At the end of 1908 there were six divisions and one mixed brigade (混成協) (about 60,000 men with 350 guns) in the Northern Army, and three divisions and one brigade (about 40,000 men with 174 guns) in the Southern Army. The former were superior to the latter in both training and equipment. About a third of the Northern Army occupied garrisons in Manchuria. The arms of the new troops were far from uniform, due largely to the fact that each province was required to raise one or more divisions as its resources would permit.

The Chinese navy in 1908 was represented by two cruisers of 3,000 tons each, one cruiser of 4,000 tons, and a few smaller craft.

Constitution.—Early in 1905, five Imperial Commissioners were sent to Europe, America and Japan to study and report upon their forms of government. As a result of their investigations, the Throne announced, on September 1, its intention to give the people a constitution as soon as they were ready for it, since it would certainly be unwise to grant them rights and confer upon them duties when they did not know how to exercise or discharge them. Throughout the next two years many things were done to give practical effect to the policy of preparation. The newly created Commission on the Compilation of a Constitution (憲政編查館) became the sole law giving power under the Throne. It passed many laws, including the "Outlines of a Constitution" (憲法大綱), which showed clearly the character of the Constitution to be promulgated in the future. Finally it prepared a Program of Preparation (籌備憲政清單), and stated what annual changes were to be effected up to the year 1915, when the convocation (召集) of a parliament (議院) was to take place. Before 1915 the Tzŭ Chêng Yüan (資政院), which was described in the decree creating it as the "Foundation of Parliament" (議院基礎) and which was to consist of a total membership of 200, one half of whom were to be appointed by the Throne, and the remaining half by the Viceroys and Governors of the provinces, was to act as an advisory board to the Central Government. The Tzŭ I Chü (諮議局), or Provincial Assembly, was to fill a similar place in the government of a province. The number of members

varied from 140 in Chihli to 114 in Chekiang, and was as low as 30 in Kirin, Heilungkiang and Hsinkiang. It was intended that both the National and Provincial Assemblies should become the nurseries for the future members of Parliament. The meeting of the Provincial Assemblies was set for 1909; and the National Assembly was to convene a year later. Their functions were to be purely consultative, and they were to be discontinued when the Parliament came into being.

Reorganization of the Government.—By an edict of November 6, 1906, the Central Government was reorganized so as to consist of the following principal departments:—

1. The Waiwupu (外務部), or Board of Foreign Affairs.
2. The Lipu (吏部), or Board of Civil Appointments.
3. The Minchêngpu (民政部), or Board of Civil Affairs. (This was the Board of Constabulary (巡警部) with a new name).
4. The Tuchihpu (度支部), or Board of Finance. (An amalgamation of the old Board of Revenue (戶部) and the Council of Finance (財政處)).
5. The Lipu (禮部), or Board of Rites. (An amalgamation of the Courts of Sacrificial Worship (太常寺), Imperial Entertainments (光祿寺), and State Ceremonial (鴻臚寺).
6. The Hsüehpu (學部), or Board of Education.
7. The Luchünpu (陸軍部), or Army Board. (An amalgamation of the old Board of War and the Council of Army Reorganization (練兵處). This Board was to take charge of the Affairs of the Navy (海軍處) and of the General Staff (軍諮府) until such time as a Naval Board and a General Staff were established).
8. The Board of Punishments was given the new name of Board of Justice, or Fapu (法部).
9. The Board of Works was amalgamated with the Board of Commerce and renamed the Board of Agriculture, Works and Commerce (農工商部).
10. The Yuch'uanpu (郵傳部), or Board of Posts and Communications. (A new Board to take charge of the affairs relating to steamships, railways, telegraphs, and postal administration).

11. The Mongol Superintendency was renamed the Board of Colonies (理藩部). All these boards were to continue to receive instructions through the Grand Council.

Instead of two presidents and four vice-presidents, half Manchu and half Chinese, each board, the Waiwupu excepted, was to have but one president and two vice-presidents, irrespective of race.

In 1907, a new system of provincial government was introduced in Manchuria; but at the end of 1908 it had hardly passed the experimental stage, and none of the eighteen provinces had been ordered to adopt it.

The sale of substantive official ranks was stopped in 1901.

Internal Communications.—At the end of the year 1908 there were open for traffic 2,500 miles of railway, not including the Russian or Japanese roads in Manchuria, while more than 1,700 miles of new trunk lines were under construction. All the principal cities of the empire were connected by telegraph lines which required 39,196 miles of wire, and about 500 offices for the 26,000 miles of distance covered. In accordance with an edict of 1901, the enterprise has been turned over to the Government. There were 592 post offices and 2,901 agencies scattered over the eighteen provinces and Manchuria. China has postal agreements with India, France, Japan, Germany, and Hongkong.

Owing to the absence of good roads, internal trade is carried on chiefly by means of numerous canals and navigable rivers which have been open to both foreign and native steamers since 1898. In 1907 there were registered at the river ports 864 steamers for inland water traffic, 609 of these being under the Chinese flag.

Finance.—Under the Peace Protocol, the first instalment of the Boxer Indemnity fell due in 1902. Between that year and 1910, the viceroys and governors were required to remit an annual sum of 18,700,000 taels. As a consequence many new taxes of a more or less local character came into existence. Sir Robert Hart proposed an increase of the land tax, but Chang Chih-tung was not in favor of this scheme. A stamp tax was

later introduced, but without apparent success. Nor was the issue of government bonds in connection with railway enterprises very successful. The result of official investigations, instituted under the direction of the Board of Finance, shows the revenue and expenditure of the provinces for the year 1908 to be 120,523,212 taels and 123,847,152 taels respectively, or a deficit of more than 3 million taels. By an edict of May 9, 1906, two Comptrollers-General were appointed to supervise the Customs Service. They formed the Shuiwuchü (稅務局), and to this department and not to the Waiwupu, the Inspector-General of customs was to report. Further than this the new arrangement made no change, and it neither interfered with the Inspector-General's authority nor the arrangement under which China pays him a certain sum, to be regulated by the amount of the revenue collected, for running expenses. Since 1901, the native customs of the treaty ports that were hypothecated for the payment of the Boxer Indemnity have also been under his charge. The total revenue collected during 1906, amounting to Hk. Tls. 36,098,595, was the largest since 1900. The returns of the next two years both show a slight decrease. At the end of 1907, the outstanding debt secured on Imperial revenue amounted to £123,685,730.

In the British treaty of September 5, 1902, China promised to provide a uniform national coinage to be the legal tender for all purposes throughout the Chinese Empire. Many plans bearing on this subject have since been submitted, including that of Prof. Jenks of the United States; but up to 1908 nothing definite was done. In October 1908 an edict commanded the introduction of a uniform tael currency of which the unit was to be a silver coin of 98 touch weighing one K'u-ping ounce. The half-tael coin was also to be of 98 touch, but subsidiary coins might be of only 88 touch. For a time the provincial mints had found it profitable to turn out copper coins of the value of the "hundredth part of a dollar." The issue to the end of 1906 was computed to be 12,500,000. Depreciation then followed the overproduction, and the output had to be restricted.

Extraterritoriality.—Foreigners in China are not amenable to Chinese courts, but to consular courts of their own nationality. This privilege is called "Extraterritoriality" (治外法權). Inasmuch as Chinese and Manchus for many years were not subjected to the same law or courts, China never regarded the granting of this privilege as an infringement of her sovereign rights until she saw its abolition in Japan. She then began to see the matter in its true light and now knows where the remedy lies. In 1901 Viceroys Yüan Shih-k'ai and Chang Chih-tung were commanded to have foreign laws translated and adapted to China, and in the next year a commission was appointed for the Revision of the Statutes (修訂法律大臣). This commission, consisting of Shên Chia-pên and Wu Ting-fang, did good work. Corporal punishment, as a means of extorting confession, was "forever abolished;" and the cangue is to give place to a fine. The death penalty was kept in force, but without the unnecessary barbarities attending such methods as mutilation (戮尸) and the "Lingering Process" (凌遲). No one was to be held responsible for the crime of a relative; and many other objectionable features of both the Chinese law and the manner of its administration were either removed or modified. The work of this commission, however, was still far from completion at the beginning of the Revolution.

In view of the desire of the Government to bring the judicial system into accord with that of Western nations, both Great Britain and the United States have agreed to relinquish their extraterritorial rights when they are justified in such a step. (Art. 12, Bri. Ty. 1902. Art. 15, Am. Ty. 1903). At the end of 1908 there were in China 69,852 persons not amenable to Chinese law.

Productions, Industry and Commerce.—Since the establishment of the Board of Commerce in 1902, much impetus has been given to the industrial movement. Many companies have registered themselves under the new corporation law. Cotton, woollen, paper, rice and flour mills have sprung up in large centres; and silk filatures have multiplied in the silk producing

districts. In 1906, an edict called upon the Boards and the provincial authorities concerned to do everything in their power to further the interests of cotton production in the Yangtze basin.

The control of mining operations were also in the hands of this board. In 1907, regulations were made respecting the constitution of mining and other companies; but as these contain many objectionable features, a protest against them was made by the foreign ministers. Up to 1908, many of the foreigners had failed to make practical use of their concessions. The Chinese companies had also failed to make much progress with their schemes. Of the mining exports in 1908, tin was the largest item, amounting to £597,740 in value. The tea exported showed an increase; and amounted to 210,151,466 pounds in 1908, as against 182,573,064 in 1905. In the matter of raw silk China controlled 27 per cent of the world's supply. Her most formidable rivals in this commodity were Japan with 28 per cent to her credit, and Italy with 25 per cent. Serious efforts were made to revive the fishing industry in the North; but at the end of 1908 the output was insignificant. The export of coal, which amounted to only 27,894 tons, was insignificant. In 1908 the forty-three ports in China showed a total value in native exports of Tls. 44,315,481.

The Anti-Foot-Binding Edict.—Soon after her return to Peking, the Empress Dowager issued an edict condemning the practice of foot-binding among the Chinese. Being a Manchu woman with natural feet, no one was in a better position than herself to lead this all important movement. No nation can become strong with her women deformed, and she was right in saying that the practice was "a crime against nature." Knowing that it was a matter where legislation alone could not produce the desired effect, she urged all leading Chinese to carry on a campaign against it. In the same decree she abolished all the restrictions that had been placed upon the intermarriage of Chinese and Manchus. No Chinese girls, however, were to be admitted into the Imperial harem.

The Anti-Opium Campaign.—Another great evil that hinders the development of this nation is the opium habit. In 1906 there appeared the first edict in which the Chinese Government declared its intention to eradicate the whole evil within ten years. The measures subsequently adopted not only sought to restrict the use and sale of opium, but also tried to prevent the cultivation of the poppy. Great Britain at last agreed to begin to reduce in 1908 the importation of the Indian product. This arrangement is as yet a tentative one, as much depends upon China's ability to stop the importation from other countries and the production within her own borders. In other words, Great Britain wishes to follow rather than lead in a movement looking to the suppression of an evil, because its continuance means money to her.

In 1908, Prince Kung was appointed the head of an Anti-Opium commission under whose direction the campaign was henceforth to be carried on. All officials known to have the opium habit had to subject themselves to a test before they could be retained in the service.

Foreign Relations.—China's relations with the outside world between the years 1902 and 1908 were, as a whole, satisfactory. In dealing with foreign governments, she no longer looked down upon them with contempt. On the other hand, foreigners, too eager to invest money in China, found themselves confronted by a new element which was voiced in the student cry of "China for the Chinese." The Emperor gave many audiences to foreign ambassadors and distinguished visitors; while the ladies of the Legations were, on more than one occasion, entertained by the Empress Dowager. In 1903, Prince Tsai Chên was sent to attend the coronation of Edward VII; and in the following year Prince Pulun went to the United States to represent China at the St. Louis Exposition.

In Tibet, Col. Younghusband's mission met with considerable armed resistance until Lhasa was entered by force; and then the matter was settled amicably. In February, 1908, the British began

to evacuate the Chumby Valley, and two months later trade regulations were established between Tibet and India. According to this convention, which was duly ratified by China, no Tibetan territory was to be sold, leased, or mortgaged to any foreign power; and, under a convention of 1907, Great Britain and Russia agreed not to send representatives to Lhasa, or to negotiate with Tibet except through the Chinese Government.

The boycott of 1905, to which reference has already been made, threatened China's friendly relations with the United States, but its effect was only temporary. In 1908, the American fleet visited Amoy, where it met with a cordial reception from Prince Yu Lang representing the Imperial Government, and Viceroy Shun Shou, the Provincial Government. The return of the Boxer indemnity by the United States is another evidence of the improved relations between the two countries.

In 1907 tribute came from the King of Nepal, and in 1908 the Dalai Lama paid a visit to Peking.

Death of the Emperor Kuang Hsü.—On November 14, 1908, China was called upon to mourn the loss of the Emperor Kuang Hsü, and with his death an interesting epoch came to an end. During this period China was plunged into a national debt of unprecedented magnitude, had to own defeat by Japan, and had to cede territory on the mainland to foreign powers. The more the Manchu weakness was revealed the stronger had the antipathy of the Chinese to their ruler become. Having once felt the national impulse, Kuang Hsü had evidently meant to play, in 1898, the part of the Japanese Mikado; but lacked the iron will of his ancestors to carry out his ambitious plan. Had he been left alone, he might have done something to win the love of the Chinese. Since he was during his last years completely ignored, it is hardly necessary to say that he was not at all responsible for the usurpation of the Empress Tz'ŭ Hsi. The death of the Emperor did not occur one moment too soon, for a storm of unusual force was gathering to break the Manchu house in pieces. This event he had tried hard to prevent, and it was well that he did not live to see it.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE REVOLUTION

Accession of Hsüan T'ung.—Who was to be the successor of Kuang Hsü? That was indeed a momentous question, and upon the answer hung the future of the Manchu Dynasty. Whosoever succeeded to the throne must also accept the arduous duty that the promise to give the country a constitutional government had imposed. He must launch the empire safely upon a constitutional career, or take the responsibility for the misfortunes his predecessors had brought upon China. Unfortunately the decision in this grave matter rested entirely with a woman, the Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi, who looked at it only in the light of her own ambition and permitted her personal feelings to get the better of her judgment. Having enjoyed power so long, she was unwilling to part with it even in her old days. As a man on the throne might mean the end of her power, a child was always to be preferred for that high position. Besides, there was a child born on February 11, 1906, to the daughter of Jung Lu (榮祿), whom she herself had caused to marry Prince Shun (醇親王).

The Regent, Prince Shun, with his two sons, Emperor Hsüan T'ung (standing) and Prince Pu Chieh

Had Jung Lu not been a most devoted servant during all his life? Had not Pu-i (溥儀), the child in question, since he was the eldest grand son of Kuang Hsü's father, as

good a claim to the throne as any other living member of the Imperial House? Certainly she could have nothing to fear from either Pu-i's mother or father. Accordingly she decided the question in favor of Pu-i, and her decision was made public a few days before Kuang Hsü's death. The rest was but a matter of form. When the throne became vacant on November 14, 1908, Pu-i was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Hsüan T'ung (宣統). During his minority, his father, Prince Shun, was to act as Regent, subject always to the orders of Tz'ŭ Hsi, who now assumed the title of Empress-Grand-Dowager (太皇太后). Thus had Tz'ŭ Hsi completed her arrangements to have the reins of government remain in her own hands for an indefinite period. But the irony fate decreed otherwise. On November 15, 1908, the day after the demise of the Emperor, the Empress-Grand-Dowager also died, leaving Prince Shun, the Prince Regent (監國攝政王), to assume alone the responsibility of the Government. We have seen how the first Prince Regent of the Manchus conquered China in the name of his nephew, the Emperor Shun Chih. We shall presently see how their second Prince Regent lost it for his son, the Emperor Hsüan T'ung.

The remains of the Empress-Grand-Dowager were interred at the Eastern Mausoleum (東陵) October 9, 1910.

The Period of Unrestrained Manchu Supremacy.—At the time of the death of the Empress-Grand-Dowager, there were two strong Chinese statesmen in the Grand Council. They were Yüan Shih-k'ai and Chang Chih-tung. The former had enjoyed the implicit confidence of Tz'ŭ Hsi during her last days. One of the first acts of the Prince Regent was to dismiss Yüan Shih-k'ai, who was sent to his home in Honan "to regain his health." His place in the Grand Council and at the head of the Waiwupu was given to Na T'ung (那桐), a Manchu of high rank. Na T'ung's appointment to these responsible positions, in fact, marked the beginning of the unprecedented Manchu supremacy. One new office after another was created either for a Manchu prince, or for men that he named. When death removed Chang Chih-tung in 1909, there was no states-

man in Peking equal to the crisis that confronted the Manchu Dynasty. The Government had fallen into the hands of young Manchu princes, who, as the Chinese say, "still smelt of their mother's milk" (乳臭猶存). The high-water mark was reached in 1911 when Prince Ch'ing became Premier with a cabinet consisting almost entirely of members of the Imperial family and other Manchus. Prince Tsai Hsün (洵貝勒), a younger brother of the Regent, became the Secretary of the Navy, Prince Su (肅親王), the Secretary of the Interior, Duke Tsai Tsê (澤公), the Secretary of the Treasury, Prince Pu Lun (倫貝子), the Secretary of Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce, while Yin Chang (蔭昌), Shou Ch'ang (紹昌), and Shou Ch'i (壽耆), all Manchus, presided over the departments of War, Justice, and the Colonies, respectively. Prince Tsai Tao (濤貝勒), another brother of the Regent, was the head of the General Staff Department (軍諮府), and Prince Tsai Chên (振貝子), the eldest son of Prince Ch'ing, the head of the Advisory Council (弼德院). Duke Tsai Tsê, in addition to his post as Secretary of Finance, was the Comptroller-General of the Department of Salt Administration (督辦鹽政大臣), an office now created for the purpose of taking away from the provincial authorities the salt monopoly. Scarcely anything like an organized government existed in Peking. The princes and nobles vied with each other in the accummulation of wealth. Peking indeed was a vast salesroom where profitable positions throughout the empire were sold to the highest bidder. In their eagerness to enrich themselves, Prince Ch'ing and the two brothers of the Regent acted as if they knew that their days were numbered.

Absolutism Under the Mask of Constitutional Reforms—It is true that one of the first edicts issued in the name of the Emperor Hsüan T'ung contained a solemn promise to adhere strictly to the policy of constitutional reforms as laid down by the previous reign. But the work of the Manchus, during the last two or three years of their rule, consisted of promises. In short, they had never secured so complete a hold upon the Government of China as they did under the mask of constitutional

reforms. They had never obtained so complete a control over the army, navy, and finances of the empire. The Regent, a puppet in the hands of his brothers and Prince Ch'ing, was made to act the part of an absolute monarch. The Cabinet was responsible to him alone, and he could appoint any one to as high a position as he pleased; and neither the Provincial Assemblies (諮議局), which opened on October 14, 1909, nor the National Assembly (議政院), which opened on October 3, 1910, had any voice in the matter. The delegates from the provinces were returned as if they were criminals (遞解回籍). The slightest sign of disloyalty was to be "punished to the fullest extent of the law" (盡法處治). The Throne would take its own time to convoke a parliament. It was not the people's business to ask for it, or to inquire as to the terms on which large sums of money were borrowed from foreign powers, or the purposes for which they were to be expended. The Government was quite competent to do all these things. The best the people could do was to keep silent. The Chinese were not ready, the Regent would have the world believe, for a Constitutional Government. Perhaps this was true. But they were ready for one thing—the very thing the Manchus had dreaded—and that was a popular Revolution.

Sun Wên and the Revolutionary Movement.—Kuang-tung, the province that once gave to China a great rebel leader in the person of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, has since produced a great revolutionist. The man is Sun Wên (孫文), better known to the people outside of China as Dr. Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙). In his younger days Dr. Sun attended a missionary school in Hong-kong, where he prepared himself for the medical profession under a certain Dr. Cantile, an Englishman. After graduation, he practiced medicine for a short time at both Macao and Hongkong. He then gave up his professional labours, in order to take up revolutionary work.

At an early age Dr. Sun was convinced that China must be reformed. With this end in view he organized at Canton the Hsing Chung Hui (興中會), or a Society for the Uplifting

of China. He soon saw that under the Manchus no reform was possible, and did not hesitate to start a revolution, but it failed and many heads fell at the stroke of the executioner's axe. That was in 1895. To save his head, the young doctor had to flee. He escaped to Hongkong from which point he sailed for London. Strange as it may seem, it was in the English capital that this revolutionist for the first time fell into the hands of of Chinese authorities. While in London Dr. Sun was one day decoyed into the Chinese Legation which, according to international law, is Chinese soil. In the Legation he was kept a prisoner while his captors awaited an opportunity to send him back to China; and was not released until the British Government intervened in his behalf.

During the next fourteen or fifteen years, Dr. Sun travelled extensively, visiting all the Chinese centres around the world and always preaching revolution.

The cause of revolution never looked so bright as when China sent one party of students after another to Japan. As a rule these students, after having come into contact with Dr. Sun in Japan, returned to China imbued with revolutionary ideas; and were watching quietly to carry out their avowed purpose. In Japan Dr. Sun also met Huang Hsing (黃興) and many other influential members of the various Chinese secret societies. As a result of these meetings, the great Revolutionary League, or Tungmenghui (同盟會), came into being. The Tungmenghui established newspapers to arouse the Chinese against the Manchus. While emissaries were busy in China working among the soldiery of the various provinces, others went from one Chinese colony to another, soliciting financial support. Thus was the revolutionary movement set on foot. The discovery of revolutionary elements at Canton and places along the Yangtze, the subsequent wholesale decapitation of suspected persons, the frequent seizure by Customs officers of arms and ammunition which unknown persons were trying to smuggle into China, the assassination of Governor Ên Ming (恩銘) (Manchu) of Anhui in 1909, and the unsuccessful

attempts on the lives of other Manchus of high rank, including the Prince Regent himself, are all instances fresh in the minds of our readers. These instances show how persistently the *revolutionary party* went to work, how its ramifications had pervaded every walk of life, and how many a young man and young woman had fearlessly walked into the jaws of death. Betrayals, disappointments, cruel deaths, wholesale massacres,—these only tended to stimulate the patriots to renewed efforts.

Unrest at Canton.—The year 1911 foreboded evil, especially at Canton. On April 8th the Tartar General, Fu Ch'i (孚琦), commanding the Manchu garrison of Canton, was assassinated. On the 27th of the same month a party of revolutionists attempted to destroy the Viceroy's Yamen with bombs; but this enterprise was ill-timed. The authorities in fact had information as to what was coming and were not at all unprepared for the emergency. The result was most pathetic. Scores of China's most promising sons were arrested and mercilessly executed. The Viceroy, Chang Ming-ch'i (張鳴岐), was heartily commended by the Peking Government for his alertness and success in unearthing a revolutionary plot and in vanquishing his foes. The Government evidently thought that the cruelty of the Viceroy had dealt a severe blow to the movement; but nothing was farther from the truth. The revolutionists were temporarily suppressed; but they were not discouraged. They merely turned their attention from Canton to the Yangtze Valley.

Nationalization of the Railways.—In the early part of the summer of 1911, the Peking Government decided to do something with the Yüeh-Han (Canton-Hankow) and Ch'uan-Han (Chengtu-Hankow) Railways. Their construction was a necessity for both commercial and military purposes, or the people of the several provinces concerned would not have formed companies to build them. Private companies had failed to build them because they had not the money. England, America, Germany and France had built their railways because they had the money. With foreign capital the work on both the Yüeh-Han and the Ch'uan-Han lines would be done more quickly and more satisfactorily. Why should not

the Government borrow money and take over the railways from private concerns? That was what the Peking authorities decided to do on May 9, 1911; and their policy was known as the Nationalization of Trunk Railways (幹路收爲國有). The people of the provinces, however, looked at the matter in a very different light. The Manchus had borrowed money from foreigners before; and the people had had enough of the heavy burden without ever having received the full benefit of the money. What guarantee had they this time that the Manchus would not fail to keep their word when they had obtained the money, as had so often been done in the past? What did the youthful princes care for the railways? All they wanted was the money. With such thoughts, the people held meetings at different places to consider the situation and protests sprang up from every quarter. The pessimists persuaded themselves that China would become a second Egypt; and this view was freely echoed and re-echoed by the newspapers throughout the land. Unfortunately all this was without avail. The Government was firm. The bankers of America, England, France and Germany were all willing to make the loan. The consequence was that a sum of four million pounds sterling was contracted for; and the loan agreement was signed by the Board of Posts and Communications.

The Szechuan Revolt.—Now came the crisis. To borrow the money against the wishes of the people was bad enough; but to take over the railways at a bargain was worse still. The people of Szechuan particularly had a just cause of complaint against the Central Government. They saw that by the proposed arrangements they would have to suffer a loss of three million taels; and they naturally retaliated. Government schools throughout many districts were deserted, taxes were not paid, and business was suspended. The provincial authorities at first took up the popular cause by forwarding the people's petition to Peking, and by criticising the action of the Board of Posts and Communications before the Throne. To their regret this action brought down upon them the displeasure of the Regent, and peremptory instructions from Peking soon made them change their minds. Chao Êrh-féng (趙爾豐), the Viceroy,

once so friendly and so sympathetic, became quite the opposite. He caused several of the popular leaders to be arrested, among whom was the President of the Provincial Assembly of Szechuan, and had them brought to his Yamen, where he threatened to have them summarily decapitated for sedition. He would no doubt have carried out his threat, but for the intervention of the Tartar General. The Viceroy then vented his anger upon the innocent crowd that had gathered in front of his Yamen to see what was to be done with their leaders. Many of the people were killed on the spot by the musketry fire of the guards, while the rest were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. Thus had the signal for revolt been given by the Viceroy himself. In a very short time the whole province from end to end was in open rebellion, and Ch'êngtu was besieged. The sympathy of the other provinces throughout the Yangtze Valley was with the people of Szechuan. As if to add to the misery of the people in this great Valley, destructive floods destroyed their crops and spread ruin far and wide. In short, by the end of September, the railway agitation and the floods had thoroughly prepared the ground for revolution.

Beginning of the Revolution.—When national excitement was at its height, the attention of the Hankow Municipal police was attracted on October 9, 1911, to a Chinese house in the Russian Concession by the explosion of a bomb. In the house they found revolutionary flags, documents, material for the making of bombs, and some persons who had presumably been engaged in their manufacture. The revolutionists had planned to start a revolution in December; but the untimely explosion had prematurely revealed their presence and plot. Viceroy Jui Chêng (瑞澂), a Manchu, was promptly communicated with and many arrests were made. Among the papers that fell into the hands of the Viceroy there was a revolutionary register which contained the names of many soldiers of the new army. Knowing what punishment was in store for them, and wishing to anticipate the authorities, these soldiers tied pieces of white cloth around their arms and mutinied. The sappers and

miners took the lead and the artillery men followed. The mutineers and the revolutionists took possession of all the gates of Wuchang during the night of October 10th; but to their surprise they found the Viceroy and some of the other high officials had escaped. The mutineers went to their comrades, who were undecided, and told them they must either fight or join them. With the exception of some 200 men who fled, all the soldiers chose the latter course. Before the dawn of the next day, the revolutionists had gained complete possession of the city, and still they had no leader. A council was called to elect one; and, in that supreme hour, the choice fell upon a Colonel of the Imperial army, who was not one of them. That colonel was Li Yüan-hung (黎元洪), a man whom jealousy and prejudice had kept in a subordinate position. From the moment Li accepted the high honor tendered him, he was virtually the leader of the whole revolution, and to his soldierly qualities and statesmanship the cause owes much. So demoralized were the officials that the Revolutionists took both Hanyang and Hankow on the 12th of October without resistance. In the arsenal of Hanyang, they found large quantities of war material with which to carry on their struggle. Thus the Great Revolution of 1911 started. With the three strategic points on the Yangtze in their possession, the Revolutionists proclaimed a reformed government at Wuchang, which undertook to protect foreign life and property and to respect the existing treaties so long as the foreigners refrained from helping the Manchus. Li Yüan-hung became the Tutuh (都督), or Military Governor, of Wuchang, a position he held until 1913.

LI YÜAN-HUNG

Return of Yüan Shih-k'ai to Power.—Evidently the Revolution had completely restored Yüan Shih-k'ai to health. At any rate it brought him a new appointment. "Yüan Shih-k'ai is hereby appointed Viceroy of the Hukuang Provinces," said an Imperial Edict of October 14th, "and from him all the armies of the provinces and those engaged in the suppression of the uprising shall take their orders." This was the same man who, less than three years before, had been declared physically unfit for duty in the Grand Council. He had for fifteen years managed and trained the Northern Army and was rightly considered a better man to deal with the Revolution than General Yin Chang, who had received his instruction in Germany. Yin Chang was told to return to Peking as soon as Yüan Shih-k'ai should arrive, and he did. From the moment the latter consented to take up his new appointment, the cause of the Manchus was doomed. The Prince Regent wished that Yüan Shih-k'ai would forget that little incident of three years before. But how could he?

Fall of Hanyang.—The army of General Li Yüan-hung, though numerically strong, was no match for the Northern Army, the product of fifteen years' training. Most of the raw recruits, who constituted the major portion of the Revolutionary Army, enthusiastic as they were, had never handled a rifle before. About all they could do with their weapons was to shoot the trained soldiers ranked in front of them, and this they actually did on several occasions. It was no wonder that such soldiers were driven from field to field and dislodged from one position after another by the Northern Army. On November 25th severe fighting took place between the two contending armies around Hankow. On the next day the Imperialists captured the Heishan (黑山) and Meitzŭshan (梅子山) forts. The next morning they captured the Tortoise Hill (龜山) and later in the day the whole of Hanyang.

Revolution Gaining in Strength.—We must now turn our attention from Wuchang to other parts of the empire. Since the outbreak many other cities had gone over to the Revolutionists. Those cities in the order in which they severed their connec-

tions with the Manchus were as follows:—Yochow, Changsha, Kiukiang, Hukow, Wuhu, Shanghai, Hangchow, Shaohsing, Ningpo, Soochow, Wusih, Chinkiang, Tsinan, Canton, Yünnanfu, Chefoo, Mukden, Foochow, Amoy, and Tatung. With the exception of Tsinan, which returned to its former allegiance on November 30th, all the cities were permanently lost to them. Of course there was nothing like union among them. Each did as it pleased in regard to civil government; but so far as the Revolution was concerned they all looked to Wuchang for guidance and instruction. It was in view of the popularity of the Revolutionary movement that Yüan Shih-k'ai hesitated after his victory at Hanyang. He knew as well as any body that his army could capture Wuchang if he would only give the order. He knew, too, that the Revolutionary Cause was destined to win in the end. Not a vestige of Imperial authority remained in the vast territory south of the Yangtze.

The Navy Supports the Revolution.—On October 16th, Admiral Sah (薩鎮冰), a native of Foochow, in compliance with orders from Peking arrived at Hankow with a squadron of eight gunboats. No one at that time knew what he intended to do. Would he support the Manchus, or those who tried to free themselves from their yoke? The answer to that question meant the success or failure of the outbreak; for the Chinese Navy, young and inefficient as it was, was powerful enough to crush the Revolution. Happily during all the engagements around Hankow, Admiral Sah preferred to sit and wait. After November 12th no one had any thing further to fear from the big guns that his ships carried. As the Admiral steamed away that day his ships were observed to haul down the Dragon Flag and to run up a white one instead. The secret was that the Admiral had received an appeal from the scholars of Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow, which had convinced him of the justice of the Revolutionary cause.

Capture of Nanking.—On December 2, 1911, the Revolutionists captured Nanking. For some time there had been much bloodshed there owing to the stubborn resistance offered by General Chang

Hsün (張勳). But the capture of Purple Hill on the 1st of December made further resistance useless, and Chang Hsün fled to Pukow. Nanking is a city of much more political importance than Wuchang. It had given the Taipings a capital and now it gave the Revolutionists one. Thus they were fully compensated for the loss of Hanyang. The army that captured the city was a motley force consisting of different provincial contingents. Consequently it was very hard to maintain discipline and order. Looting frequently occurred, and for a month or more the inhabitants of Nanking and vicinity enjoyed but little rest or peace.

Panic at Peking.—Before the capture of Nanking, a panic had taken complete possession of Peking, which had already lost its head. At the dictation of the National Assembly, concession after concession had been granted. Shêng Hsüan-huai (盛宣懷), (Sheng Kung-pao), the Minister of Posts and Communications, had been summarily dismissed. On October 28th there appeared a most pathetic edict in which the young Emperor confessed many faults and promised to amend. The National Assembly was asked to draw up a constitution, and later the Prince Regent took oath before the Ancestral Temple to observe faithfully what the Assembly had drawn up. It consisted of a constitution of nineteen articles modelled after that of Great Britain. In place of Prince Ch'ing's Cabinet a new one, formed by Yüan Shih-k'ai, appeared. The latter was now the most powerful man in Peking. He was Premier and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy engaged in this civil war. Nothing was too high for him. His enemy, who had caused his retirement for three years, was made to resign and the resignation was accepted. Besides affixing the Imperial Seal to edicts prepared by Yüan Shih-k'ai and holding audiences, the Empress Lung Yü (隆裕), the widow of Kuang Hsü, had nothing to do with the government. From this time, the revolutionary game had to be played out not with the Manchus, but with Yüan Shih-k'ai.

Peace Conference.—The revolutionary game was no longer one of bullets, but of brains. Both Yüan Shih-k'ai and Li Yüan-hung having signified a strong desire for peace, negotiations were formally

opened on December 8, 1911, in the Municipal Town Hall at Shanghai. Tang Shao-yi (唐紹儀) represented the Imperial Government; and Wu Ting-fang (伍廷芳), the Revolutionists. Both plenipotentiaries are trained diplomats, and both of them had been educated abroad. The question before the Conference was whether

YÜAN SHIH-K'AI

China should be a republic or a monarchy. Yüan Shih-k'ai was in favor of a limited monarchy with the Manchu Emperor on the throne, and proposed to submit the question to a national vote. The Revolutionists naturally objected. From the very beginning of the Revolution their idea was to establish a Republican Government in place of the Manchu Dynasty. This question was finally disposed of by the important event which took place at Nanking. After the fall of that city, the question before the Conference was changed to one of what should be the treatment to be accorded to the Manchus after their resignation of power.

Sun Yat-sen Becomes President of a Chinese Republic.—At a moment when the peace prospect was by no means bright, a man, for fifteen years an exile, was for the first time welcomed back to China with open arms. That man was Sun Yat-sen, the one on whose head a big price had been set.

In due time the Provisional Military Assembly at Nanking elected him President of the new-born Chinese Republic. Under him a Provisional Government was set up at Nanking, and his cabinet included many of the foremost citizens of the South, among whom were Wu Ting-fang (Attorney General), Tang Shou-ch'ien (湯壽潛) (Secretary of the Interior), Chang Ch'ien (張謇) (Secretary of Commerce and Industries) and Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (蔡元培) (Secretary of Education). The President's first official act was to adopt the foreign calendar, making January 1, 1912, the first day of the Chinese new year. Roughly speaking, the northern boundary of the Republic was the Yangtze; and, generally speaking, the country to the north still remained loyal to the Manchus. It seemed as if a division between the North and the South would be inevitable.

Abdication of the Manchus.—To prevent such a division it was necessary that the Ta Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty should be brought to an end. This happy result was at last brought about by Yüan Shih-k'ai; and on February 12th, 1912, there appeared what has come to be known as the Abdication Edict. This edict was undoubtedly the most important one that ever came from "The Vermilion Pencil." It was in the name of the Empress Dowager, and reads as follows:—

"Sometime ago the Republican soldiers started an uprising and the different provinces responded eagerly; the whole country seethed with revolt, and ruin was brought on the people. Yüan Shih-k'ai was specially commanded to depute a delegate to discuss the general situation with the Republican representative, and to arrange for the holding of a National Convention to decide on the form of government.

"Two months have elapsed, and no practical, or certain, mode of operation has been evolved. The North and the South, separated

as if by a barrier, are struggling against each other. Merchants tarry by the roadside, and soldiers are exposed in the field. So long as the form of government remains undecided, so long will the minds of the people remain unsettled.

"The majority of the people in the whole country are in favor of a republic. The southern provinces first propounded the idea; and it was afterward supported by the northern generals. Such being the general inclination, Heaven's ordinance may be divined.

"How could I dare to disregard the wishes of the millions for the sake of the glory of one family? Judging, therefore, by the general aspect without and public opinion within, I specially direct the Emperor to bestow the administrative power upon the whole country, in order that a Constitutional Republican Government may be adopted.

"Thus will the hearts of the people, wearied with trouble and yearning for orderly government, be appeased. I also accord with the principles of the ancient sages that the country should be owned by the public.

"At this transitional period from the old order of things to the new, there should be a union of the North and the South. Yüan Shih-k'ai was formerly elected Premier by the Senate, and he shall have full power to organize a Provisional Republican Government. He will therefore confer with the Republicans on a united plan of action, with a view to securing peace to the people and the country.

"The territories of the Manchus, Chinese, Mongolians, Mohammedans and Tibetans shall be consolidated into a Great Republic of China. The Emperor and I will retire into leisure to pass easily through the months and years and to see the consummation of wise government. This will indeed be excellent!"

After the abdication the Emperor was to receive an annual allowance of $4,000,000, to reside in the Forbidden City or the Summer Palace, and to continue to offer sacrifices at his Ancestral Temples and Mausoleums. The Republic is to extend to him such treatment as is accorded to a foreign sovereign, to guarantee to him all his rights to personal property, and to protect his Ancestral Temples

and Mausoleums. The Republic also agreed to complete the work on the Mausoleum of Kuang Hsü and to accord his remains an Imperial funeral at the expense of the public. No new eunuchs are to be taken in by the Imperial family, and the princes and nobles may retain their titles and enjoy their private property.

Union of the North and the South.—In a short time, President Sun Yat-sen abdicated in favor of Yüan Shih-k'ai. The same body that had elected Sun, now chose Yüan President of the Republic which was no longer bounded on the north by the Yangtze. Its boundaries are co-extensive with the Chinese Empire of yesterday. Yüan Shih-k'ai was evidently the man for the head of such a republic, and no better choice could have been made.

Conclusion.—Into the family of nations the Republic of China has been born. History is not to predict. Whether the present form of government is adapted to the conditions in the country, whether the change is really for the better, whether the events of the French Revolution are to be repeated in China, whether the Republic will be used by some one as a stepping stone to imperial power after the manner of Napoleon, or whether the different racial elements will work together—the future alone can reveal. The problems before the Republic to-day, as might be expected, are sufficient to tax the greatest statesmanship. To bring order out of the chaos, the Republic needs constructive ability of the highest type.

THE END

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Outlines of Chinese History

COMMERCIAL PRESS, LTD.

中華民國三年七月初版

（英文中國歷史一册）

編纂者 閩縣李文彬

校訂者 美國 JOSEPH WHITESIDE

發行者 商務印書館

印刷所 商務印書館 上海北河南路北首寶山路

總發行所 商務印書館 上海棋盤街中市

分售處 商務印書分館 北京天津保定奉天龍江吉林長春西安太原濟南開封成都 重慶漢口長沙安慶蕪湖南京南昌杭州蘭谿福州廣州潮州

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